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BEGINNINGS

(1)

There is an interesting passage in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* in which Rājaśekhara, while giving us a somewhat fanciful account of the divine origin of Poetics, mentions at the same time the names of the supposed original exponents of the discipline. It is said that the Spirit of Poetry (*kāvya-puruṣa*), born of the Goddess of Learning (*sarasvatī*), was set by the Self-existent Being to promulgate the study of Poetics in the three worlds ; and he related it in eighteen *adhikaranas* to his seventeen will-born pupils. These divine sages, in their turn, are said to have composed separate treatises on the portions respectively learnt by them. Thus Sahasrākṣa wrote on *kavīrahasya*, Uktigarbha on *auktika*, Suvarṇānābha on *rīti*, Praeetāyana on *anuprāsa*, Citrāṅgada on *yamaka* and *citra*. Śeṣa on *śabda-śleṣa*, Pulastya on *vāstava*, Aupakāyana on *upamā*, Pārāśara on *atiśaya*, Utathya on *artha-śleṣa*, Kubera on *ubhayālaṅkāra*, Kāmadeva on *vainodika*, Bbarata on *rūpaka*, Nandikeśvara on *rasa*, Dhīṣaṇa on *doṣa*, Upamanyu on *guṇa* and Kucamāra on *aupaniṣadika*. This tendency on the part of a Sanskrit author towards glorifying his science and thereby investing it with an ancient unalterable authority is not unusual, and such legendary accounts are often fabricated where the actual origin is forgotten ; but it is curious that we do not meet with them elsewhere in Alāṅkāra literature, although they find expression in Bharata and in Vātsyāyana with regard to the origin of the allied disciplines of Dramaturgy and Erotics respectively. The historical value of this passage of Rājaśekhara may, indeed, be well doubted ; but it is possible that this unique account, apart from its obviously mythical garb, embodies a current tradition, implying the actual existence, at some remote and forgotten period, of

early expounders of poetic theory, some of whose names are still familiar, but most of whose works have apparently perished. Thus, Suvarṇābha and Kueamāra (or Kueumāra) are also cited with reverence by the author of the *Kāma-sūtra* (i. 1. 13. 17), both of them as authorities on Erotics, but the latter especially as well-versed in the particular subject of *aupaniṣadika*, which is thus included in Erotics as well as in Poetics.¹ The present-day text of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, which goes by the name of Bharata, deals in an encyclopaedic manner with various topics, but Bharata is well known, as described by Rājaśekhara, as an authority on *rūpaka*. No work of Nandikeśvara on *rasa* has yet been discovered; but his name is associated with a number of works, mostly late compilations, on erotics, music, histrionic art, grammar and Tantra.²

This traditional account may lead one to make the tempting suggestion of a very early systematic investigation of rhetorical issues but for the serious difficulty that there is hardly any material in the ancient literature itself to enable us to trace the origin of Poetics to a very remote antiquity. The *Alamkāra-śāstra* is never mentioned among the orthodox disciplines which constitute the so-called *Vedāṅgas*, nor do we meet with any passage in the Vedic *Saṃhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas* or the earlier *Upaniṣads* in which we may find a real basis for a system of Poetics. The word *upamā*, for instance, is found as early as the *Rg-veda* (v. 34. 9; i. 31. 15), and Sāyana explains it in the sense of *upamāna* (as in *Pāṇini* ii. 3. 72) or *drṣṭānta*; but there is nothing unusual in this use of the general idea of similitude, which need not be interpreted as having a particular speculative significance. It is conceded, on the authority of Yāska and *Pāṇini*, that the conception of *upamā* or similitude considerably affected the Vedic language as well as its accent; but beyond this grammatical or philo-

1 Cf. *JDL* iv p. 95.

2 For Nandikeśvara see below under ch. ii.

logical interest, there is no indication of a dogma, much less of a theory, of Poetics in Vedic times. Nor should undue emphasis be laid on the use of poetic figures in Vedic literature ; for between this unconscious employment of figures of speech and the conscious formulation of a definite system, there must necessarily be a long step.¹

(2)

The first evidence of a definite, if somewhat crude, activity in this direction is traceable in the *Nighaṇṭu* and *Nirukta*. From the investigation of the peculiarities of the general form of language, which began early, attention was apparently directed to the analysis of the poetic forms of speech; but the question was still regarded entirely from the linguistic point of view. The term *alaṁkāra* in the technical sense does not occur in the *Nirukta*, but Yāska uses the word *alaṁkariṣṇu* in the general sense of 'one in the habit of adorning', which Pāṇini explains in iii. 2. 136 and which is apparently the meaning of the word occurring in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xiii. 8. 4. 7; iii. 5. 1. 36), and in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (viii. 8. 5). But in the *Nighaṇṭu* iii. 13, a list is given of particles of comparison relating to the Vedic *upamā*, comprising twelve varieties, which are illustrated in the *Nirukta* i. 4, iii. 13-18 and ix. 6. Six of these varieties, viz., those indicated by the particles *iva*, *yathā*, *na*, *cit*, *nu* and *ā*, are discussed in connexion with Yāska's treatment of *upamārthe nipātas* or particles indicative of comparison (i. 4), and partly included in what he designates as *karmopamā* in iii. 15. Then Yāska mentions *bhūtopamā*, in which the *upamita* becomes the *upamāna* in character, and *rūpopamā*, where the *upamita* resembles the *upamāna* in point of form. The fourth variety occurs where the

1 P. V. Kane (*HSP*, 3rd Ed. Bombay 1951, pp. 315-19; also *IA* xli, 1912, p. 120f) argues at some length that the Rgvedic poets have had some ideas about a theory of Poetics, as well as of Drama and dramatic representation. Also B. N. Bhattacharya in *JDL* ix, 1923, p. 100f.

particle *yaihā* is used. Then comes *siddhopamā*, in which the standard of comparison is well established and known to surpass every other object in a particular quality or act, and is characterised by the suffix *vat*. The last variety is *luptopamā* or suppressed simile, also called *arthopamā* (equivalent to the *rūpaka* of later theorists), which is illustrated in iii. 18 (also ix. 6), where the example is given of the popular application of the terms *śiṇha* and *vyāghra* in a laudatory and *śvan* and *kāka* in a derogatory sense. The term *upamāna* itself is used by Yāska, but only to denote these particles of comparison (vii. 31). The significance of comparison in general is also referred to in i. 19, ii. 6, iii. 5, iv. 11, v. 22 and vii. 13. Incidentally Yāska quotes (iii. 13) the grammarian Gārgya's definition of *upamā*,¹ which is important from our point of view. As explained by Durgāeārya, it lays down that *upamā* occurs when an object which is dissimilar is reckoned, through similarity, with an object having similar attributes.² It also states as a general rule that the standard of comparison should be superior in merit and better known than the object of comparison; but the reverse case is also admitted and illustrated (iii. 14-15) by two examples from the *Rg-veda* (x. 40. 2; x. 4. 6). The definition, too wide as it is, recalls Mammaṭa's similar dictum, and undoubtedly establishes a very early, but more or less definite, conception of the poetic *upamā*.

By the time of Pāṇini this conception of *upamā* seems to have been tacitly recognised and we find him using in this connexion the technical terms *upamāna*,³ *upamita*⁴ and

1 *athāta upamā yad atat tat-sadr̥ṣam iti gārgyalī, tad āśāṇī karma jyāyasaū vā guṇena prakhyātataṃena vā kanīyaṇīṣāṇī vāprakhyātāṇīṣāṇī*

2 *evam atat tat-svarūpēṇa guṇena guṇa-sāmānyād upamīyate ity evanī gārgyācāryo manyate.*

3 ii. 1. 55; iii. 1. 10, 2. 79, 4. 45; v. 4. 97, 137; vi. 1. 204, 2. 2, 72, 80, 127, 145, 169.

4 ii. 1. 56.

*sāmānya*¹ as well as general expressions like *upamā*² (used in the sense of the rhetorician's *upamāna*), *aupamya*,³ *upamārthe*⁴ and *sūdrṣya*.⁵ It is noteworthy that in nearly fifty *sūtras* distributed all over his work, Pāṇini incidentally discusses, from the grammarian's point of view, the influence of the conception of comparison on the language in the varied dominion of affixes, including case and feminine suffixes, *kṛt*, *taddhita* and *saṃsānta* terminations,⁶ in the making of compounds⁷ and in accent.⁸ The same influence is also traceable in the idea of *atideśa*, a term which is not used by Pāṇini himself but which is made clear by his commentators, and which may be translated as 'extended application by analogy or similarity'. Kātyāyana, in several *vārtikas*,⁹ follows Pāṇini in noting the same influence of the idea of similitude, while Śāntanava in his *Phisūtra* discusses it in connexion with accentuation.¹⁰ In the *Mahābhāṣya* on ii. 1. 55, Patañjali has defined and illustrated Pāṇini's use of the term *upamāna*. A *māna* or measure, he says, is that which is employed in ascertaining a thing unknown; *upamāna* is approximate to the *māna* and determines the thing not absolutely (but approximately), e.g. when we say 'a gavaya is like a cow'.¹¹ Strictly speaking, a writer on Poetics will not accept the example adduced by Patañjali as an instance of

1 ii. 1. 55, 56; viii. 1. 74.

2 ii. 3. 72.

3 i. 4. 79; iv. 1. 69; vi. 2. 113.

4 viii. 2. 101.

5 ii. 1. 6-7; vi. 2. 11.

6 i. 4. 79; ii. 3. 72; iii. 1. 10, 2. 79, 4. 45, iv. 1. 69, 4. 9, v. 1. 115-16.

2. 39, 3. 96, 106, 4. 97, 137.

7 ii. 1. 7, 31, 55-6; vi. 2. 11.

8 v. 1. 18; vi. 1. 204, 2. 2, 11, 72, 80, 113, 127, 145, 169 etc.

9 on i. 3. 21; ii. 1. 55, 2. 24, 4. 71; iii. 1. 10 etc

10 e.g. ii. 16, iv. 18.

11 *Mānāñ hi nāmāntrijātā-jiḥdñārtham upādāya nīrjñādūm arīhāñ
jñāsyāmīti, tat-samīpe yan nātyantāya numīte tad upamānam, gaur iva
gavaya iti*, ed. Kielhorn i, p. 397.

poetic *upamā*,¹ inasmuch as the characteristic charmingness essential in a poetic figure is wanting in such a plain expression; but this grammatical analysis of the general idea of comparison is an early and near approach to the technical conception of Poetics.²

(3)

A special interest attaches to these rules of Pāṇini and the dicta of early grammarians, inasmuch as they form the basis of what may be termed the grammatical sub-division of the figure *upamā* into direct (*śrautī*) and indirect (*ārthī*) simile as well similes based on *kṛt* and *taddhita* suffixes, recognised as early as Udbhaṭa's time. Thus, the authority for the *śrautī upamā*, in which the notion of comparison is conveyed by particles like *yathā*, *iva*, *vā* or by the suffix *vat*, when *vat* is equivalent to *iva*, is supposed to be based on two rules of Pāṇini (v. 1. 115-16), which lay down that the suffix *vat* is applied to the standard of comparison in the locative or genitive case and takes the place of the case-ending and *iva*, as well as to a noun which should otherwise be in the instrumental case in the sense of *tena tulya* (like that), if the similarity consists in an action and not in quality. Thus, we get the forms *mathurāvat* (= *mathurāyām iva*) *pāṭaliputre* *prākāraḥ*, *caitravat* (= *caitrasya iva*) *maitrasya gāvah*, as well as *brāhmaṇavat* (= *brāhmaṇena tulyam*) *adhīte*, but not *caitravat kṛṣaḥ*. In the same way, we have compounded simile like *kuṇbhāviva stanau*, according to the *vārttika* (*ivena samāso vibhaktyalopah*) on Pāṇini ii. 4. 71, which is, therefore, taken as an instance of compounded direct simile (*saṃśagā śrautī upamā*). Similarly, the ending *kyac*, according to Pāṇini iii. 1. 10, is applied to a noun in the objective case, which is expressive of *upamāna*, in the sense of

1 *go-sadṛśo gavaya iti nōpamā*, *Citr. mīm.* p. 6.

2 The conception of *upamā* appears to be fully established in Bharṭṛhari's *Vākyapadiya*, e.g. i. 63.

'behaviour' (*ācāra*), and gives us a simile in phrases like *paurāṇi janāṇi sūtiyasi*; while the next rule of Pāṇini lays down that the suffix *kyañ* may be applied to a noun in the nominative case in the sense of 'behaving like', and this forms the basis of a simile in such expressions as *tava sādā rāmaṇīyate śrib*. It is needless to cite more examples, for this will be sufficient to indicate that some of the speculations on poetic speech can be traced back to the early grammatical analysis of the same ideas, and they point to the fact that even in the age of Pāṇini, some of these conceptions appear to have been well established and to have considerably influenced his enquiry. It should be admitted that these tentative sallies of the grammarians are not definite enough to indicate the existence of a system, but even the limited stock of notions, thus indirectly relating to Poetics, throws an interesting light on the genesis of later speculations on poetic speech.

If any deduction is permissible from the name 'Alampāra' (lit. embellishment)¹ given to the discipline as well as from the contents of the earliest existing works on the subject, it will appear that the science started *a posteriori* out of the very practical object of analysing poetic embellishments of speech with a view to prescribe definite rules of composition; but it cannot be doubted that it received a great impetus from the highly developed enquiry into the forms of language made by the grammarians. From internal evidence as well as from the testimony, which admits of little doubt, of some of the ancient authorities on Poetics, it is clear that the theoretical background of the discipline was, to some extent, founded on the philosophical speculations on linguistics, so that Grammar, one of the oldest and soundest sciences of India, was its god-father and helped it towards ready

1 The theory of V. Raghavan (*JOR* ix, pp. 264-67; and *Some Concepts of the Alampāra-sāsira*, Adyar 1942, pp. 258-67) that the original name was Kriyā-kalpa lacks definite proof (see Kane's criticism in *HSP*, pp. 329-31). The name Sābitya is of course late (Kane, *op. cit.*, 328-29).

acceptance. Ānandavardhana speaks of his own system as being based on the authority on the grammarians, to whom he pays an elegant tribute as the first and foremost thinkers (*prathame hi vidvāñiso vaiyākarayāḥ*, *vyākaraya-mūlatvāt sarva-vidyānām*, p. 47); while Bhāmaha, one of the earliest known formulators of poetic theory, not only devotes one whole chapter to the question of grammatical correctness—a procedure which is followed by Vāmana—but also proclaims openly in vi. 63 the triumph of the views of Pāṇini. Apart from such details as the linguistic analysis of the idea of comparison referred to above, it can be easily shown that some of the fundamental conceptions of poetic theory, relating to speech in general, are avowedly based on the views of the grammarians to the exclusion of other schools of opinion. Thus, the question regarding the convention (*sañiketa*), whereby the expressed meaning of a word (*abhidhā*) is to be understood, is settled by a reference to the views of the grammarians on this point. The grammarians hold, in opposition to the Naiyāyikas, Saugatas and Mīmāṃsakas, that the import of a word is either *jāti*, *dravya*, *kriyā* or *guṇa*, as expressed by the dictum *catusṭayī śabdānāṃ pravṛttiḥ*, cited from the *Mahābhāṣya*¹ by Mukula (p. 4) and Mammaṭa (*Śabda-vy.* p. 2). Indeed, the whole analysis of the two functions of word and its sense, called *abhidhā* and *lakṣayā*², is borrowed from the grammatical-philosophical ideas already elaborated by the grammarians; and even the new aesthetic system of Ānandavardhana, in establishing the third function of *vyañjanā* attempts to seek an authority for its theory on the analogy of the quasi-grammatical theory of *sphoṭa*, which is associated with the name of the pre-pāṇinian grammarian Sphoṭāyana, and which we find fully developed in the *Vākyapadīya*.

1 *Mahābhāṣya* ed. Kielhorn, p. 19, l. 20. Cf. also *Kumāra-saṃbhava* ii. 17, where this view is clearly mentioned, although Mallinātha would explain the *catusṭayī pravṛtti* with reference to the four *vivartas* of Vāc.

2 Cf. *Mahābhāṣya* on viii. 1. 12:

(4)

Some of these ideas, again, are more or less recognised in the different philosophical systems, which concern themselves with *śabda* or speech in general, in connexion with the question of scriptural revelation and interpretation. The theory of *sphoṭa*, which, however, has only a far-fetched relation to Poetics, has also its significance in some systems of philosophy; and the idea of manifestation, implied in the *vyañjanā-vṛtti*, which consists not in the expression of something new but in the manifestation of something already existing, is not altogether unfamiliar to Indian speculation. A similar train of thought meets us in the Sāṃkhya idea of causation (i.117-18), in which the effect is not produced but is already comprehended in the cause and therefore can only become manifest. We find another analogy in the general idea of the Vedāntin's *mokṣa* or liberation, which consists of a condition, not to be produced but to be made manifest or realised, by the removal of enveloping obstacles.¹ The theory relating to the other two functions of words (*abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā*), which play such an important part in poetic speculation, had already engaged the attention, not only of the philosophical grammarians, but also of the philosophers themselves, especially the Naiyāyikas and the Mīmāṃsakas. The Naiyāyikas, for instance, hold that by denotation (*abhidhā*) of a word, we understand not only the individual (*vyakti*) but also the genus (*jāti*) and the quality (*guṇa*)²; while the Mīmāṃsakas maintain that it signifies primarily *jāti*, and the *vyakti* is understood by implication (*ākṣepa*) through its inseparable con-

1 It is noteworthy that the *Vedānta-sūtra* makes a direct use of the term *rūpaka* in the technical sense (i. 4. 1), upon which Appayya Dikṣita remarks : *Bhagavatā bādarāyaṇena 'nānumānikam apy ekeṣām iti cen na, sārīra-rūpaka-vinyasta-ghīter darśayat ca' iti sārīraka-sūtre rūpakam aṅgikṛtam* (Citr. mīm. p. 54, ed. Kāvyamālā 1907). Cf. also *Vedānta-sūtra* iii. 2. 58.

2 *Nyāya-sūtra* ii. 2. 68.

nection with *jāti*.¹ The *Nyāya-sūtra*, again, gives an exhaustive list of the relations through which a word may be used in a secondary sense, the idea of secondary sense, variously called *gāṇya*, *bhākta*, *lākṣaṇika* or *anpacārika artha*, having been tacitly admitted in almost all the systems.² Indeed, the theories of Poetics on these points are considerably mixed up with the doctrines of the *Nyāya* and *Mīmāṃsā* schools; and even Bhāmaha's early work on Poetics devotes a considerable space to the discussion of the logic of poetry and the expressive functions of words.

We shall note in its proper place the influence of the *Nyāya*, *Sāṃkhya* and *Vedānta* doctrines on the poetic theory of *Rasa*; but it may be pointed out here that the conception of *upamā* (here termed *upamāna*), by which is implied the general idea of analogy or comparison, plays an important part in the different philosophical systems in the discussion of the nature and criterion of knowledge. The *Maitrī Upaniṣad*, for instance, treats of three *pramāṇas* (v. 10, 14), viz., perception, (*drṣṭa* or *pratyakṣa*), inference (*liṅga* or *anumāna*) and analogy (*upamā* or *upamāna*). Kanāda and Kapila, no doubt, reject analogy as an independent and authoritative evidence, but the *Naiyāyikas* admit it, the purpose served by it being, in their opinion, the perception of a likeness in an object not perceived before. *Vātsyāyana*, commenting on i. 1. 3, defines it in terms almost similar to those used in the already quoted passage from the *Mahābhāṣya*³ as *sāṃpya-mānam upamānam*. According to the *Naiyāyikas*, therefore, the object attained by analogy or *upamāna* consists in the recognition of the connexion between the appellation and the thing designated by it, and thus it forms the very foundation of expression. The idea of

1 *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā* i. 3. 33ff.

2 *Vedānta-sūtra* ii. 3. 16, iii. 1. 7; *Nyāya-sūtra* ii. 2. 64, also i. 2. 11, 14, 15; *Sāṃkhya-sūtra* v. 67 etc.

3 P. 5, fn 11 above.

atideśa-vākya reappears as the means of analogical cognition, *i.e.*, as a helper of the actual perception of similarity between the well-known and the novel object at the first sight of the latter. The co-operation of the *upamāna* is also maintained to be essential in syllogistic reasoning, where it appears in the form of the syllogistic factor, called *upanaya* (*i. l. 32*) or statement of the minor premise. A relic of this idea of *upamāna* survives in Poetics in the treatment of Bhoja (*Sk* iiii.50), who distinguishes the figure *upamā* from the figure *upamāna*, although this view finds no supporter except Appayya Dikṣita, who adopts *upamāna* as a separate poetic figure.¹ It is needless to dilate more on this point; but the idea of *upamāna*, together with that of *atideśa*, is similarly dealt with by the Mīmāṃsakas. They, however, consider that the *upamāna* refers to an object, already familiar to us, as being similar to another object which is seen for the first time; or in the words of Upavarṣa quoted by Śabarasyāmin, the *upamāna* or analogy, being similarity, produces an idea respecting an object that is not present, just as the sight of a *gavaya* revives the memory of a cow.²

(5)

Although these speculations have an indirect bearing on Poetics and might have suggested and helped to develop some of its fundamental theories, they cannot be taken as a definite basis of any deductions as to the antiquity of the discipline itself. It is striking indeed that we have no direct or indirect reference to Poetics as a *Sāstra* in early texts, although at the end of the 9th century Rājaśekhara speaks of a tradition which makes it the seventh *aṅga*. Poetics is omitted in the

1 *Kuvalay.* ed. N. S. P. 1913 p. 174. Nāgeśabhaṭṭa takes it as included in the figure *upamā* itself, and Vāmana appears to deal with one of its varieties (*viz.* *ananubhūta-viśaya*) as an instance of what he calls *tattvākhyānopamā* or descriptive simile (*iv. 2. 7*).

2 *upamānam api sādṛśyam a-sannikṛṣṭe'rthe buddhīm utpādayati, yathā gavaya-darśanam go-smaranam*, on *i. 1. 15*.

cnumeration of the different branches of study in the well-known passage in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (vii. 1. 2. 4, ed. Böhtlingk). Āpastamba (ii. 4, 11), speaks of the usual six *āṅgas*, but Yājñavalkya (i. 3) cnumerates in all fourteen Śāstras, to which the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* adds four more. But in them Poetics is not mentioned at all. In a similar list in the *Lalita-vistara*¹, there is a reference to *kāvya-karāṇa-grantha* and *nāṭya*, which may be taken to imply Poetics and Dramaturgy respectively ; but the designation 'Alaṁkāra' is not met with until we come to *Sukra-nūti* which includes it, in company with Artha-Śāstra, Kāma-śāstra and Śilpa-śāstra, among thirty-two different Śāstras. It has been pointed out by Rhys Davids² that in the old Pāli texts, *Āṅguttara* (i. 72, iii. 107) and *Samyutta* (i. 38, ii, 267), there are references to a similar study. These passages are interesting historically as being opposed to the science, but they do not expressly or by implication mention it as Alaṁkāra-śāstra.³

It seems likely, therefore, that Poetics as a technical discipline must have been of comparatively late origin, and probably began to develop in the first few centuries of the Christian era.⁴ With the flourishing of Sanskrit learning and literature in the 4th and 5th centuries under the Gupta emperors, its development probably proceeded apace.

1 Ed. Lefmann i, p. 156.

2 In a letter to the present writer dated 24. 2. 1921. Cf. Wijesekera in *IHQ*, xvii, pp. 196f.

3 In Kauṭilya's *Artha-śāstra* there is a chapter devoted to the procedure of writing *sāsanas*, where mention is made of *artha-krama*, *paripūrṇatā*, *mādhurya*, *audārya*, and *spaṣṭatva* as excellences which should be attained. These may correspond to the Guṇas defined in earlier Alaṁkāra-works, but perhaps they represent the common-sense view of the matter.

4 Patañjali refers to a large number of poetical works (ed. Kielhorn i, 283, 340, 426, 444; ii 34, 102, 119, 167, 313, 315; iii 143, 338 etc.), which fact apparently indicates a considerable poetical activity in his age, precluding a systematic investigation of poetic principles ; but there is no reference to Alaṁkāra literature in his time.

Bühler's epigraphical researches¹ have confirmed the indication, first given by Lassen, regarding the development of Sanskrit *kāvya*-style in this period, and it may be taken as the prelude to a rhetorical activity which bore rich fruit in the 8th and 9th centuries in systematic investigations of poetic principles. His examination of the early inscriptions not only proves the existence of a body of highly elaborate prose and metrical writings in the *kāvya*-style during the first five centuries A.D., but it also establishes the presumption that most of these *prāśasti*-writers were "acquainted with the rules of Indian poetics".² Bühler attempts to show that the manner in which these writers conform to the rules of *Alamkāra*, crystallised in the oldest available manuals like those of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, would go to indicate "the existence of an *Alamkāra-śāstra* or some theory of poetic art".³

From this period of the time, we get more or less definite indications of the existence of doctrines of Poetics in the *Kāvya*-literature itself. In the two earlier Epics, no doubt, some of the more general terms of *Alamkāra* (like *upamā*, *kārya*, *nāṭaka*, *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*) are used, but no chronological conclusion is safe from the admittedly composite character of the present-day texts. But in the *Buddha-carita* of Aśvaghoṣa, as Cowell notes, we have the use of common

1 *Die Indischen Inschriften*, trans. IA xiii, 1913, pp. 29f.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 146.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 243. This conclusion is, to some extent, supported by a passage in the Girnar inscription itself (2nd century A. D.), which contains a reference to "prose and verse embellished (with poetic figures) and rendered attractive by poetic conventions and expressions which are clear, light, pleasing, varied and charming" (*sphuṭa-laghu-madhura-citra-kānta-sabda-samayodūrālamkṛta-gadya-padya*), El viii, p. 44. The *Sphuṭa*, *Madhura*, *Kānta* and *Citra* qualities may correspond to *Prasāda*, *Mādhurya*, *Kānti* and other excellences discussed, e.g. by Daṇḍin. The inscription itself is written in prose having long compounds, and contains alliteration, repetition of sounds and other tricks in the approved style.

poetic figures like *upamā*, *utprekṣā* and *rūpaka*, as well as of elaborate ones like *yathā-saṅkhya* and *aprastuta-praśaṇīsā* in an ingenious way, which presumably betrays an acquaintance with the teachings of Poetics.¹ The very first verse uses the word *upamā* in a somewhat technical sense, and we have also in iii. 51 the use of the term *rasāntara* to indicate a counter-emotion which cancels an already prevailing one. Aśvaghoṣa uses the terms *hāva* and *bhāva* (iv. 12) in the sense they have in dramaturgic Rasa-systems. Cowell, therefore, is justified in remarking that a peculiar interest attaches to such poems "from their importance in establishing Prof. Bühler's views as to the successful cultivation, in Northern India, of artificial poetry and rhetoric—*kāvya* and *alaṅkāra*—in the early centuries of our era." This remark applies with greater force to the works of Kālidāsa, which appear with all the polish and perfection imparted to them by a trained and careful artist. To the later theorists they supply an inexhaustible store-house of quotations for the illustration of different poetic figures, expressions and principles. This conscious employment of varied and elaborate poetic figures and general observance of poetic rules in these early Kāvya-poets are not without their significance, and we may reasonably presume from them a general diffusion of the knowledge of Poetics in this age.

The same tendency towards artificial or factitious composition is shown also in the prose romances of Subandhu and Bāṇa. Subandhu prides himself on his skill in the use of *śleṣā* in every letter of his composition,² and his *Vāsavadattā* justifies this boast as a *tour de force* of extraordinary verbal jugglery. In the work itself Subandhu speaks of

1 E. H. Johnston in his revised ed. of the work (Punjab Univ. Publication, Calcutta 1936) appears to agree with this view (Pt. ii, Introd. p. lxxxix f).

2 *pratyakṣara-śleṣamaya-prapañica-vīnyāsa-vaidagdhyā-nidhiṇī prabandham / sarasvatī-datta-vara-prasādaś cakre suhāndhūḥ snjanaika-bandhūḥ*, ed. Srīraṅgam, 1906, p. 357-8.

poetic compositions adorned with poetic figures like *sleṣa*, divided into *ucchvāsas*,¹ and displaying skill in the employment of *vaktra* metre. He specifies also two important poetic figures, viz., *utprekṣā* and *ākṣepa*.² Equally definite is Bāṇa's references to rhetoric in his mention, in one of the introductory verses of his *Kādambarī*, of the poetic figures *upamā*, *jāti* (= *svabhāvokti*), *dīpaka* and *sleṣa* as well as of poetic *rasa* and *śayyā*. Bāṇa also refers to verbal puzzles, such as *akṣara-cyuta*, *bindumatī*, *gūḍha-caturthapāda* and *prahelikā*,³ and he seems to be aware of the Ālaṃkārika distinction between *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*.⁴ In *Harṣa-carīta* iii, para 5, Bāṇa refers to *Bharata-mārga-bhajana-gītām*, and in ii, 4 speaks of actors acting in the Ārabhaṭī *Vṛtti* (discussed by Bharata xx. 54 f.).

(6)

From all these indications the inference is not improbable that with the growth of a body of highly finished prose and poetical literature, the science of Poetics or at least the

1 Cf. Bhāīmaha i. 25-26; Daṇḍin i. 26-27.

2 *satkavī-kāvya-racanām ivālaṃkāra-prasādhitām*, p. 303; *dīrgha-ucchvāsa racanākulam su-sleṣa-vaktra-ghatānd-paṭu sat-kāvya-vīracanam ita*, pp. 238-39; *utprekṣākṣepau kāvya-ālaṃkāreṣu* p. 146. The reading of the first of these passages in the Calcutta edition is *bauddhasaṃgaṭīm ivālaṃkāra-bhūṣītām*, and the commentary of Śivārāma (18th century) explains it as *ālaṃkāro nāma dharmakīrti-kṛto grantha-viśeṣaḥ*. No work of Dharmakīrti's called *Bauddhasaṃgaṭālaṃkāra* has yet been found. Undue reliance need not be placed on an unauthenticated statement of a very late commentator; and Lévi is probably correct in denying that Subandhu makes any allusion to Dharmakīrti's literary activity (*Bulletin de l' École d' Extrême Orient* 1903, p. 18).

3 ed. Peterson, p. 7. Subandhu (p. 146) refers to Śāṅkhālī-bandha.

4 *Ibid.* p. 7 and *Harṣa-c.* p. 7. —On the meaning of the word *Ālaṃkāra* see J. Gonda in *Volume of Eastern and Ind. Studies* presented to F. W. Thomas (Bombay 1939) pp. 97-114; but this has hardly any direct connexion with the meaning it bears in Sanskrit *Ālaṃkāra* literature. A similar attempt is made by A. B. Keith in *Commemorative Essays* presented to K. B. Pathak (Poona BORS, 1934), pp. 311-14.

investigation of rhetorical rules made considerable progress by the end of the sixth century A. D. The earliest known writers on Poetics, who lived somewhat later, themselves refer to still earlier authorities. Thus, Bhāmaha speaks of Medhāvin and others, whom he cites and whose work he avowedly utilises. Similarly Daṇḍin refers to earlier writings, and one of his commentators mentions in this connexion two theorists before Daṇḍin, viz. Kāsyapa and Vararuci, who are otherwise unknown to us as writers on Alāṃkāra. Apart from this fact of their own citation of earlier views, it cannot also be maintained with any cogency that the relatively developed style and treatment of even these early writers on Poetics could have been evolved by themselves in the absence of earlier tentative works, the existence of which may be presumed, for instance, by the employment by these writers, of certain technical words and formulas (e.g. *vakrokti*, *rīti*, *guṇa* etc) without a previous explanation.

As a cognate branch of study, however, which probably supplied Poetics with a model and the poetic theory with the important content of Rasa, Dramaturgy (*Nāṭya-śāstra*) appears to have established itself a little earlier. Comparatively early texts, both brahmanical and buddhistic, speak of some kind of dramatic representation; and we have a very early reference in Pāṇini to Kṛśāśva and Śilālin as authors of *nāṭa-sūtras* (iv. 3, 110-11).¹ The early existence of treatises on the dramatic art is also evidenced by the fact that all the early authors on Poetics, Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana, omit a discussion of this subject and refer their readers for information to such specialised works. The older specimens of these are perhaps lost; but Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*, which is cited as the oldest known and most authoritative, cannot possibly be put, even in its present version, at a date lower

1 It is interesting to note that both Amara and Śāśvata in their lexicons do not explain the technical terms of Alāṃkāra, although they have distinct references to dramaturgic technicalities and to Rasa.

than the 6th century A. D. Bharata himself, however, devotes a whole chapter to the treatment of poetical *gunas* and *alampkāras* as decorative devices of dramatic speech. It seems, therefore, that the study of Alampkāra was older than Bharata ; and the tradition of opinion, followed by Bhāmaha and Dāṇḍin, may have been post-Bharata in date, but was probably pre-Bharata in substance. Indeed, the different schools of opinion, represented by the *alampkāra*- *rīti*- and *dhvani*-theories, probably flourished some centuries before their views became crystallised in the present works of Bhāmaha, Dāṇḍin and the Dhvanikāra respectively, none of whom, as we shall see, can be taken as the absolute founder of the system he represents. This process of crystallisation must have covered a tentative stage whose productions, if they had been extant today, would have shown Bhāmaha, Dāṇḍin and the Dhvanikāra in the making. We cannot, therefore, start with the works of these writers as the absolute beginnings of the science, although with them we enter upon the historic and most creative stage of its existence. Taking this fact into consideration, we may presume without dogmatising that the Alampkāra-śāstra started as a separate technical discipline from about the commencement of the Christian era and probably flourished in a relatively developed form in the 5th and 6th centuries A. D. The course of this development is unfortunately hidden from us, until it emerges in a more or less self-conscious form in some chapters of Bharata and in the *Kāvyālampkāra* of Bhāmaha.

CHAPTER II

BHARATA

(1)

Although Indian tradition glorifies Bharata, the reputed author of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, with the title of *muni* and places him in a mythic age, the widest possible divergence of opinion exists among scholars as to his actual date ; and he has been variously assigned to periods ranging from the 2nd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D.¹ That he is the oldest writer on dramaturgy, music and kindred subjects, whose work has survived, is generally admitted ; but at the same time the question arises as to how far the extant version of his work represents his original text. Abhinavagupta in the second introductory verse of his commentary on Bharata informs us that Bharata's text, as known to him, consisted of thirty-six chapters (*saṃśākam bharata-sūtram idam*) ; and he is aware of two recensions (*dvividhāḥ pāṭho dṛṣyate* on ch. xv) of some chapters. A comparison of the different printed editions mentioned in our Bibliography below, as well as available MSS, would go to show that they do not agree about the number and sequence of chapters, nor about the number of verses in each chapter. The text is, thus, very uncertain and unsatisfactory,²

1 Regnaud in *Annales du Mus. Guimet* ii p. 66, also introd. to Grosset's ed. ; Pischel in *GgA*, 1885, pp. 763f; P. R. Bhandarkar in *IA* xli, pp. 157f ; H. P. Sastri in *JASB*, v. p. 352f, and *Cat. Sansk. MSS ASB*, vi 1931, p. clxxviii ; S. Lévi in *IA* xxxiii, p. 63 ; Sten Konow in *Ind. Drama* p. 2 ; P. V. Kane in *IA*, xlvi (1917), pp. 171-83, and *HSP* pp. 39f ; Manomohan Ghosh in *JDL* xxv, 1934, pp. 59.

2 For instance, Deccan College MS no. 68 (or 69) of 1873-74 contains 38 chapters.—For some of these discrepancies see P. V. Kane, *HSP*, pp. 10-14. It should be noted that neither the printed text nor any MS contains the full text of Abhinava's commentary. Abhinavagupta in many places refers to the views of others with *kecit* or *anye*, and discusses various readings (pp. 50, 93, 96, 226, 241, 269, 340 etc).

It is clear from these indications that it had been subjected to considerable rehandlings in later times before it assumed its present shape, and this fact has an important bearing on the date of the supposed author.

There are several passages in the present-day text which probably throw some light on this process of gradual interpolation and recasting. The curious colophon at the end in the *Kāvyamālā* edition, which appears to have puzzled its editor, designates the latter portion of the work as *Nandibharata*.¹ Rice mentions² a work called *Nandibharata* on music; while a chapter, apparently from a work on dramatic gesture, is referred to as *nandibharatotkta saṃkara-hastādhyāya* in a manuscript of a treatise on music and *Abbinaya*, noticed in *Madras Catalogue* xii. no. 13009. These works, probably late compilations, are named after Nandi or Nandikeśvara, whom tradition acknowledges as an ancient authority on music, erotics and histrionic art. A Nandin is quoted by Vātsyāyana (i.1. 8). Aufrecht is inclined to identify him with Nandikeśvara cited as a writer on Erotics in the *Pañca-sāyaka* i. 13 and *Rati-rahasya* i. 5.³ Nānyadeva mentions him as Nandin. Again, a work on histrionic art, attributed to Nandikeśvara, is known as *Abhinaya-darpaṇa*⁴; as this work refers to Bharata and his views several times (e.g. st. 12, 128, 149, 159, 162) it must be a later compilation. Rājaśekhara, as we have seen above, mentions Nandikeśvara as a writer on *Rasa*. But Nandikeśvara is better known as an authority on music and is cited as one of his sources by Śāṅgadeva (13th century) in his *Saṃgīta-ratnākara* (i. 1. 17) and by his commentator Kallinātha (p.47). Besides the references given

1 *saṃptaś cāyam [granthah] nandibharata-saṃgīta-pustakam.*

2 *Mysore and Coorg Catalogue*, p. 292.

3 *Pañca-sāyaka*, ed. Sadananda Sastri Ghiladis, Lahore, 1921, *Rati-rahasya*, ed. *Ibid* Lahore, no date. See Schmidt, *Ind. Erotik*, 1911, pp. 46, 59.

4 Ed. Manomohan Ghosh, Calcutta 1934 (about 330 verses); 1rs. A. Coomaraswamy and G. K. Duggirala, Cambridge Mass. 1917.

above, works on music attributed to Nandikeśvara are: *Nandikeśvara-mata Tālādhyāya* (Weber 1729), and *Bharatāṇava*¹ supposed to be a condensed version of Nandikeśvara's work by Sumati, dealing with dramatic gestures and Tāla. A *Nāṭyārṇava* of Nandikeśvara is cited in Allarāja's *Rasaratna-pradīpikā*, Abhinavagupta (comm. on Bharata, ed. GOS, ch. xxix) says that he had not himself seen (*sāksān na dṛṣṭam*) Nandikeśvara's work, but relying on Kīrtidhara (*yat tu kīrtidhareṇa dṛṣṭitam.....tat-pratyayāt*) he would briefly refer to Nandikeśvara-mata. But he knows (p. 171) a work called Nandi-mata from which he quotes a verse on the Aṅgahāra called *recita* or *recaka*. Elsewhere he tells us that by Nandi-mata is understood the views of Taṇḍu; for the names, Nandi and Taṇḍu are, in his opinion, identical. The designation, therefore, of the latter part of Bharata's text, a part of which deals, among other things, with music probably implies that it was compiled or recast at some later period in accordance with the views of Nandikeśvara.

Similarly, we hear of a work called *Mataṅga-bharata*² (of uncertain date) by Lakṣmaṇa Bhāskara, which apparently sets forth the views of Mataṅga. This is another old authority cited by Abhinavagupta (as Mataṅga-muni) who quotes (ch. xxx) two of his Anuṣṭubh verses; by Śāringadeva and his commentator (on i. 3. 24-25; i. 4. 9; i. 8. 19 etc.); by Śiṅgabhūpāla (i. 51); and by Aruṇācalanātha on *Raghū* (p. 100) with *tathā ca mātāngē*. A work called *Brhad-deśi* ascribed to Mataṅga has been published³.

1 In Catalogue of MSS, BORI, xii, pp. 460-63; Madras Cat. xxii, 13006-08.

2 The term *bharata* appears in course of time to mean the dramatic or histrionic art generally, as it also came to mean the actor.—Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śakuntalā* expressly refers to Ādi-bharata by whom he might have meant our author, in contradistinction to these later Bharatas. On this question see S. K. De, The Problem of Bharata and Ādi-Bharata in *Our Heritage* i, pp. 193-207 (reprinted in *Some Problems of Skt. Poetics*, Calcutta 1959, pp. 156-76).

3 In Trivandrum Skt. Ser. 1928.

The last chapter of the *Nātya-sūstra*, to which the colophon mentioned above is appended, contains a prediction that the rest of the topic will be treated in detail by Kohala¹ (who apparently belonged to the same school).² plainly shewing that the rewriting of the portion in question was done some time after Kohala, as well as Nandikeśvara, had spoken on the subject. Nandikeśvara's date is unknown; but Kohala, side by side with Bharata, is recognised as an ancient authority as early as the end of the 8th century A.D. in Dāmodara-gupta's *Kuṭṭāni-mata* (§l. 81). It is interesting to note in this connexion that Abhinavagupta, commenting on Bharata vi. 10, says that although *Nātya* is usually said to consist of five *aṅgas*, the enumeration of eleven *aṅgas* in the text is in accordance with the view of Kohala and others,³ to whose opinions the commentator makes many other incidental references mostly on the topics of *Nātya* and *Geya*.⁴ Kohala is cited also by Maṇikya-candra (p. 65) on *Mammaṭa*, by Śāṅgadeva (i. 1. 15), by Śāradātanaya who frequently quotes his views (pp. 204, 210, 236, 245, 251), by the authors of the *Nātya-darpaṇa* (pp. 25, 38, 132), while Śiṅgabbūpāla (i. 51) acknowledges him as an authority on drama and allied arts. Hemacandra, with reference to the classification of the drama, says (p. 329; also p. 325): *prapañcas tu bharata-kohalādi-sāstrebhyo-vagantavyaḥ*. Kohala is credited by most writers on Dramaturgy with the introduction of *Uparūpaka*. Mallinātha on *Kumāra* vii. 91 quotes Kohala on the subject of *Tāla*. A work on music called *Tāla-lakṣaṇa*, probably a late compilation

1 *Śeṣāṇi prastāra-tantraṇa kohalāḥ kathaśiṣṭati*, xxxvii. 18.

2 See xxxvii. 24.

3 *Abhinaya-trayaṇi gūḍitodye ceti pañcāṅgaṇi nātyam... anena tu slokena Kohalādi matenālikādaśāṅgatām ucyate* (on vi. 10).

4 For references see P. V. Kane, *HSP*, p. 24, 54-55. See also his Fragments of Kohala in *Proc. A-I.O.C.* (Patna), 1930, pp. 577-80.—Abhinavagupta, however, holds that the entire text of the *Nātya-sūstra* as known to him was composed by Bharata himself.

tion, is attributed to him,¹ and a *Kohaliya Abhinaya-śāstra*,² purporting to embody his views, is also known. A work, called *Kohala-rahasya*³ in at least thirteen chapters, dealing with musical modes, is ascribed to the sage Kohala (described as son of Bharata) who reveals the subject on being requested by Mataīga. The description that he was son of Bharata is perhaps due to the indication⁴ in *Nāṭya-śāstra* i. 26 (ed. Chowkhamba 1929, ed. GOS, Baroda 1956; but not included in the NSP ed. 1894) that Kohala, along with Śāṇḍilya, Dhūrtīla and others, are spoken of as sons of Bharata. Since Abhinavagupta says (*Abh. bh.* p. 25) that Kohala describes the verse *jitam udupatinā* from *Ratnāvalī* (i. 5) as an example of Nāndī in accordance with the rules of Bharata, P. V. Kane is of opinion that Kohala was later than *Ratnāvalī*, i.e. than 650 A.D. But this conclusion cannot be very well reconciled with the fact that Bharata and Kohala are already recognised as *ancient* authorities in the 8th century A.D. From Abhinavagupta's references and citations Kohala's lost work appears to have been mostly in verse.

A work on music, entitled *Dattila-kohaliya*, is mentioned by Burnell (p. 606), apparently a compendium of the opinions of Kohala and Dattila. The latter, whose name occurs variously as Dantila and Dhūrtīla, is mentioned by Dāmodara-gupta (*śl.* 123) and is cited as an old authority by Abhinavagupta (as *Dattilācārya*, chiefly on music) who quotes (on Bharata xxviii, also p. 205) a verse of his in *Anuṣṭubh*; by Śārṅgadeva (i. 1. 16) and his commentator Kallinātha (p. 49);

1 IOC 3025, 3089; *Madras Cat.* with a Telugu comm. 12992.

2 *Madras Cat.* 12989, with a Telugu comm. •

3 *Madras Trm.* I, C, 787 (the 13th chapter only).

4 The editions (GOS) of M. R. Kavi, and Chowkhamba Skt. Ser. include this verse (i. 26), but they note that it does not occur in the MSS consulted. It is, however, commented upon by Abhinavagupta (p. 18)—Kohala's views are referred to by him p. 25, 103, 173, 182, 266 etc.

by Śingabhūpāla (i. 51), as well as in various works on music. A work called *Dattila* on music is also published.¹

In the same way Śāṇḍilya is mentioned as Nāṭya-śāstra-kāra by Śingabhūpāla (i. 51). Kāśyapa or Kaśyapa as a *muni* who preceded Bharata and his opinion on Rāgas are cited by Abhinavagupta (on xxix, p. 394), as well as by Nānyadeva². Śātakarṇi is cited as a writer on dramaturgy by Sāgaranandin (on Sūtradhāra, I, 1101). Viśākhila is also cited as an authority on Kalā-śāstra by Vāmana (i. 3, 7), by Abhinavagupta (on xxviii, xxix, 31-33) and by Nānyadeva as an authority on music. Parāśara or Pārāśara, mentioned by Rājaśekhara, is also cited as a Bharata-putra in *Nāṭya-śāstra* (i. 32); his views on Nāndī and Toṭaka are quoted by Sāgaranandin (ll. 1091, 2770 3202-3). Similarly, another Bharata-putra is Nakhakuṭṭa, who is also cited by Sāgaranandin (ll. 2668, 2994). Even the mythical Nārada is regarded as propounder of Gāndarva-veda; and the *Bhāva-prakāśana* says that Nārada taught Bharata the subject of evolution of Rasa, having learnt it from Brahmā himself.

From these indications it is likely that between Bharata's original text and its existing version, there came "Kohala and others" whose views found their way into the compendium, which goes by the name of Bharata and which indiscriminating posterity took as genuine and unquestionable. The text-problem of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, therefore, cannot be solved until the works of Kohala and other early writers, some of which appear to have been available to Abhinavagupta, are recovered.

The process of incorporation must have occurred very early and was apparently complete by the end of the 8th century, when the work assumed more or less its present shape. Udbhaṭa, about this time, actually appropriated

1 In Trivandrum *Sci. Series*, 1930.

2 On Kāśyapa see below under Dandin. Abhinavagupta's reference to Kāśyapācārya at p. 239 shows that his work was, at least partly, in verse.

(iv. 4) the first-half of the verse vi. 15 of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, and makes only enough verbal change in its second half to admit Śānta as the ninth Rasa in the category of eight recognised by Bharata.¹ Abhinavagupta, who commented on the existing text at the end of the 10th century, himself mentions several other previous commentators, of whom Lollāṭa and Śaṅkuka in all probability belonged to the 8th and 9th centuries. These indications will make it clear at any rate that the text existed in its present form in the 8th century A.D., if not earlier.

(2)

We have, on the other hand, the tradition as well as the statement of Bhavabhūti, who refers to the mythical Bharata as the *tauryatrica-sūtra-kāra*², that Bharata's work existed originally in the *sūtra*-form ; and this is also made likely by Pāṇini's early reference to such *nāṭa-sūtras* in his own time. Reminiscences of the *sūtra*-style may indeed be presumed in the *Nāṭya-śāstra* vi and vii, which deal with *rasa* and *bhāva* ;

1 It should be noted that Abhinavagupta immediately after the passage cited (see p. 21, fn 3 above) goes on to say: *anena tu ślokena kohalādi-matenaikūdaśāngatvam ucyate, na tu bharate, tatsaṅgrhītasyāpi punar atroddesāt, nirdeśe caitat kramā-vyatyāsanāt ity udbhaṭaḥ neti bhaṭa lollāṭaḥvayaṁ tvatra tattvam agre vitanīṣyūma ity āstūṁ tāvat* (on Bh. vi. 10). This difference of opinion between Udbhaṭa and Lollāṭa on a question of textual interpretation supports the conclusion that Udbhaṭa was probably familiar with the text of Bharata as Abhinava knew it and as it has come down to us. The tradition is recorded by Śāṅgadeva (i. 1. 19) that Udbhaṭa was one of the early commentators on Bharata. Abhinava himself refers to Lollāṭa, Śaṅkuka and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka as principal commentators whose views on Rasa he thought worth refuting in detail. Śāṅgadeva omits from his list Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka but adds Udbhaṭa, as well as Kīrtidhara who is earlier than Abhinava having been cited by him (see above p. 20). For other reputed commentators on Bharata see below.

2 *Uttara-carita*, ad iv. 22 (ed N. S. P. 1906., p. 120). Abhinavagupta in his commentary refers to Bharata's work as a *Sūtra*-work.

for in ch. vi we find a dictum¹ on the genesis of Rasa, put in concise form of a *sūtra*, to the elucidation of which, after the manner of a *bhāṣya* or *vṛtti*, the rest of the chapter (written in prose with verse-quotations) is apparently devoted. It should also be noticed that a preliminary explanation is added at commencement of the chapter to reconcile this curious portion of the text with the rest of the work. Bharata, we are told, being requested by the sages, explains the characteristics of a *samgraha*, *kārikā* and *nirukta*, and incidentally gives an illustration of a *sūtra-grantha* by putting a part of the text in that form. This discussion of the nature of a *samgraha*, *kārikā*, *nirukta* and *sūtra* would not have been relevant to the subject in hand but for this somewhat flimsy explanation, which, however, affords a device, far-fetched as it is, to introduce into the *kārikā*-text some vestiges of the older *sūtra*-form. It is not maintained that a *sūtra*-text is necessarily older than a text in the *kārikā*-form; for in our *sūtra*-text itself there are quotations in the *vṛtti* of *anubaddha* or *anuvāṇīṣya* *ślokas*², betokening the existence of earlier teachings on the subject, and disproving at the same time the orthodox belief that Bharata was the earliest teacher of the *Nātya*-veda. But if the tradition that Bharata's original work was composed in the *sūtra*-form be accepted, then this portion of the existing version may be presumed to have been a survival of the original form. Similar fragments of the *sūtra-bhāṣya* style

1 *tatra vibhāvānubhāva-vyabhucāri-samyogād rasa-nispattiḥ*, ed. Grosset p. 87, 1. 8; ed. Kāvyamālā p. 62, 1. 6. This dictum is cited as a *Sūtra* by all later writers, including Abhinavagupta and presumably his predecessors Lollata and others. For other instances of the *Sūtra-bhāṣya* style in the work see P. V. Kane, *HSP*, pp. 15-16.—The references to the text of the *Nātya-Sūtra* here are generally to the Kāvyamālā ed.

2 The *anubaddha* verses, apparently of earlier writers, are those related to the subject in hand. By *anuvāṇīṣya* verses (verses of this kind occur also in the *Mahābhāṣṭava*) are meant, according to Abhinavagupta, those handed down traditionally from teacher to pupil (*anuvāṇīṣa-bhāvanī sītyācīrya-paramparāne vartamārum*) vi, p. 25-26.

are seen in ch. xxviii-xxxii in such passages as beginning with *ātodya-vidhim idānīmī vakṣyāmaḥi* (xxviii. 1); also in xxxiii. 212 *vādyā-vidhānāmī vakṣyāmī*; in xxiv. 93 *atra sūtra-dhāra-guṇān* *vakṣyāmāḥi* etc.

If we get the lower limit to the date of Bharata's work at 8th century A.D., the other limit is very difficult to settle, when we consider that there were apparently two versions, either independent or one based on the other. But it is not clear what weight should be placed on the testimony of Bhavabhūti; for if in the first quarter of the 8th century Bharata was known to him as a *sūtra-kāra*, it is not intelligible how at the end of the same century Udbhaṭa makes use of Bharata's *kārikā*, and Lollāṭa and others, immediately following, apparently comment on the same text. The short space of less than half a century is not enough to obliterate all signs of the older version and replace it entirely with a new *kārikā*-text which, to all intents and purposes, is taken as the only authoritative version in later times, and in which, strangely enough, we find still lingering traces of the earlier *sūtra*-text. The only possible explanation of Bhavabhūti's reference is that the historical Bharata, who was the *sūtra-kāra* on the three arts of dancing, singing and instrumental music, had already in Bhavabhūti's time become identified with the mythical Bharata; for the passage in the *Uttara-carita* gives an obviously mythical account, through the mouth of Lava, that *bhagavān* Vālmīki, having composed his story of Rāma, gave it to *bhagavān* Bharata (the *sūtra-kāra* on the three arts and apparently the *nātyācārya* of the gods) who revised it and got it acted through celestial nymphs.

But this does not exhaust all our textual difficulties. Independent prose-passages also survive, in the midst of *kārikās*, in chs. xvii, xxviii, xxix, xxxi and xxxiv which, forming an integral part of the text, cannot be taken as mere *vṛttis*, but which resemble, in some respects, the prose Smṛti-fragments or more closely, the prose-fragments in the apocryphal *Bhela-saṅhitā*. Again, the *anubaddha* or *anuvāṇīśya*

ślokas, referred to above, correspond to the *parikara-* or *samgraha-ślokas* in later writings, and certainly indicate the probability of earlier speculations on the subject. These verses are generally taken from two distinct sources ; for some of them are in *āryā*, while others are in *anuṣṭubh* metre. On the *Āryā*-verses Abhinava remarks (on vi. 85, p. 328) ; *tā etā hy āryā eka-praghāṭṭakatayā pūrvācāryar lakṣaṇatvena paṭhi-tāḥ, muninā tu sukha-samgrahāya yathā-sthānam viniveśitāḥ*. In his opinion former teachers composed these *Āryās* and Bharata inserted them in proper places.

From the facts adduced above, we are confronted with the problem of the inter-relation of these apparent survivals in our text, which contains vestiges of (1) independent prose-fragments (2) *anuvāṃśya* *ślokas* in *āryā* and *anuṣṭubh* metres and (3) passages in *sūtra-bhāṣya* style, as well as (4) the present systematic *kārikās*. Space is too limited to dilate upon the question here, but an examination of these passages will reveal that these different styles do not possibly belong to the same period, but they probably indicate several stages in the growth of particular forms of composition of dramaturgic works in general, each stage betraying its own partiality towards a particular form. Taking the present *kārikā*-text as the starting point, we find in it traces of earlier passages in *sūtra-bhāṣya* style, of which it is presumably a recast. In the *sūtra-bhāṣya*, again, there are fragments of metrical passages which indicate, in their turn, another and still earlier *kārikā*-stage ; while the independent prose-fragments perhaps represent the earliest form taken by such technical treatises. We can, therefore, distinguish in their order of development (1) a stage of prose-treatises (2) a tentative period of *kārikā*-writing (3) the *sūtra-bhāṣya* stage and (4) the final period of compilation of compendiums, which reverts again to the *kārikā* form.¹ This

¹ This conclusion does not apply at the more or less imitative periods after the 10th century in which we find the *kārikā*- and the *sūtra*-style, existing almost side by side.

conclusion perhaps finds some support in the repetition, more or less, of a similar phenomenon in the sphere of the *Dharma-śāstra*, *Artha-śāstra*, *Vaidya-śāstra* and probably *Kāma-śāstra*. The loss of earlier treatises makes it difficult to dogmatise ; but if this conclusion is correct generally, then our text may be supposed to contain remnants of all these styles and forms. It is not argued here that Bharata's work itself passed through all these stages or forms, from a rudimentary prose-version into a systematic metrical manual¹ ; but our text contains enough to betray the existence of previous speculations in prose and in verse, as well as indicate the fact that it might have itself been once written in the *sūtra-bhāṣya* form, which was recast, with considerable additions from other sources, into a convenient metrical compendium.

(3)

Taking the substance of the work, apart from the vexing question of different versions, the portion of the *Nātya-śāstra*, which deals principally with music, has been conjectured² on internal evidence to have been compiled about the 4th century A.D. ; and it appears likely that the other portions were also put into their present shape about the same time. Pischel's argument, however, on the date of the work, derived from the reference to Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas and Bāhlikas (e.g. xxxii. 103, Ch. ed.) in a text of such composite character is of doubtful value in determining the question finally ; but

¹ Kane believes it possible (*HSP*, p. 16) that the original nucleus of the *Nātya-śāstra* was in mixed prose and verse. He is also of opinion that the first five chapters were comparatively late additions. Abhinavagupta knows Bharata's text as consisting of 36 chapters, although he comments on the 37th ch. of what M. R. Kavi speaks of as the Northern recension (according to Kavi the Southern is the earlier text and consists of 36 chapters).

² *IA* xii p. 158 f.

it perhaps makes it probable that the upper limit of its date cannot be put too early.

We are in a position, however, to infer that the substance of Bharata's work is probably much older than that of Bhāmaha,¹ who may be assigned to the last quarter of the 7th century. Bhāmaha, in his treatment of poetic figures (*kāvyaśāmikāras*), groups them in a curious but suggestive way, which probably indicates the different periods in the growth and multiplication of such figures.² At the outset, he names and defines only five poetic figures (ii. 4) recognised, as he says, by other writers, viz., *anuprāsa*, *yamaka*, *rūpaka*, *dipaka* and *upamā*. This represents the first stage; but in course of time, six other figures appear to have been added, and Bhāmaha mentions and deals with them next in ii. 66. Then he goes on to enumerate, two (or three, including *svabhāvokti*) more figures admitted by writers like Medhāvin (ii. 88), who also appears to have dealt with *upamā* etc. (ii. 40). Finally, Bhāmaha defines and illustrates a further long list of twenty-three more figures in a separate chapter (iii. 1-4). The differentiation and multiplication of poetic figures with the progress of speculation is a familiar fact in Alāmkāra literature; and the way in which Bhāmaha successively enumerates and groups these figures probably shows that to the original five mentioned by him at the outset, others were added in course of time as the study itself advanced. Now Bharata, in his treatment of Alāmkāras names (xvi. 41) only four such figures known to him, viz., *yamaka*, *rūpaka*, *dipaka* and *upamā*. These four in reality correspond to the five mentioned by Bhāmaha; for *anuprāsa* may be taken as falling in the same class as *yamaka*, the one being *varṇābhāya* and the other *padābhāya*. At the same time

1 Besides showing himself conversant with some theory of Rasa (ii. 281, 283 f.), Dandin mentions the dramaturgic technical terms *samdhī*, *āṅga*, *vṛtti* and *lakṣaṇa* and refers to āṅgamāntara for their discussion (ii. 366).

2 Cf. Jacobi in *Sb. der Preuss. Akad.* xxiv, 1922, pp. 220 f.

the very fact that *anuprāsa* is thus differentiated from *yamaka* may indicate further refinement in these poetic figures. It is clear, therefore, that Bharata's work belonged to a period when the number of figures had not yet multiplied ; and one, if not more, stages must have intervened between it and Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālambikāra* in which the number had already swelled into nearly forty in all.¹ To this intermediate stage belonged Medhāvin and others, whom Bhāmaha cites, and the loss of whose work makes it difficult for us to trace the development thus indicated by Bhāmaha.

There are also indications that Bharata's teachings are probably older than Kālidāsa, who generally adheres to Bharata's dramaturgic prescriptions.² Kālidāsa refers, in *Vikramorvāsiya* ii. 18, to Bharata as the mythical *nātyācārya*. In *Raghū* xix. 36, again, Kālidāsa speaks of *aṅga-sattva-vacanāśraya mṛtyu* which, as Mallinātha rightly points out, agrees with Bharata's dictum³ : *sāmānyābhinayo nāma jñeyo*

1 By the end of the 6th and beginning of the 7th century, Bhaṭṭi illustrates as many as 38 different species of poetic figures, indicating that the process of refinement had proceeded very far indeed even in his time.

2 The discovery of the dramas, ascribed to Bhāsa, does not invalidate this argument, for it is possible that they follow a tradition or a system of opinion of which all traces are now lost ; and the date of Bhāsa itself is uncertain.

3 The *Amara-koṣa* only mentions *aṅgika* and *sattvika abhinaya*. This lexicon, which is said to have been translated into Chinese about 561-66 A. D. (see Nandargikar's introd. to *Meghadūta*, 1894, p. 73), admits after Bharata the eight Rasas, and explains some of the dramaturgic technicalities, giving three synonyms of the actor (*śāśvatin*, *krśavīn* and *bharata*) from the names of the three well-known teachers of dramaturgy. Pāṇini refers to the formation of the first two terms, but not that of the third ; but this silence of the grammarian does not prove anything. The Jaina *Anuogadārasutta* (ed. N. S. P. 1915, fol. 134-145, also quoted in Weber ii 2, pp. 701-02) which, Winternitz thinks, was probably put together by the middle of the 5th century, mentions nine Rasas ; and the enu-

vāg-aṅga-sattvajah; while in *Kumāra* vii. 91 mention is made of *samdhis*, as well as of *lalitāṅgahāra* mentioned in *Nātya-śāstra* xx. 17 (ed. Chowkhamba xxii. 17).

The lower limit of the date of Bharata's work, therefore, can be provisionally shifted back to the fourth or fifth century A.D., while it is almost certain that it existed in its present shape in the 8th century A.D.¹ The upper limit cannot be put too early, because of the mention of Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas and other tribes, and probably does not go beyond the commencement of the Christian era: but we have already pointed out (p. 28 above) that their mention in a composite text is hardly of a conclusive value. It is difficult to settle the relative age of the *sūtra*- and the *kārikā*-texts; but if the tendency towards *sūtra-bhāṣya* style may be presumed to have been generally prevalent in the last few centuries B.C., then the presumed *sūtra*-text of Bharata belongs apparently to this period². It was certainly much earlier than the present *kārikā*-text, in which Bharata is already a mythical sage as an expounder of the *nātya-veda*.

COMMENTATORS ON BHARATA

No commentary on Bharata's *Nātya-śāstra* exists today except that of Abhinavagupta. But the names of some reputed

meration is interesting from the inclusion of *prasānta* (not mentioned by Bharata), apparently from religious motives.

1 With this view Kane (HSP. p. t9. 21) generally agrees.

2 It will be shewn later that the tradition that Bharata was the author of a *Kārya-lakṣaṇa*, which forms in substance of the *kārikā*-verses of Mammata's *Kav. prak.*, is entirely erroneous, as is also the statement made use of by Lévi that these *kārikās* are abridged from the *Agni-prāṇa*. Somadeva in his *Yastastilaka* (959-60 A. D) refers, indeed, to a *bharata-pranīta kātyādhyāya* (Peterson ii. p. 45) which, considering Somadeva's date, could not have alluded to this tradition of Bharata's authorship of Mammata's *kārikās*, but possibly, from the term of reference, to ch. xvi of the *Nātya-śāstra*, which deals with *kārya-lakṣaṇas*, *kātyādhyāyas*, *kārya-guṇas* and *kārya-dōṣas* as embellishments of dramatic speech.

as well as actual commentators on Bharata are known from Abhinavagupta,¹ Śāriṅgadeva² and other writers. They are:

1. Māṭṛguptīcārya
2. Udbhaṭa
3. Lollāṭa
4. Śaṅkuka
5. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka
6. Harṣa
7. Kirtidhara
8. Abhinavagupta
9. Nānyadeva.

We have also the views of several other writers cited by Abhinavagupta.³ They are: Bhaṭṭa Yantra (on Nāṭya and Nṛtta p. 208), Priyātīthi (on Lāsyāṅga), Bhaṭṭa Vṛddhi (on Tāla), Bhaṭṭa Sumanas (on Tāla), Bhaṭṭa Gopāla (on Tāla), Bhaṭṭa Śaṅkarā (Vṛtta-prakaraṇa) and Ghaṇṭaka (on Nāṭikā-bheda). Rāhula or Rāhala (pp. 115, 172, 197 etc), also mentioned by Śāriṅgadeva (i.1.17), is quoted several times. As in one of his verses Bharata is named (*bharatenoditam*, Abh.bh, i, p. 72) he must have been, as most of the writers mentioned above, later than Bharata. From his name, as well as from Hemacandra (p. 316), who mentions him as Śākyācārya, he appears to have been a Buddhist teacher, whose view Hemacandra pointedly ignores. It cannot be determined if all these writers composed commentaries on the whole or a part of Bharata's work: but from the references it seems

1 See P. V. Kane, Gleanings from Abhinava-bhāratī in *K. B. Pathak Comm. Vol. Poona* 1934, pp. 385-400; V. Raghavan, Writers quoted in Abhinava-bhāratī in *JOR*, vi, 1932, pp. 149 f, 199 f.

2 Śāriṅgadeva mentions: *vyākhyātāro bhāratīye lollāṭodbhaṭṭa-śaṅkukāḥ/bhaṭṭābhinavaguptaś ca śrīmat-kīrtidhuro'parāḥ*. He mentions Rāhula and Māṭṛgupta elsewhere as two of his authorities, apparently on music.

3 The references to *Abhinava-bhāratī* by vols. and pages are to M. Ramkrishna Kavi's ed., Baroda 1926. Where the vol. is not indicated by a number but only by page, vol. i is meant.

that most of them wrote generally on music, and some specially on topics of dramaturgy as well.

Bhaṭṭa Tauta, Ahhinava's Guru, and Utpaladeva, his Parama-guru, are frequently quoted in his commentary. Tauta is known as having written a work called *Kāvya-kautuka*, which is now lost; on this work Ahhinava appears to have written a Vivarana (*Locana* p. 178). At the beginning of his commentary Ahhinavagupta pays an elegant tribute to Tauta as having expounded to him the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, and references¹ to Tauta's view on various topics confirm this. But it need not mean that Tauta actually composed a commentary on Bharata. Utpaladeva, author of *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā* and other works, is well known in the history of Kashmir Saivism. He is quoted chiefly in the chapters on music. It is not clear if he wrote a commentary on these chapters or an independent work on music. Similar remarks apply to Śakaligarhha who is cited once along with Udbhaṭṭa (see below). Mention is also made of Tāṇḍu² in *Nāṭya-śāstra* (iv. 17-18) as one who instructed Bharata in the representation of Aṅgahāras together with various *karṇas* (postures) and *recakas* (gestures). An unknown Tīkākāra or Tīkākṛt is frequently cited by Ahhinava throughout the text.

Māṭṛguptācārya

Rāghavahhaṭṭa on *Sakuntalā*³ and Vāsudeva on *Karpūra-maṇijarī*⁴ quote Māṭṛguptācārya as a writer on Dramaturgy:

1. See Kane in the work cited p. 388; also in his *HSP*, pp. 209-12; V. Raghavan as cited above pp. 153-62. Three metrical lines from Tauta are cited by Abhinava p. 291-92.

2. With regard to Tāṇḍu cited on p. 90 (vol. i) we are told that Nandi is another name for Tāṇḍu, as the word Muni designates Bharata (*tāṇḍu-muni-sabdau nandi-bharatayor īśvara-nāmāni*). Hence Nandi-mata (cited on p. 171), in Abhinava's opinion, stands for the views of Tāṇḍu. See above p. 20.

3. Ed. NSP, 1922, pp. 5, 6, 7 (on Rasa), 8 (definition of Nāṭaka), 13 (Vithyaṅga), 15 (languages to be employed by various characters), 20 (Bhūṣaṇa), 57 (Saṅcārikā), 62 (Senāpati), 74 (Hasita), 110 (Pāṭakāsthānakā), 123 (same), 126 (Sanskrit employed by Nica Pātra), 154 (Kañcukin), 156 (Pratihārī), 199 (Paricārikā), p. 230 (Phala-yoga), etc.

4. Ed. NSP, 1900, p. 5 (Sūtradhāra); cf Aufrecht i, 448a.

and Sundaramiśra in his *Nāṭya-pradīpa* (dated 1613 A.D.) commenting on Bharata's remarks on Nāndī says : *asya vyākhyāne māṭṛguptācāryaiḥ...iyam udāhṛtā*.¹ This has been taken by S. Lévi to imply that Māṭṛgupta wrote a *vyākhyāna* or commentary on Bharata, and that assuming him to be the poet who lived under Harṣa-Vikramāditya (*Rājatarāṅg.* iii. 125, 252) we get in him a very early commentator (7th century) on Bharata. But the available evidence does not appear to be conclusive. Our Māṭṛgupta, as the profuse metrical quotations on dramaturgic topics by Rāghavabhaṭṭa and others show, probably wrote an independent metrical work on Dramaturgy, in which he might have in the usual course commented on Bharata's precepts; and the word *vyākhyāna* need not be construed to mean a commentary. Māṭṛgupta of Kahlāṇa was a king and poet; how is it that he is cited in these works with the designation of Ācārya which signifies a teacher? Māṭṛguptācārya is known to Abhinavagupta who quotes him on music (ch. xxix). Śāradātanaya in his *Bhāva-prakāśana* quotes his view on Nāṭaka-vastu; Śāgaranandin in his *Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratnākośa* quotes several verses of his (pp. 5, 14, 20, 21, 23, 50); and Śāringadeva mentions him as an authority on music.²

Udbhaṭa

As already noted above (p. 32, fn 2), Śāringadeva in his *Samgīta-ratnākara* (i. 1. 19) informs us that Udbhaṭa was one of the early commentators on Bharata's text. This is very likely, although Udbhaṭa's commentary has not yet been recovered.

1 Quoted in *IOC* iii, p. 347. Māṭṛgupta is also cited by Raiṅgānātha on *Vikramorvaśya* (dated 1659 A. D.), ed. NSP, 1914, p. 5 (on Nāndī); by Sarvānanda on *Amara*, p. 145 (Adbhuta Rasa), 147 (Bibhatsa Rasa), 150 (Vyabhicāri-bhāvas), 161 (Anubhāva in Śrūgāra), 16 (on Tāla).

2 The citations from Māṭṛgupta are collected together by T. R. Chintamani in his Fragments of Māṭṛgupta in *JOR* ii, 1928, pp. 118-28.

Sārṅgadeva's statement appears to be confirmed by several citations of Udbhaṭa's views by Abhinavagupta. One of these references, already quoted above (p. 24, fn. 1) occurs in Abhinava's commentary on vi. 10 (p. 266-67) in which it is stated that certain views of Udbhaṭa on textual interpretation were not accepted by Lollāṭa, another commentator on Bharata. On ix. 182 (vol. ii, p. 70) and xviii. 76 (vol. ii, p. 441), again, Abhinava quotes certain readings of the text made out differently by Udbhaṭa. In two other passages (on xxi. 17 and xxi. 42 on Saṃdhis) Abhinava takes exception to the interpretation of Udbhaṭa as *lakṣya-* or *agama-viruddha*. In still another passage on the *Vṛttis* (on xviii. 110 vol. ii, pp. 451-52) Abhinava informs us that Udbhaṭa accepted only three *Vṛttis* (and not the usual four of Bharata), namely, *Nyāya-cesṭā*, *Anyāya-cesṭā* and *Phala-saṃvitti*. In this connexion Abhinava further refers to a certain writer, called Śakaligarbha, who would admit five *Vṛttis* (namely, the four of Bharata and another called *Ātma-saṃvitti* in place of Udbhaṭa's *Phala-saṃvitti*) ; but these views have been refuted by Lollāṭa and others. Again, Kuntaka (pp. 113-15) disagrees with Udbhaṭa's view of the *Sva-sabda-vācyatā* of *Rasa* as being opposed to Bharata's opinion. These detailed references to Udbhaṭa's views or comments on topics dealt with in such far apart chapters as vi, ix, xviii and xxi, make it probable that Udbhaṭa commented on the whole of the *Nāṭya-sāstra*.

But this presumption is not applicable to the case of Śakaligarbha who appears to have flourished between Udbhaṭa and Lollāṭa. He might have been a writer on certain topics of Dramaturgy ; but whether he composed a commentary on Bharata is not clear. .

Lollāṭa

Lollāṭa is extensively cited by Abhinavagupta not only in ch. vi (on *Rasa-sūtra*), but also in ch. xii, xiii, xviii and xxi. Lollāṭa is mentioned as rejecting Udbhaṭa's views on the *Vṛttis*.

(see above) and on the eleven topics of Nāṭya (on vi. 10).¹ Several other characteristic views of Lollāṭa are also mentioned; for instance, his view that Rasas are numerous (on vi, 45),² although eight or nine are traditionally accepted for the stage; that Nāṭikā is Śaṭpadā (on xviii. 60)³ against Śaṅkuka's opinion that it is Aṣṭapadā. References are also made to Lollāṭa's views on Dhruvā Tāla (on xii. 14)⁴; on Kakṣyā (xiii. 1)⁵; on what he calls (on xxi. 29) Anusaṃḍhī (dealing with the acts of a Patākā-hero); on his omission of xviii. 32 from the text⁶. These references to different parts of the text would go to confirm the tradition that Lollāṭa was also a regular commentator on Bharata's text.

We have no definite material to determine the date of Lollāṭa; but all later citations agree in supporting the tradition that he was earlier than the commentator Śaṅkuka whose theory of Rasa is said to have been directly levelled against that of Lollāṭa. Judging from his name, Lollāṭa was probably a Kashmirian; and if any chronological inference can be drawn from the Kashmirian Abhinavagupta's reference (mentioned above) to an opinion of Udbhaṭa being controverted by Lollāṭa, he was later than or contemporaneous with Udbhaṭa, also a Kashmirian, whose latest date is 813 A.D.

The theory of Rasa advocated by Lollāṭa probably obtained traditionally before he definitely formulated it and became its first noted advocate; for Abhinava in his commentary (on ch. vi) tells us that Daṇḍin in his idea of Rasa follows the same view. Unless we presume Lollāṭa's priority to Daṇḍin, we should take this to indicate that some theory or dogma similar to it was already known to Daṇḍin, even before Lollāṭa brought it into prominence.

Lollāṭa is also taken to be what is technically described as Dīrgha-vyāpāra-vādin with reference to the controversy about the function of Abhidhā; for he is said to have maintained that the primary function of Denotation of a word is

1 Vol. i, p. 266.

2 Vol. i, p. 299.

3 Vol. ii, p. 436.

4 Vol. ii, p. 134.

5 Vol. ii, p. 196.

6 Vol. ii, p. 423.

so far-reaching that it is competent in itself to express all other implied or suggested sense. But it is doubtful if this view is directly ascribed to Lollāṭa by any standard Sanskrit theorist of importance, although it is criticised without the name of the promulgator by Māṇmāṭa (p. 225), Mahīmabhaṭṭa (p. 27), Hemacandra (p. 215), Vidyārāṭha (p. 43) and others. Govinda in his *Kāvya-pradīpa* (p. 149) thinks that adherents of this view are followers of Bhaṭṭa-mata. Abhinava attributes a similar view (*Locana* p. 188) to the Bhaṭṭa or Prābhākara school; this might have been the source of Govinda's statement. The Mīmāṃsakas and grammarians had already discussed the question of Abhidbā; and it must not be forgotten that several attempts to explain the fact of Dhvani (suggested sense), including Rasa-dhvani, obtained before the Dhvanikāra himself. It is probable that Lollāṭa was one of those who offered one of the several solutions to the question alluded to in the first verse of the *Dhvanyāloka*. We shall see that Lollāṭa was probably a Mīmāṃsaka in his view of Rasa, even if he was not a Dirgha-vyāpāra vādin.

The only direct quotation from Lollāṭa (and not mere consideration of his views) consists of two verses given by Hemacandra (p. 215). If he was a prose commentator, how do these metrical quotations fit in?¹

Śaṅkuka

Abhinavagupta very frequently refers to Śaṅkuka's views on different dramaturgic topics; e.g. on Raṅga-piṭha (on iii. 21-22)²; on Rasa-sūtra (on ch. vi)³; on Nāṭaka (on xviii. 10)⁴; on the king as a character (on xviii. 12)⁵; on Nāṭikā bheda (on xviii. 60)⁶; on Pratimukha and Vimarṣa

1 V. Raghavan believes (*Some Concepts* pp. 207-8; *JOR* vi p. 169) that Lollāṭa's other name was Āparājīti, son of Āparājīta, because a quotation from Āparājīti by Rājāśekhara (p. 45) is given by Hemachandra (p. 215) with the name of Lollāṭa.

2 Vol. i, p. 75.

3 Vol. i, pp. 239, 298, 318.

4 Vol. ii, p. 411.

5 V. ii, p. 414.

6 Vol. ii, p. 436.

Sam̄dhis (on xxi.40,42) etc.¹ As the citations relate to matters covered by ch. iii to xxix, it is probable that Śaṅkuka composed a commentary on the entire text of Bharata. Abhinavagupta informs us (p. 275) that his teacher Bhaṭṭa Tauta disapproved of Śaṅkuka's views on Rasa.

To Śaṅkuka are also ascribed several verses in the anthologies of Śārṅgadhara, Jahlaṇa and Vallabhadeva,²—which indicates that there was also a poet of the same name. Kahlaṇa mentions (iv. 703-5) a poet Śaṅkuka and his poem *Bhuvanābhūṣṭaya*. The reference is to the time of Ajitāpīḍa, whose date is given as 813 A.D. by Cunningham and 816 A.D. by S. P. Pandit. If our Śaṅkuka is identical with this poet, then he may be assigned to the first quarter of the 9th century.

Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka

Besides referring to his view on the Rasa-sūtra of Bharata (ch. vi)³ Abhinavagupta (*Locana* p. 27: also *Abh. bh.* xvi. 4)⁴ quotes under the name of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka a verse *śabda-prādhānyam āśritya*⁵, which Hemaecandra (p. 3-4) gives as a quotation from a work, named *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa*⁶, and which is also cited without the name of the author by Mahimabhaṭṭa and his commentator. Jayaratha also speaks (p. 12) of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka as *Hṛdayadarpaṇa-kāra*. It is probable, therefore, that some lost work of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's bore this title; and the references also indicate the probable source

1 See P. V. Kane, HSP, pp. 50-51, for six other instances from ch. xxiv to xxix where Śaṅkuka has been cited by Abhinavagupta.

2 In the first two anthologies Śaṅkuka is called son of Mayūra, who is identified by some with the author of *Sūrya-Satka*, a contemporary of Būḍa.

3 Vol. i, p. 278.

4 Vol. ii, p. 298.

5 This verse is also quoted by Jayaratha p. 9. Māṇikyacandra (p. 4) also ascribes the verse to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, whom he refers on p. 8 as the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa-kāra*.

6 P. V. Kane (HSP p. 187) suggests that the proper name of work was *Sahṛdaya-darpaṇa*, but evidence is meagre to support this suggestion.

of the quotation which occurs immediately before the verse in question in Abhinavagupta. It is, however, not clear whether this *Hṛdaya-darpana* is his alleged lost commentary on Bharata. Mahimabhaṭṭa's anonymous commentator tells us that this *Hṛdaya-darpana*, like the *Vyakti-viveka*, was composed with the special object of demolishing the Dhvani-theory¹ formulated by Ānandavardhana; and this statement may explain why Abhinavagupta, as an adherent of the theory, takes so much pains to controvert Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's views in his *Locana*², as well as in his *Abhinaya-bhāraṭī*.³ Mahimabhaṭṭa, who had a similar object of combating the Dhvani-theory, claims entire originality for his own treatment by boasting that he had never looked into the *Darpana* at all.⁴ The citations from the *Hṛdaya-darpana* also indicate that it was probably composed in metrical form, and apparently never took at all the shape of a prose commentary.

A careful examination of the very few passages apparently referring to this work will shew that the topics dealt with in it centre round the question of Dhvani in poetry, in correlation with the theory of Rasa intimately connected therewith. Abhinava, for instance, while discussing (p. 16) the verse *bhama dharmija vīsattho*, which is given by Ānandavardhana as an instance of suggestion with an expressed injunction implying a prohibition, refutes Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's opinion as to this negative implication. In another place, Abhinava criticises (p. 21) the significance attached by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka

1 *darpaṇo hṛdaya-darpanākhyo dhvani-dhvāpīsa-grantho'pi*, explaining the pun on the word *darpana* used by Mahimabhaṭṭa in i. 4.

2 Both Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and his *Hṛdaya-darpana* are cited by name in *Locana* pp. 27, 28, 63. Other references occur on pp. 11, 12, 15, 19, 21, 29, 36, 67, 68—all of which consist mostly of direct criticism in support of Dhvani-theory.

3 For instance, on Bharata p. 1: *bhaṭṭa-nāyakas tu brahmaṇa paramātmaṇa yad udāhṛtam.....iti vyūkhyānam hṛdaya-darpane pratyagrahit.*

4 *adṛṣṭa-darpanā mama dhiḥ* i. 4.

to the word *aham* in the verse *attā ettha nimajjai*, which is discussed by Ānandavardhana as an example of suggestion of a contrary kind where the expressed prohibition implies an injunction. It is evident from these references that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's work, like Mahimabhaṭṭa's, was designed not merely as a refutation of the general theory of Dhvani, but also as a special attack on Ānandavardhana's exposition of the same. To take a minute point, the *Dhvnikāra* in i. 13 uses the verb *vyaṅktah* in the dual number with a special object in view, as Ānandavardhana's (as well as Abhinava's) explanation rightly indicates. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka seems to have attacked this use of the dual number, upon which Abhinavagupta remarks (*Locana*, p. 33): *bhaṭṭa-nāyakena yad dvi-vacanam dūṣitam tad gaja-nimūlikayaiva.*¹

It appears, therefore, that the *Hṛdaya-darpana* was not a commentary on Bharata,² but a metrical treatise in the *anuṣṭubh* with a running prose commentary, dealing with the question of Dhvani, and incidentally with the question of Rasa-dhvani. No doubt, Abhinava in his own commentary on Bharata, as well numerous other later writers taking their cue from Abhinava, criticises at some length Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's theory of Rasa, along with those of Lollāṭa and Śaṅkuka and with special reference to Bharata's particular *sūtra* on the subject in ch. vi (also *Locana* pp. 67-68); yet Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is nowhere mentioned directly as a commentator on the same text. Very rarely Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's interpretations of particular passages of Bharata are cited by Abhinavagupta, as they are with regard to those of Udbhaṭṭa, Lollāṭa and Śaṅkuka.³ It is probable that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's peculiar theory

1 Mahimabhaṭṭa also refers (p. 19) to this discussion, quoting these words of Abhinava from the *Locana*.

2 As V. V. Sovani in *Bhandarkar Comm. Volume*, p. 390 (*contra* in *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 450-52) states.

3 T. R. Chintamani collected together 'Fragments of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka' in *JOR* i, 1927, pp. 267-76; also in *Proc. A-I. O. C.*, Allahabad 1929, ii, pp. 155, 193.

of Rasa (which, however, bears a resemblance to Abhinava's own) called for a special refutation in the hands of this champion of the Dhvani-theory, because Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka denied the expressive function of Dhvani and attempted to explain the concept by postulating the function of Bhogikarāṇa. But there is no definite indication to shew that this theory of Rasa, being a corollary to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's general theory of expression, was not incidental to his main thesis, which was directed towards the demolition of the new idea of Dhvani and establishment of another explanation of that concept. This may be the reason why Śāṅgadeva, in his enumeration of Bharata's commentators before his time, omits the name of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka.¹

There can hardly be any doubt that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka was familiar with the text of the *Dhvanyāloka*, including Ānandavardhana's *Vṛtti*, and should, therefore, be placed in a period later than the date of Ānandavardhana. The conclusion is supported by the statement of Jayaratha (p. 12) that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka lived after the Dhvanikāra by whom Jayaratha, like many other later writers, invariably means Ānandavardhana without distinguishing him from the so-called Dhvanikāra. On the other hand, the oldest writer to mention and cite Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is Ahhinavagupta, from whom he does not appear to be chronologically very distant. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, therefore, flourished between the last quarter of the 9th and the last quarter of the 10th century; and it will not be wrong if we assign him to the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century A.D. This date makes it likely that he is identical, as Peterson suggested, with Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who is mentioned by Kahlāṇa (v. 159) as having flourished in the

1. See p. 32 above, footnote 2. With this view P. V. Kane (*HSP*, p. 214) agrees. Similarly Ruyyaka, while reviewing the different systems which obtained before his time, mentions Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka not as a commentator but as an independent author who advocated a new system in common with other explanations of the Dhvani theory (p. 9, ed. N. S. P.)

reign of Śaṅkaravarman, son and successor of Avantivarman of Kashmir.

Harsa

Harṣa or Śrī-harṣa is said to have composed a *Vārttika* on the *Nāṭya-śastra*. He is cited by Abhinavagupta sometimes by name (on v.7, 180¹ ; xxix. 101) and sometimes as *Vārttika-kṛt* or *Vārttika-kāra* (i. 84 ; ii. 97-98 ; iv. 267-68)², while *Vārttika* without the name of the author³ or *Harṣa-vārttika* (iv. 331)⁴ is also cited. On v. 8-15 there is a prose passage from the *Vārttika* quoted⁵. The citations are more profuse from the first six chapters, but there is one reference to ch. xxix. Śāradātānaya (p. 238) refers to Harṣa's view that the *Toṭaka* differs from *Nāṭaka* in having no *Vidūṣaka*⁶. As the *Vārttika* is no longer available no definite conclusion is possible. These citations however, make it highly probable that it might not have been a regular commentary (in spite of its name)⁷, but dealt, mostly in *Āryā* metre (with occasional prose), with relevant parts of the *Nāṭya-śastra*.

Kīrtidhara

Śārṅgadeva informs us (see above p. 32, fn 2) that *Kīrtidhara* was a commentator on Bharata's text. He must have been earlier than Abhinavagupta who tells us (ch.xxix) that not having seen Nandikeśvara's work himself, he is relying on *Kīrtidhara*'s account of it (see above p. 20). There are several references⁸ in Abhinava's commentary to *Kīrtidhara* or

1 Vol. i. p. 211 and p. 251.

2 Vol. i, p. 31 ; i, p. 67 ; i, 172, 174 respectively.

3 Vol. i. p. 174.

4 Vol. i. p. 207

5 Vol. i, p. 212.

6 Śrīharṣa Miśra quoted in Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa's *Rasa-pradīpa* (a prose passage) may or not be our author.

7 As in the case of Nānyadeva's *Bharata-bhāṣya* or *Bharata-vārttika*.

8 See V. Raghavan in *JOR*. v, 1932, p. 198 ; Kane in *Pathak Comm. Volume*, p. 388.

Kirtidharācārya on *Nātya* and *Nṛtta* (ch. iv)¹ and on the *Geyādhikāra* section. These citations show that Kirtidhara, like Śāṅgadeva, was interested mostly in music, but they are not sufficient to establish that he wrote a regular commentary on the entire text of Bharata.

Abhinavagupta

Although Abhinavagupta contented himself with the writing of commentaries in the field of Sanskrit Poetics, his works have almost the value of independent treatises for their profound erudition and critical acumen. As his reputation in Poetics rests on his exposition of the *Dhvani*-theory, it would be better to take him up in connexion with the *Dhvani*-kāra and Ānandavardhana.

The entire text of Abhinava's commentary, called *Abhinava-bhārati*, on Bharata's text which consisted of 36 chapters, is not available, either in the printed edition or in any MS. His comments on ch. vii (except the prose portion and the first few verses), ch. viii and ch. xxxiii-xxxiv are missing, and there are also short gaps (e.g. on the last verses of ch. v). As he refers to his *Locana* in this work, it was composed later.

Nānyadeva

A work called *Bharata-bhāṣya* (also *Bharata-vārttika* in some of its colophons) by Nānyadeva or Nānyapati is available in a unique MS (221 folios) in the BORI collection². The author is called Mithileśvara (king of Mithilā) in one of its verses, while the colophons describe him as Mahāśāmanīādhipati. The work is known to Abhinavagupta who was earlier in date and whom is utilised in it but rarely mentioned by name. Nānyadeva is known as the founder of the Kāṇā-

1 Vol. i, p. 208.

2 BORI Cat. of MSS. xii, no. 111 of 1869-70, pp. 377-83. The work also goes by the name *Sarasvati-hṛdayālāṅkāra*. Dr. C. P. Desai of Tarapur, Thana, Bombay, is understood to be editing the work for Khairagarh Music University, M. P.

ṭaka dynasty of Mithilā who ruled from 1097 to 1147 A.D¹. The author mentions another work of his called *Grantha-mahārṇava*.

Although it is called a Bhāṣya, it is not a direct commentary on Bharata's text. It was ambitiously planned in four Amśas, each devoted to one of the four kinds of Abhinaya; but the extant portion, itself extensive, deals only with one kind, namely, Vācika, and relates chiefly to ch. xxviii to xxxiii of the *Nāṭya-sāstra*, which deal with music. The MS, though old, is defective, wanting in ch. v, xvi and xvii (the total number of promised chapters being seventeen). Bharata is profusely quoted, but other old authorities like Nārada, Śātātapa, Dattila, Kāśyapa (also Bṛhat-Kāśyapa and Vṛddha-Kāśyapa), Mataṅga, *Bṛhad-deśī*, Nandi-mata, Yaṣṭika (otherwise unknown), Kīrtidhara, and Viśākhila are frequently cited. Śārṅgadeva appears to be the only author who cites Nānyadeva.

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1 *EL*, i, 395 at p. 364; *IHQ*, vii, pp. 679-87.

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CHAPTER III

FROM BHĀMAHA TO ĀNANDAVARDHANA

BHĀMAHA

The earliest citation of Bhāmaha in later Alāmkāra literature is to be found in two passages in Ānandavardhana's *Vṛtti* on the *Dhvanyāloka* (pp. 39, 207); and at p. 236 Ānandavardhana quotes anonymously Bhāmaha iii. 27. The next interesting reference occurs in the commentary of Pratīhāren-durāja, who informs us (p. 13) that his author Udbhaṭa composed a work, presumably a commentary on Bhāmaha, which is described as *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa*. This statement is confirmed by Abhinavagupta (*Locana* pp. 10, 40, 159, *vivaraṇakṛti*) and Hemachandra (Comm. pp. 17, 110); while Ruyyaka cites the commentary generally as *bhāmahiṇya* *udbhāṭa-lakṣaṇa* (p. 183) and Samudrabandha describes it as *kāvyālāṅkāra-vivṛti* (p. 89). There are also numerous passages in Udbhaṭa's independent work, *Kāvyālāṅkāra-saṃgraha*, which unmistakably copy some of the definitions of poetic figures directly from Bhāmaha, and do not hesitate to repeat the very language of the earlier work.¹

Vāmana, Udbhaṭa's contemporary, also appears to betray an acquaintance with Bhāmaha's text.² Bhāmaha, for

¹ See, for instance, the definitions of the figures *rasavat*, *atiśayokti*, *sasaṇḍeha*, *sahokti*, *apahumti*, *utprckṣā*, *yathūsaṇḍkliya*, *aprastuta-praśaṇsā* *paryāyokta*, *ākṣepa*, *vibhāvanā*, *virodha* and *bhāvika*.—Bhāmaha is quoted extensively by Abhinavagupta and other later writers.

2 Bhāmaha's work called *Bhāmahālamkāra* (but *Kāvyālamkāra*—the first verse) consists of six Paricchedas or chapters and about 19000 verses. The topics covered are: I. Purposes of Kāvya, its definition and divisions from different points of view; Sargabandha, rā and Ākhyāyikā; reference to Vaidarbha and Gauḍa modes;

instance, defines the figure Upamā (ii. 30) as *viruddhenopamā-nena.....upameyasya yat sāmyaṇi guṇa-leśena sopanū*; and Vāmana seems to paraphrase this definition in the concise form of a Sūtra: *upamānenopameyasya guṇa-leśataḥ sāmyam upamā* (iv. 2. 1).¹ Again, speaking of effective implication (*atiśayavān arthaḥ*) to be found in Upamā, Bhāmaha lays down (ii. 50):

*yasyātiśayavān arthaḥ kathāḥ so'saṁbhavo mataḥi,
iṣṭāḥ cātiśajārthatvam upamōtprekṣayor yathāḥ/*

Reading together Vāmana iv. 2. 20 and 21 (*anupapattir asaṁbhavaḥ* and *na viruddho'tiśayah*), we find that Vāmana is apparently repeating the same view; and in his Vṛtti on the first Sūtra, he adds *upamāyām atiśayasyesṭatvāt*, making it clear in the next Sūtra that an effective implication (*atiśaya*), which is contradictory, should be avoided. Vāmana also reproduces anonymously a verse of an unknown poet whose name is given by Bhāmaha (ii. 46) with the same verse as Śākhavardhana. Such repetition of views in more or less standardised phraseology in a technical treatise, or the quotation of the same illustrative verse in a similar context need not be taken as conclusive; but Vāmana, in his Vṛtti on v. 2. 38, actually though not accurately, quotes a part of a verse from Bhāmaha ii. 27, and comments on the peculiar usage of the word *bhaṅguram* employed therein.²

some Dosas pertaining generally to the Kāvya, II-III. The three Guṇas (Mādhurya, Prasāda and Ojas); treatment of Alamkāras which ends with ch. iii (for a list of the poetic figures, see vol. ii. ch. ii(i). IV. Eleven Dosas, with illustrations. V. Eleven Dosas again which arise from a faulty Pratiṣṭhā, Hetu or Drṣṭanta. VI. Saubhāgya or grammatical correctness (elaborated later by Vāmana in fifth Adhikarana of his work).

1 Cf. Bharata xvi. 41.

2 The verse is quoted with Bhāmaha's name in Jayamāngalā on Bhaṭṭi x. 21; anonymously in the *Vakrokti-jivita* (along with other verses from Bhāmaha) and in *Lacana* p. 40 anonymously.

This will justify us in placing Bhāmaha chronologically before Udbhaṭa and Vāmana who, as we shall see, flourished in the last quarter of the 8th century A. D., and will give us one terminus to the date of Bhāmaha.

With regard to the other terminus, controversy has been keen and busy. Pathak finds in the mention of a *nyāsakāra* in Bhāmaha vi. 36 a clear reference to the Buddhist Jinendrabuddhi, author of a commentary (ed. Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi 1913, 1919-25) on the *Kāśikā*, and comes to the conclusion that "as the *nyāsakāra* (meaning Jinendra) lived about 700 A. D., Bhāmaha must be assigned to the 8th century".¹ Against this K. P. Trivedi has demonstrated² that the allusion to the opinion of the *nyāsakāra* cannot be taken as an unmistakable reference to Jinendrabuddhi's views, and that the existence of some other *nyāsakāras* is also made probable by the citations of Mādhava, as well as by a punning passage in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*.³ Jacobi⁴ has joined issue by adding a doubt on the correctness of the date assigned by Pathak to Jinendrabuddhi who, on the authority of Kielhorn, was probably later than Haradatta (d. 878 A. D.).

No fresh light is thrown on the question by the conjecture⁵ that Bhāmaha in i. 42 refers to the *Megha-dūṭa* by his condemnation of the poetical device of employing clouds, among other things, as messengers; nor by Pathak's other equally fanciful supposition that Māgha ii. 86b refers to Bhāmaha

1 IA xli p. 232 ff, at p. 235; see also JBRAS xxiii pp. 25-26.

2 IA xlvi pp. 204 f, and at pp. 260-1.

3 *kṛta-guru-paṭṭanyāsāḥ* (ed. N. S. P. p. 96), explained by Saṃkara as *kṛto'bhyasto guru-pade durbodha-sabde nyāso vṛttir vivaraṇo yaīḥ.*

4 Sb. der Preuss. Akad xxiv (1922), pp. 210-11.

5 Haricand, *L'Art Poétique de l'Inde* p. 77; J. Nobel in ZDMG lxxiii, p. 192.

i. 16.¹ Nothing, again, is gained by the controversy over the question whether Bhāmaha, the son of Rakṣilagomin and worshipper of Sārva, was a Buddhist, as indicated by the opening and closing verses of his work.² Jacobi however, has shewn³ that Bhāmaha has made considerable use of the teachings of Buddhist philosophers in ch. v, and that the upper limit to Bhāmaha's date should be determined with reference to that of Buddhist Dharmakīrti, some of whose philosophical doctrines Bhāmaha has utilised even to the repetition of Dharmakīrti's *actual phraseology*. Dharmakīrti is placed by Jacobi between the sojourn in India of Yuan Chwang and Yi-tsing respectively (630-643 and 673-695 A. D.), as he is not known to the former, while the latter refers to him among those of late years.⁴ The upper limit, therefore, of Bhāmaha's date should be fixed at the third quarter of the 7th century A. D. Śāntarakṣita in his *Tattva-saṃgraha* (ed. GOS, 1926, p. 219, verses 912-14), who is said to have flourished about 705-762 A. D., cites three verses of Bhāmaha (vi. 17-19) criticising the Buddhist Apoha-vāda. This would also go to establish that Bhāmaha cannot be placed much later than the seventh century.

We can, therefore, place Bhāmaha approximately in the period between the last quarter of the 7th and the middle of

1 But see Dandin i. 10; Vāmana i. 1. 1 (व्युत्ति); Rudraṭa ii. 1 and Ānandavardhana p. 5, for the same idea of *śabda* and *erita* as constituents of poetry.

2 On this controversy, see *JRAS* 1905, pp. 535 f; *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 543f; Trivedi introd. to *Pratāparudra*; Haricand *op. cit.* p. 71; Pathak in *IA* 1912, p. 235.

3 *op. cit.* pp. 211-12. G. Tucci (Bhāmaha and Diānāga in *IA*, June 1930) is of opinion that Bhāmaha's logical theories allude to Diānāga, and not to Dharmakīrti who was posterior to Bhāmaha.

4 See Takakusu, *Record of the Buddhist Religion*, 1896, p. 181; cf. p. Iviii. Tāraṇātha in his *Geschichte* (tr. Schiefner pp. 184-5) makes him a contemporary of the Tibetan king, Strong-bstan-sgam-po, who died about 650 A.D. Cf. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 130.

8th century. As it is probable that he might have been a younger contemporary of Dharmakīrti's and also presumably lived some time before his commentator Udbhaṭa, it would not be wrong if we place him towards the end of the 7th and the commencement of the 8th century A. D.

(2)

We have already discussed the relation which Bharata's treatment of Alāṃkāras might have borne to Bhāmaha's much fuller and later disquisition. What we find in Bharata constitutes the earliest speculation on the subject that we possess; but Bhāmaha himself tells us that he had predecessors whose works he apparently utilised. While referring to these predecessors (or contemporaries) generally as *anye*,¹ *apare*² or *kecīt*,³ Bhāmaha cites twice by name one Medhāvin in ii. 40, 88. One of these passages is referred to by Nami-sādhu on Rudraṭa xi. 24, where (as well as in two other places on i. 2, ii. 2) the full name is given as Medhāvirudra, which form also occurs in Rājaśekhara (p. 12)⁴. This writer was thus earlier than Bhāmaha but probably later than Bharata.

Bhāmaha's work is divided into six chapters with a total of about 400 verses (mostly in Anuṣṭubh) (see above p. 46,

1 i. 13, 24; ii. 4, 57; iii. 4; iv. 32 etc.

2 i. 14, 31; ii. 6. 8; iii. 4; iv. 6 etc.

3 ii. 2, 37. 93; iii. 54 etc. He also cites one Rāmaśarman in ii. 19, but from ii. 58 this author appears to be a poet; the name of his work is given as *Acyutottara*. The Rājamitra cited in ii. 45 appears from iii. 10 to be a Kāvya. Besides Nyāsa (vi. 36), Pāṇini (vi. 62-63) and Kaṇabhaṭṭa (v. 17), we have mention of Śākavardhana (ii. 47) and a work called Aśmaka-vāṇī. These citations are not of much use for chronological purposes.

4 Rājaśekhara couples Medhāvirudra's name with that of Kumāradāsa and adds the information that he was a born-blind poet. The name does not constitute the names of two different poets, Medhāvin and Rudra, as some writers suggest, nor need we take it on the late authority of the *Trikāṇḍa-śeṣa* as a name of Kālidāsa.—Hultzsch (ed. *Megha-dūta* p. xi) states that Vallabhadeva in his comm. (xi. 6) cites Medhāvirudra, but this is not found in the printed text.

fa 2); it is smaller in extent than Dāṇḍin's work (about 660 verses). At one time it was believed¹, on the indication given by the *Jayamāṅgalā* on Bhaṭṭī, that the Alampāra-chapters in that Kāvya², especially canto x, was meant to illustrate the rhetorical teachings of Bhāmaha in particular; but the date now assigned to Bhāmaha will readjust his relation to Bhaṭṭī in a new light. Bhaṭṭī tells us in xxii. 35 that he composed his poem in Valabhī ruled over by Śrīdharaṇasena³. It appears that no less than four Śrīdharaṇas ruled at Valabhī roughly between 500 and 650 A.D., of whom the last flourished, as his latest grant shows, in 651 A.D. Bhaṭṭī, therefore, at the latest, lived in the first half of the 7th century; and if, as his editor concludes,⁴ he may be assigned to the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century, he was certainly older than Bhāmaha by almost a century. Bhāmaha probably knew his work and therefore remarked, while dismissing verbal juggleries like *prahelikā* (ii. 20):

kāvyāny api yadīmāni vyākhyā-gamyāmī sāstravat/
utsavāḥ sudhīyām eva hanta durmedhaso hatāḥ//

with a pointed reference to Bhaṭṭī's self-boasting in xxii. 34.:

vyākhyā-gamyam idam kāvyam utsavāḥ sudhīyām alam/
hatā durmedhasāś cāsmīn vidvat-priyatayā mayā//

The treatment of Alampāras in Bhaṭṭī may, therefore, be

1 Jacobi in *ZDMG* Ixiv, p. 130f.

2 The three cantos of this Kāvya (x-xii) comprising what is called Prasanna-kānda are supposed to illustrate matters concerning Poetics. Thus, canto x (75 verses) illustrates Alampāra, xi (47 verses) Mādhurya Guna and xii (87 verses) the figure Bhāvika which is called a Prabandha-guṇa. The *Bhaṭṭī-kāvya* consists of 22 cantos, chiefly illustrating rules of Sanskrit Grammar.

3 Kāvyam idam vīhitam mayā valabhīyām / śrīdharaṇasena-narendra-pālitāyām. The *Jayamāṅgalā* reads śrīdhara-sūnu-narendra in the second line, but this cannot be supported in view of the fact that we do not hear of any prince of the name Narendra, son of Śrīdhara, in the list of Valabhī princes known to us. Mallinātha and Bharatamallika do not comment on this verse.

4 ed. BSS. Introd. p. xxii.

presumed to supply one of the missing links in the history of rhetorical speculations anterior to Bhāmaha. A remarkable coincidence of treatment, which probably started the theory of Bhaṭṭī's appropriation of Bhāmaha's teachings, is at once noticeable not only in the order, number and presumed naming and characterisation of different poetic figures ; but a detailed examination will at the same time shew that beneath this general agreement there are enough discrepancies which will indicate that neither of them follows scrupulously the views of the other. The agreement apparently shows that the two authors were not chronologically distant from each other by such a considerable length of time as might betoken a material difference in the number, order or definition of the poetic figures ; while the discrepancies may be reasonably explained as indicating that they did not probably draw from the same source.

The special object of the particular canto in Bhaṭṭī being that of illustrating the various forms of poetic figures prevalent in his time, we may presume that it was probably based on a particular treatise on Alāṃkāra to which the poet generally adheres. He is said to have mentioned in all 38 such independent figures, along with 39 subspecies of some individual figures. He does not himself give the names of these figures, but they are indicated by the *Jayamaṅgalā*, as well as in some MSS which apparently preserve the traditional nomenclature¹. These, with one trifling exception (*udāra=udāttā*), correspond to the particular names given to them in Bhāmaha. As to the order or sequence of treatment, a comparative table will show that Bhāmaha gives the first 23 figures (up to *viśeṣokti*) in the same order as in

1 The commentators, however, differ among themselves in the naming of the poetic figures in several stanzas.—The *Jayamaṅgalā* is printed in the NSP ed. of the *Kāvya* (1887), while the commentary of Mallinātha is given in the BSS ed. (in 2 vols. 1898). The commentary of Bharatamallika along with *Jayamaṅgalā* has been edited in 2 vols, Calcutta 1871-73.

Bhaṭṭi with the exception of the pairs, *rūpaka*, and *dīpaka*, *arthāntara-nyāsa* and *ākṣepa*, which are given in an inverse order. The rest of the figures appear with a slightly different arrangement, because Bhāmaha admits *aprastuta-praśāṇīsā* omitted by Bhaṭṭi, and adopts a somewhat different order in mentioning the five figures *bere* treated in common, until we come to *virodha*. From here, again, the order is the same, excepting that Bhāmaha mentions *bhāvika* (which is separately illustrated in another canto by Bhaṭṭi), while Bhaṭṭi admits an unknown figure *nīpuṇa*, and adds *hetu* and *vārtā* which are expressly rejected by Bhāmaha. As the exposition of *Jayamānglā* shows, Bhaṭṭi generally follows the definitions of Bhāmaha where the figures are common (even in the cases of subspecies of these figures¹), with only a few exceptions.

These exceptions, though few, are yet significant. They refer in particular to the figures *yamaka* (of which Bhaṭṭi mentions 20, while Bhāmaha only 5 subspecies), *upamā* (where the treatment of subspecies is slightly divergent), *rūpaka* (of which the four subspecies of Bhaṭṭi do not correspond to the two of Bhāmaha), *aprastuta-praśāṇīsā* omitted by Bhaṭṭi, and *nīpuṇa* omitted by Bhāmaha. At the same time, Bhāmaha mentions but rejects *prahelikā*, *hetu*, *sūkṣma*, *leṣa* and *vārtā*, of which Bhaṭṭi admits only *hetu* (probably as an afterthought) and *vārtā*. Bhaṭṭi does not recognise *svabhāvokti*, which is mentioned but apparently disfavoured by

1 e.g. the figure *ākṣepa*, of which the two subdivisions *ukta-viṣaya* and *sakṣyamāna-viṣaya* are found in both Bhāmaha and Bhaṭṭi, they being unaware of the different interpretation of Vāmana and the somewhat fine differentiations of Dandin. The same remark applies to *dīpaka* and its three subspecies, which do not agree with the exposition of Bharata, Dandin or Vāmana. Cf also the three subspecies of *leṣa* viz. *sahokti-śl¹*, *upamā-śl²* and *hetu-śl³*, illustrated by Bhaṭṭi and mentioned by Bhāmaha in ii. 17, although later writers, like Dandin and Udbhaṭa, speak of *leṣa* as coming with many other figures. *Pratīkṣācendurājā* distinctly alludes (p. 47) to this division admitted by Bhāmaha: *bhāmaho* i.e. "tat sahoktyupamā-hetu-nirdeśat trividham yathā" i.e. *gītasya trividhyam* āha.

Bhāmaha. It is possible that Bhaṭṭī's original ended naturally with *āśis*, as Bhāmaha's work itself does; but he tacked on *hetu* and *nipuṇa*¹ as two supplementary figures popular in his time. The *bhāvika*, which both Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin call a *prabandha-guṇa*, is said to have been illustrated by Bhaṭṭī in a separate canto (xii), entitled *bhāvikatva-pradarśana*. But by far the greatest divergence is noticeable in the treatment of the subspecies of *yamaka*, *rūpaka* and *upamā*. No two writers are indeed agreed with regard to the treatment and classification of *yamaka*, and Bhaṭṭī on this point is scarcely in agreement with any of the known writers on the subject, such as Bharata, Daṇḍin Rudraṭa, the author of the *Agni-purāṇa* and Bhoja among earlier authorities. Probably he is drawing upon some old author whose work is not known to us.² In the classification of *rūpaka*, which Bhāmaha subdivides into *samasta-vastu-viṣaya* and *ekadeśa-vivarti*, Bhaṭṭī seems to follow a different tradition which mentions four subspecies, respectively

1 This figure is included in *udāra* or *udāttā* by Jayamaṅgalā, while Bharatamallika and Mallinātha take it as an illustration of *preyas* on the authority of Daṇḍin and Devānātha (the latter probably a commentator on Mammaṭa having the same name).

2 The names of some of these subspecies of *yamaka* are now lost but for the naming of them in Bhaṭṭī, and later authors speak in altogether different terminology. Some of these are apparently preserved in Bharata, who mentions as many as ten subspecies, but in most cases they are differently defined. For instance, the *samudga* of Bhaṭṭī may be the same figure as defined by Bharata, but the *yukpūda* of Bhaṭṭī x. 2 is called *vikrānta* by Bharata and is known as *sandaṣṭa* in Rudraṭa. Similarly the *pūdānta* illustrated in x. 3 is called *āmreṣīta* in Bharata; while *cakravāla* of Bharata is different from the figure so named in Bhaṭṭī and seems to coincide with the *kāñci* of the latter, the *kāñci* of Bharata being an altogether different subspecies. It appears that names like *vṛṣṭa*, *mithuna*, or *vipatha* cannot be traced in any of the existing works, but some of the kinds illustrated by Bhaṭṭī under these strange names may be found under different designations in other writers later than Bhaṭṭī. In naming these in Bhaṭṭī, the *Jayamaṅgalā* is probably following a tradition or an authority entirely unknown to us.

designated *kamalaka* (*viśiṣṭopamā-yukta*), *avataṇsaka* (*śeṣārthānvavasita* or *khaṇḍa-rūpaka*¹), *ardha-rūpaka* and *lalāmaka* (*anvarthopamā-yukta*). In the subspecies of *upamā*, Bhaṭṭi illustrates *upamā* with *iva* and *yathā* (in common with Bhāmaha); and his *luptopamā* and *taddhitopamā* probably correspond to some extent to *samāsopamā* and *upamā* with *vat* mentioned by Bhāmaha. But Bhaṭṭi does not illustrate *prativastūpamā* of Bhāmaha nor does he refer to *nindo*², *praśamso*³, *ācikhyāso*⁴ and *mālo*⁵, criticised by Bhāmaha but recognised by Dāṇḍin.⁶ At the same time, Bhaṭṭi's *saho*⁷ and *samo*⁸ have nothing directly corresponding to them in Bhāmaha.

It will be clear from this brief exposition⁹ that, leaving aside the subspecies, there is a general agreement between the treatments of Bhaṭṭi and Bhāmaha with regard to the independent poetic figures. It may be noted that Bhāmaha agrees with Bhaṭṭi in taking *ananvaya*, *sasāṃdeha*, *upamā-rūpaka* and *utprekṣāvayava* as self-standing figures, while Dāṇḍin includes the first two in the sub-species of *upamā*, and the last two in those of *rūpaka* and *utprekṣā* respectively.⁹ Bhāmaha also agrees with Bhaṭṭi in rejecting *prahelikā*, *sūkṣma* and *leṣa*; but *vārtā* and *hetu*, also similarly rejected by Bhāmaha, are admitted by Bhaṭṭi. Dāṇḍin expressly recognises all these, excepting *vārtā* in place of which he probably admits the more comprehensive *svabhāvotkī*, which

1 mentioned in *Vāgbhātālambāṇī* iv. 66.

2 Bharata (xvi. 49-50) mentions *nindo* and *praśamso*, while his *kalpito* probably corresponds to *ācikhyāso*. The *kalpito* is admitted by Vāmana (iv. 2. 2) but apparently defined in a different sense.

3 See also H. R. Divakar in *JRAS*, 1929, pp. pp. 825-41 for a comparison and contrast of treatment made respectively by Bhāmaha and Bhaṭṭi.

Dāṇḍin is followed in this view by all later writers, except Vāmana, who still regards these as independent figures. It seems, therefore, that Vāmana vi. 3. 33 is a criticism of Dāṇḍin ii. 358, and not vice versa, as Peterson supposes.

is disfavoured by Bhāmaha and not illustrated by Bhaṭṭi. The most material discrepancy with reference to independent figures occurs in the remarkable omission in Bhaṭṭi of *aprastuta-praśaṇīṣā* (which, like *svabhāvokti*, is a recognised figure in later times) and in the occurrence of *nipuṇa* unknown in later literature. Coming to the subspecies, however, the discrepancies are more striking. Admitting that some of the fine differentiations, as in the case of Daṇḍin's innumerable subvarieties of independent figures, may have been invented by the ingenuity of the theorist himself, this argument does not seem to apply very well to Bhaṭṭi, who was himself no theorist but only professed to illustrate the poetic figures popular in his time and presumably based his treatment on some standard treatise. The conclusion, therefore, is likely that Bhaṭṭi made use of a text unknown to Bhāmaha but not materially differing from Bhāmaha's own sources; and that the interval between these two authors did not witness much change in the discussion of poetic figures, except what is apparent in the simplification of the treatment of *yamaka* and *rūpaka*, in the dropping of a figure like *nipuṇa* and adding an important figure or an important sub-figure like *aprastuta-praśaṇīṣā* or *prativastūpamā* respectively. The progress is not so remarkable as that indicated by the enormous stride made in the interval between Bharata, who mentions only four independent figures, and Bhaṭṭi, who mentions thirty-eight.¹

1 Although the name Bhāmaha is not a common one in Sanskrit, it attaches itself (besides two verses in *Subhāṣitāvalī* 1644-1645 that are also found in our text ii. 92, iii. 21) to a commentator on Vararuci's *Prākṛita-nrakāśa*, who is probably a different author. The *Kāmadhenu* comm. on Vāmana also cites several verses from a treatise apparently on the *kalās* by Bhāmaha (p. 29, ed. Benares); but as our Bhāmaha, as well as his *Bhāmahālāmkāra* (p. 39), is also cited in several places in the same commentary, it is possible that these verses occurred in some lost chapter of his work where he mentioned the names of the *kalās* (*atra kalānām uddeśaḥ kṛto bhāmahena* preceding the verses cited). Nārāyaṇa in his commentary

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Commentary. The only known comm. is *Bhāmaha-vitaraya* by Udbhaṭa, which is now lost. See above p. 46.

DANDIN

(1)

The date of Dāṇḍin, author of the *Kāryādarśa*, is one of the most difficult problems in the chronology of Alāmkāra literature. Ānandavardhana does not directly cite him, as he cites *Bhāmaha*, and the earliest mention of Dāṇḍin's name occurs in *Pratihārendurāja* (p. 26). Dāṇḍin's own work gives us hardly any clue. His references to the *Bṛhatkathā* written in *bhūta-bhāṣā* (i. 38), or to the *Setu-bandha* known to him in *māhārāṣṭri* Prakrit (i. 34) throw little light on the question: and no definite chronological conclusion is deducible from the verses ii. 278-79, which express, under the form of the figure *preyas*, the supreme gratification of a certain king, Rājavarman (or Rātavarman), on the occasion of his obtaining the much-coveted beatific vision of his adored deity.¹ The solution proposed to the

on the *Vṛtta-ratnākara* (pp. 5-6) quotes long passages from *Bhāmaha* which, if authentic, indicate that *Bhāmaha* might have written also on Metrics.

¹ Rājavarman is conjectured by some (Rangacharya's preface p.

prahelikā in iii. 114 (also cf. iii. 112) by Taruṇavācaspati and other commentators that it refers to the Pallava kings of Kāñcī¹ only supports the Tamil tradition that Daṇḍin was probably a South Indian author. The allusion to Daṇḍin i. 1. again, in a verse attributed by Śāringadhara (no. 180) to Vija or Vijjakā (whose date is unknown but who is tentatively supposed by some to be Vijayā, wife of Candrāditya and daughter-in-law of Pulakeśin II, about 659 A.D.),² implies merely a pleasant raillery at the expense of Daṇḍin by some later boastful poetess.

The only definite terminus to Daṇḍin's date is obtained from references in South Indian vernacular works on Alampikāra, belonging in all probability to the 9th century A.D., which cite him as an established authority. The Sinhalese treatise *Siya-bas-lakara*, which Barnett thinks cannot "in any case be later than the 9th century A.D."³ cites Daṇḍin in v. 2 as one of its authorities. The Kanarese work *Kavirājamārga* (in three chapters), attributed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Amoghavarṣa Nṛpatuṅga (who flourished in the first half of

8; also Agashe's preface to *Daśakumāra* ed. B. S. S. pp. lxii f) to be Rājasimhavarman, otherwise known as Narasiṁhavarman II of Kāñcī (end of the 7th century), one of whose *birudas* (viz. *kālakāla* which is also a name of Śiva) Daṇḍin is supposed to have alluded to in iii. 50; while iii. 25 is presumed to imply a pun referring to the royal token (*mahāvarūha*) of Cālukya Pulakeśin II. But the passage under discussion looks like a reference to a legendary rather than a contemporary prince; and, as Pischel suggested, the entire verse 278 may have been taken directly from a work referring to his story. Cf Jacobi *op. cit.* p. 214.

1 The phrase *asṭa-varṇa* occurring in the *prahelikā* is also found, as G. K. Sankara points out, in the Mamandur Inscription of Mahendravarman I. Premachandra on Dandin interprets *pūṇdraka* instead of *pallava* in the verse, which fact indicates that it is capable of a different interpretation.—There are references to Kāverī, Cola and Kaliṅga in iv. 43-44.

2 See Agashe *op. cit.* pp. lix f.

3 JRAS, 1905, p. 841. The work has been edited by Hendrick Jayatilaka, Colombo 1892.

the 9th century), gives six verses¹ which are exact translations of corresponding verses in Dandin. Pathak, in the introduction to his edition (1898) of this work (p. 19), further adds that in ch. iii most of the verses "are either translations or adaptations from the *Kāvyādarśa*," and that there are also convincing indications of Dandin's "influence on other parts of the work" as well.

This will give us the 9th century as the lower limit to Dandin's work, a conclusion which may also be established by showing that Dandin was probably earlier than Vāmana, who may be assigned to the beginning of the same period. We need not enter into this point in detail here, but there are several unmistakable indications which show that Vāmana's work betrays a further progress in the elaboration of some of the fundamental ideas which are dealt with by Dandin. The stress which Dandin puts on the theory of Riti (which he calls Mārga) is carried to its furthest extreme by Vāmana, who elevates Riti to the rank of the very essence of poetry. While Dandin mentions two types of Mārga, Vāmana adds an intermediate third Riti; and from Mammata ix. 4 we learn that Vāmana was the first to suggest this threefold division.² Again, while Bhāmaha and Dandin apparently engage in a controversy over the classification of Kāvya into Kathā and Ākhyāyikā, Vāmana peremptorily brushes aside all discussion and refers the curious reader to the works of "others."³ Dandin is also anxious to show, in the course of a long digression, that the word *iva* is indicative of *utpreksā* (which figure itself is admitted by Bhāmaha ii. 88 only in

1 viz., those defining *asadhvīranopanī*, *asambharopamī*, *anuyāksepa*, *vitejokli*, *heru* and *atisejokli* respectively.

2 It is noteworthy also that Dandin is unaware of the more or less technical term *rīti*, made so familiar by Vāmana, but uses the almost synonymous expression *mārga*, also used by Vāmana in iii. 1. 12.

3 *yac ca kathākhyāyikā mahākāvyaṁ iti* talakkṣanam ca nōtīva hrdayangamam ity upakṣitam aśmābhīb, tad anjīto grūhyam, on 1. 3. 32.*

deference to the views of Medhāvin); but to Vāmana (iv. 3. 9, *vṛtti*) it is already an established fact. Such instances can be easily multiplied, but what is given here will be enough to indicate Daṇḍin's priority to Vāmana,¹ and fix the lower limit of his date at the end of the 8th and the commencement of the 9th century².

1 It is supposed by Kielhorn (with whom Peterson in his pref. to *Daśakumāra* agrees) that Daṇḍin ii. 51, in which some of the *upanā-doṣas* are justified, is directed against Vāmana iv. 2. 8f, implying thereby that Daṇḍin is later than Vāmana. But if we take the texts of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana together on this point, we can only make out the following facts. Bhāmaha, in accordance with the opinion of Medhāvin, brings forward (ii. 39-40) seven *upanā-doṣas*, viz., deficiency (*hīnatra*), impossibility (*asamībhava*), disparity of gender (*liṅga-bheda*), disparity of number (*vacana-bheda*), contrariety (*viparyaya*), excess (*adhikatva*) and non-similitude (*asādṛṣya*). Daṇḍin, tacitly assuming these, only remarks about two pairs of them (viz. disparity of gender and number, excess and deficiency) that they do not necessarily disturb comparison if they do not wound the cultivated sensibility. In this he is substantially following Bhāmaha, who says generally that the *upanāya* cannot in every respect be similar to the *upanāna* (ii. 43), a dictum which is implicitly accepted by most later writers, who define *upanā* as *bhedābheda-pradhāne upanā*. Therefore, deficiency etc. become faults only when they disturb the sense of appreciation of the man of taste. Vāmana, on the other hand, mentions six *upanā-doṣas* instead of seven, including *viparyaya* in *adhikatva* and *hīnatra* (iv. 2. 11 *vṛtti*), with the final pointed remark: *ata evāsmākaṃ mate ṣaṭ doṣāḥ*. It appears, therefore, that Daṇḍin ii. 51f is a link in the chain between Bhāmaha ii. 39f and Vāmana iv. 2. 8f.

2 Pischel's argument (pref. to *Śrīg. iii.*) that Daṇḍin is identical with the author of *Mṛcchakaṭika* on the ground that Daṇḍin ii. 362 (st. *līmpatīva*, ed. Bibl. Indica) occurs also in that drama (ed. N.S.P. 1916, i. 34) lands us, apart from other objections, in the absurdity of identifying Daṇḍin with Bhāsa as well, inasmuch as the same verse is also found in the so-called Bhāsa-damas, *Cārudatta* (i. 19) and *Būla-carita* (i. 15). The attribution, again, of the same verse in Śāṅgadhara 3603 and Vallabhadeva 1890 to Bhartṛmeṇṭha and Vikramāditya further discredits Pischel's theory. The occurrence of the verse in Daṇḍin ii. 226 with an introductory *iti* (cf. Premachandra's remarks

(2)

The upper limit is not so easy to settle. Peterson, following Maheśacandra Nyāyaratna, points out¹ that Dandin ii. 197 is a reminiscence of a passage in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* p. 102, l. 16. (ed. BSS), and Jacobi is inclined to accept this view. Bāṇa lived about 606-647 A. D. in the reign of King Harṣa, whose biographer he was. Jacobi also points out a resemblance between Dandin ii. 302 and Māgha ii. 4. Pathak, again, remarks² that Dandin's threefold classification of *karman* into *nirvartya*, *vikārya* and *prāpya* (ii. 240) is taken from Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* iii. 45f. Bhartṛhari, according to Yi-tsing died about 651 A.D., while Māgha probably belonged to the second half of the 7th century³. Thus Bāṇa, Bhartṛhari

on this point) only shows that Dandin did not disdain to borrow well-known verses for purposes of illustration and criticism, as he himself admits in a general way in i. 2. It should also be noted that in the Bibl. Indica ed. of the text, the verse is given twice (1) as a half-verse quotation in ii. 226 and (2) in full ii. 362. But this reading, on which apparently Pischel's theory was based, is doubtful, and is contrary to readings in other MSS. In the Tibetan version of the text (JRAS, 1903), as well as in the Madras edition, the verse occurs only once as a half-verse quotation in ii. 226, the full verse being omitted in the text and given in the Madras ed. only in the accompanying commentary. Pischel is hardly accurate in stating that Prautārendu attributes this verse to Dandin; for the commentator, in the course of his discussion on *utprekṣā* simply says (p. 26) that Dandin has already discussed at great length that the verse *līmīṣa* is an illustration of *utprekṣā* containing *alīsaya*.

1 Pref. to *Dāsakumāra*, new ed. 1919, p. ix. Other such reminiscences are presumed in Dandin i. 45 (= *Sakuntalā* i. 20, ed. M. Williams; Cf. JRAS, 1905 p. 841f), ii. 286 (= *Raghu* viii. 57), ii. 129 (= *Sakuntalā* i. 26) etc. Tarunavācaspati is of opinion (on i. 2) that Dandin consulted the usages of poets like Kālidāsa. See other parallel passages collected together by Agashe (preface to *Dāsakumāra*, pp. liv ff).

2 IA xli, 1912 p. 237.

3 See Kielhorn in GN, 1906, p. 143-46. Cf Māgha ii. 83 where he shows himself fully conversant with Poetics; also ii. 8, 86, 87,

and Māgha probably all belong the same age and flourished in the first half or the middle of the 7th century.

These evidences, although suggestive, do not in their nature appear to be decisive ; and we are ultimately thrown upon the question of Daṇḍin's relation to Bhāmaha, which might support these evidences and with reference to which indeed the chronology of Daṇḍin should be settled. If Bhāmaha's priority to Daṇḍin can be definitely established, then we arrive with this at a more or less satisfactory limit to the date of the latter. The question is, no doubt, beset with many difficulties ; but so far as a comparative study of their respective texts indicates, the presumption is strong in favour of Bhāmaha's priority ; because, while Daṇḍin criticises Bhāmaha's innovations, Bhāmaha apparently never does so in cases of Daṇḍin's innovations which are indeed much more numerous. The materials for such a critical study (apart from a consideration of their general theories) consist of several passages, occurring in their respective texts, which are either (1) identical or very similar in phraseology, or (2) so closely related to each other that the one author appears to be criticising the other. As the question has already engaged a great deal of controversy¹, which has thrashed out almost all the details we will here discuss it very briefly. As instances of the first group of passages, we may cite Bh i. 20ab and D i. 7ed ; Bh. i. 17cd and D i. 29ab (definition of Mahākāvya) ; Bh ii. 66ab and D ii. 4ed (enumeration of certain Alāṅkāras) ;

xiii. 69, xiv. 50, xix. 37, xx. 44 (where he refers to Bharata).—On Māgha's date, see S. K. De, *Hist. Skt. Lit.* Calcutta 1942, pp. 88-89 and references contained therein.

1 M. T. Narasimhiengar in *JRAS.* 1905, pp. 53f ; K. B. Pathak in *JBRAS.* xxiii, p. 19 ; R. Narasimhaechar in *IA* xli, 1912, p. 90 ; p. 232 ; Trivedi, introd. to *Pratāparṇara* p. 32 and *IA*, xlvi, 1913, p. 258-74 ; H. Jacobi in *ZDMG*, lxiv, p. 134, in *SBAW*, xxiv, 1922 (Bhāmaha und Daṇḍin, ihr Alter etc), p. 210-226, and xxxi, 1928 (*Zur Frühgeschichte d. ind. Poetik*) ; J. Nobel in *ZDMG*, lxxiii, 1919, p. 190f and his *Beiträge zur älteren Geschichte des Alāṅkāraśāstra*, Berlin 1911, p. 78 ; P. V. Kane in *HSP.* pp. 96-108, etc.

Bh ii. 87ab and D ii. 244ab (illustration of *Vārtā*) ; Bh iii. 1ab and D ii. 5cd (enumeration of certain *Alampāras*) ; Bh iii. 53 and D iii. 363 (the figure *Bhāvika*) ; Bh iii. 5 and D ii. 276 (illustration of *Preyas*) ; Bh iv. 1-2 and D iv. 2-3 (enumeration of *Doṣas*) ; Bh iv. 8ah and D iv. 5ah (definition of *Apārtha*). The verbal coincidence in these passages is so striking that there can be no doubt that it should be taken as something more than merely accidental. It does not, however, preclude the possibility of their being taken from a common source, or being standardised definitions or enumerations common enough in such technical treatises.

The second group of passages, also betraying enough verbal similarity, is more interesting and important ; because they certainly express contradictory views of their respective authors, if not actually meant as direct mutual criticism. In two of these passages, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin are, each in his turn, rejecting an illustration which is adduced by the other, but both citing the illustration in question in exactly identical phraseology. Thus, Bhāmaha cites and rejects (ii. 87), after the figure *hetu*, the illustration *gato'stam arka bhāśīndur jānti vāsāya pakṣināḥ*, characterising it as bad poetry, to which, he says, some writers give the name of *vārtā*. Daṇḍin does not mention *vārtā*, but approvingly cites (ii. 244) the same half-verse under the figure *hetu*, pointedly remarking that the illustration under discussion is good. Similarly, the half-verse *himāpahāmitra-dharair* is given as an instance of the fault *avācaka* by Bhāmaha (i. 41), but Daṇḍin gives the verse in full in a different context (iii. 120) as an example of a variety of *prahelikā* ; Bhāmaha apparently condemning it as faulty, while Daṇḍin taking it as a piece of ingenious construction. Taking the examples in their contexts as quoted from a common source, the passages apparently indicate that Daṇḍin is not in agreement with Bhāmaha (who condemns these) but expressly justifies their propriety.

A closer contact of views and similarity of expression are to be found in those passages in this group, which relate to

(1) the discussion of the comparative merits of the *gaudīya* and *vaidarbha mārgas* (Bh i. 31-35 and D i. 40 f) (2) the distinction between prose *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā* (Bh i. 25f and D i. 23f), and (3) the enumeration of the ten *dōsas* (Bh iv. 1-2 and D iv. 2-4) ; and those who maintain Daṇḍin's priority to Bhāmaha hold that in these cases the latter is undoubtedly criticising the former. In the first of these instances, Bhāmaha's remarks merely show that he is more or less indifferent to the literary value of Mārga or Rīti as modes of composition, and laughs at the distinction which some writers make between *gaudā* and *vaidarbha* types, himself giving preference, if any, to the former. In his opinion, as he says in the next verse (i. 36), what is important in poetry is not Rīti but Vakrokti. It appears that the view which Bhāmaha is criticising was traditional or referred to as a matter of common controversy, as he himself says in this connexion, *gatānugati-ka-nyāyān nānākhyeyam amedhasām*. Jacobi points out that the Gauḍa Mārga, long before Daṇḍin, could never establish for itself a good reputation, and Bāṇa had already condemned it as *akṣara-dambara* (*Harṣa-carita* i. 7). Daṇḍin, on the other hand, attaches great importance to Rīti in poetry which under the name *mārga*, occupies a considerable part of his treatment ; but he acknowledges, in spite of his own distinguishing of two such extreme types as *gaudā* and *vaidarbha*, that there are other intermediate modes finely differentiated (i. 40), and that the types admitted by him are not capable of exact definition (i 101f), although he himself prefers the *vaidarbha*. It may also be added that Bhāmaha is unaware of the peculiar analysis of *mārga* given by Daṇḍin with reference to the ten essential *guṇas*, but he mentions casually (and not in connexion with Rīti) only three *guṇas* which may be admitted in all good composition. The respective characterisation, again, of the two Rītis has hardly any point of contact, and Bhāmaha's remarks, if supposed to be levelled against Daṇḍin in particular, are certainly off the mark ; for each of them approaches the

subject from the standpoints of entirely different schools of opinion¹.

Similar remarks apply to the other two cases, in which one hardly finds any direct reference by Bhāmaha to Daṇḍin. Daṇḍin does not accept as characteristic or essential those marks of distinction between a *Kathā* and an Ākhyāyikā which Bhāmaha enumerates, and apparently quotes in this connexion the half-verse i. 29ah from Bhāmaha i. 27cd. The distinction, denied by Daṇḍin, is admitted (along with Bhāmaha) by earlier as well as later writers; for Bāṇa designates his *Harṣacarita* as an ākhyāyikā and his *Kādambarī* as a *kathā*², and some such distinction is also implied by the *Amara-kosa*. With regard to the other passages which enumerate the Doṣas, it appears that Bhāmaha, following the traditional recounting of ten orthodox Doṣas (cf Bharata xvi. 84)³ mentions the same number of Doṣas, but adds that *pratijñā-hetu-drṣṭānta-hinavā* is not desirable in poetry (iv. 2). At the same time, this eleventh defect is interesting to him from the standpoint of logical exposition, and he deals with it in v. 1f,⁴ apparently considering that defective logic is also to be looked upon generally as a notable flaw in a composition. Daṇḍin enumerates the same ten Doṣas (iv. 2-3) in exactly similar phrasology, and conservatively maintains the view (iv. 4) that the so-called eleventh fault is difficult to judge and unprofitable to discuss⁵.

1 This point will be discussed in detail below in vol. ii.

2 See Tarunavācaspati's remarks on Daṇḍin i. 25.

3 The definitions, however, do not agree. See Jacobi *op. cit.* p. 222f.

4 For Bhāmaha's exposition of logic in relation to other philosophical writers see K. B. Pathak in *ABORI*, xli. pp. 372-87.

5 Emphasis is also put on some verbal resemblance between Bh i. 22 and D i. 21-22. In these passages, however, the standpoints of the two theorists are quite distinct, although they use somewhat similar phrases. Bhāmaha here expresses his disapproval of a disastrous ending, perhaps in conformity with a similar conventional prohibition in the drama. Daṇḍin, on the other hand, takes the ultimate triumph of the hero for granted, and does not trouble him-

From the above discussion, the conclusion is very probable that Daṇḍin was familiar with the text of Bhāmaha whom, as a notable predecessor expressing contrary views, he could hardly ignore. On this point we have the almost unanimous testimony of Daṇḍin's commentators¹, who expressly state that in most of these disputed passages Daṇḍin controverts the earlier opinions of Bhāmaha. It will not be necessary, therefore, to enter here into the details of their respective theories, which not only indicate some fundamental and important differences, as one should expect in writers belonging to two different schools of opinion, but also the fact that Daṇḍin, in dealing with most of the topics, has gone into greater details and finer distinctions, apparently betokening that in his age the study was more advanced and fraught with greater complexity than in that of Bhāmaha².

self about the admittedly forbidden tragic ending. He appears to express the view that it is artistically more effective if the rival of the hero is set forth at the outset in all his glory and then his downfall is secured through the superior virtue of the hero himself. One does not also find any point in Bhāmaha ii. 37-38, which criticises the classification of the figure *upamā* into many subvarieties (like *nindo*^o, *praśaniso*^o and *ācikhyāso*^o) but which is taken by some to imply an attack on Daṇḍin's elaborate subdivision of the same figure. The *tri-prakāratvam* cannot possibly refer to Daṇḍin, who mentions not three but thirty-two subvarieties: while *nindo*^o, *praśaniso*^o etc. are also mentioned by Bharata.

1 e. g. Taruṇavācaspati on i. 23-24, 29; ii. 235, 237, 358; iv. 4 etc; Harinātha on i. 15 (cited in *ABod* 206b); Vādijaṅghīla on i. 21.

2 See, for instance, their respective views on *rīti*, *guṇa* and *doṣa*, on *alaykāra* (which last element Daṇḍin does not distinguish fundamentally from *guṇas*, ii. 3), on *vakrokti* (Bh ii. 85 and D ii. 362); their respective order of treatment of *alaykāras* (which Bhāmaha deals with in successive groups, while Daṇḍin's thirty-five independent poetic figures are given as if they are well recognised): Daṇḍin's minute and fine differentiation of infinite sub-species of individual figures; their respective treatment of *yamaka*, *upamā*, *utprekṣā*, *anavayava* and *sasamdeha*, *upamā-rūpaka* and *utprekṣāvayava* (which last four Daṇḍin does not accept as independent figures) etc. These points will be discussed in detail in the next volume.

If this conclusion of Bhāmaha's probable priority is accepted, then we get his date as the upper limit to that of Dañdin, the lower limit being, as already discussed, the same as that of Bhāmaha, namely the date of Udhhaṭa's contemporary, Vāmana. Dañdin, therefore, flourished probably in the first half of the 8th century.¹

(3)

There cannot be any doubt that Dañdin, like Bhāmaha, must have been indebted to his predecessors ; and if he does not mention any one of them by name, he gives enough evidence of his having utilised their works, including that of Bhāmaha. Dañdin, however, makes a general acknowledgement in i. 2, and refers to the opinions of "others" and of "learned men" (e.g. i. 9, 10 ; ii. 2, 7, 9, 54 ; iii. 106) ; while he makes no secret of his having "observed" and probably borrowed his illustrations from earlier poets, to whom reference² is made in i. 30,100 ; ii. 65, 223, 225, 363 ; iv. 7, 32, 42, 57. The *Hṛdayaṅgama* commentary on i. 2 mentions in particular two authors, named Kāśyapa and Vararuci (vi. 2 ; ii. 7), whose works Dañdin is supposed to have utilised. Similarly in Vādijaṅghāla's *Śrutānupālinī* commentary Kāśyapa, Brahmadatta and Nandisvāmin are spoken of as Dañdin's predecessors. These may be mythical or traditional names ; but Kāśyapa is also mentioned by another admirer of Dañdin's who composed the Sinhalese rhetorical work already referred to. He is known to Aḥhinavagupta as a Muni who preceded Bharata, and his opinion on Rāgas is cited in *Abhinavabhāratī*. Kallinātha on *Samigīta-ratnākara* (ii. 2, 31) quotes

1 The question whether our Dandin is identical with Dañdin, author of *Dasañkumāra-carita*, does not concern us here ; on this see S. K. De, *History of Sansk. Lit.* Calcutta 1947, pp. 207-9. Of his personal history nothing is known, unless we hold that the two Dandins are identical and are prepared to accept the *Aśantiśundarī-kathā* (ed. M. R. Kavi, Madras 1924) as a work of Dañdin. See S. K. De, *Aspects of Skt. Lit.*, Calcutta 1959, pp. 296-308.

2 See this point discussed in Agashe *op. cit.* pp. liii f.

three verses of Kāśyapa . and among old authorities on music he is mentioned by Nānyadeva (11th-12th century) who mentions also Bṛhat-Kāśyapa and Vṛddha-Kāśyapa. The *Pañca-sāyaka*, on the other hand, cites him (iv. 19) as an authority on Erotics, and the *Agni-purāṇa* as an authority on Metrics. One Kāśyapa is cited by Pāṇini in viii. 4. 67, and a grammarian Kāśyapa, as Aufrecht notes, is quoted by Mādhava.

Pischel¹ has already negatived the suggestions of Prema-chandra Tarkavagish², Peterson³ and Jacobi⁴ that Daṇḍin in i. 12 refers by the word *chando-viciti* to a treatise of his own, so named, on the subject of prosody. The word, however as indicated by Daṇḍin himself in the same verse, by his reference to it as *sā vidyā*, does not necessarily mean any particular treatise but the science of prosody in general⁵; for which, in addition to the references given by Pischel, one need only cite Kauṭilya's *Artha-sāstra* (i. 3.1) and Āpastamba *Dharma-sūtra* ii. 4. 8, where the word *chando-viciti* occurs; also Rājaśekhara p. 6 and Hemacandra, Comm. p. 5. In iv. 49, again, Daṇḍin refers to a *kalā-pariccheda*, which Peterson takes to be a clear reference to another work of Daṇḍin's; but the reference is more likely to an additional or supplementary chapter to his *Kāvyādarśa*, as Taruṇavācaspati suggests (p. 282). It is noteworthy that the *Kāmadhenu* commentary on Vāmana similarly quotes from a lost work or chapter of Bhāmaha's on the *kalās*⁶.

Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* consists three Paricchedas or chapters (four in M. Rangacharya's ed.) and about 660 verses. The topics comprehended are: I. Definition and division of Kāvya; the two Mārgas (Vaidarbha and Gauḍa) and ten Guṇas

1 Pref. to *Sṛng. til.* p. 14 f.

2 On Daṇḍin i. 12.

3 Introd. to *Daśakumāra* p. ix-x.

4 *Ind. Stud.* xvii p. 447.

5 See P. V. Kane in *IA*, 1911, p. 177.

6 See above p. 57 footnote.

pertaining to them ; the essential requirements of a good poet (Pratibhā, Śruta and Abhiyoga). II. Definition of Alāṃkāra, and enumeration and description of 35 Arthālāṃkāras viz. *svabhāvokti*, *upamā*, *rūpaka*, *dīpaka*, *āvṛtti*, *ākṣepa*, *arthāntara-nyāsa*, *vyatireka*, *vidhāvanā*, *saṃsokti*, *atiśayokti*, *utprekṣā*, *hetu*, *sūkṣma*, *leṣa* or *lava*, *yathāsaṃkhya* or *krama*, *preyas*, *rasavat*, *ūrjasvi*, *paryāyakta*, *saṃhita*, *udātta*, *apahnuti*, *śleṣa*, *viṣeṣokti*, *tulyayagatā*, *virodha*, *aprastuta-praśamsā*, *vyājokti*, *nidarśanā*, *sahakti*, *parivṛtti*, *āśiḥ*, *saṃkīrṇa* and *bhāvika*. III. Elaborate treatment of Śabdālāṃkāras, namely *yamaka*, *citra-bandha* and 16 varieties of *prahelikā*; ten *Doṣas* (in ch. iv in Rangacharya's ed.).

(4)

Commentators On Dañdin

The commentaries on Dañdin, as the following Bibliography will show, are numerous. Most of these are comparatively modern, excepting perhaps that of Taruṇavācaspati as well as the anonymous commentary called *Hṛdayāṅgama*, both printed in the Madras edition. With this exception, they are hardly useful for an historical or critical study of Dañdin.

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commentary of Ratnaśrījñāna who follows the Tibetan version of the text, by Anantalal Thakur and U. Jha. Mithila Institute, Darbhanga 1957. (8) ed. D. T. Tatācharya with Hṛdayaṅgama, and comms. of Vādijaṅghāla and Taruṇavācaspati, Bombay(?) 1941. (10) ed. V. Krishnamachari, with the commentary of Vādijaṅgāla, Srinivasa Press, Tiruvadi 1936. Our references are to the Madras edition of M. Rangacharya unless otherwise indicated: this edition divides the work into four chapters instead of three.

Commentaries. (1) by Taruṇavācaspati, *Madras Cat.* xii, 12834. Printed as noted above. It appears to be an old comm. But as it cites (on i. 40) Bhoja ii. 28, as well *Daśarūpaka* i. 8 (in comm. on i. 31), it cannot be placed very early. This commentary also refers (on i. 30) to a poet Hastimalla who may be the Jaina Hastimallasena who wrote drāmas and poems. Keśava Bhaṭṭāraka, son of Taruṇavācaspati, was Guru of Mahārājādhirāja Rāmanātha (the Hoysala Vīra Rāmanātha) who came to the throne in 1255 A D. See V. Raghavan in *JOR*, xiii, at p. 305. So Taruṇavācaspati's date would be the end of the 12th and first half of the 13th century. In the colophon to some MSS he is called 'Sādhu'.

(2) *Hṛdayaṅgama* by an anonymous author. *Madras Cat.* 12833. Printed as above (ch. i-ii only). The comments on Daṇḍin ii. 284, 286, 288, 289-91 are quoted *verbatim* but anonymously by Bhoja in his *Śrīgāra-prakāśa* (ch. xi).

(3) *Mārjanā* by Harinātha, son of Viśvadhara and younger brother of Keśava. *ABod* 206b; Peterson vi p. 30 (extract). MS in BORI (*Catalogue* xii, no. 124) copied in Saṃvat 1746=1690 A.D. Hārinātha also wrote a comm. on Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-k.*^o He must be later than Keśava Miśra whose work on Alāmkāra he cites.

(4) *Muktāvalī* by Narasimha-sūri, son of Gadādhara and grandson of Kṛṣṇa-śarman. *Mitra* 2394 (Aufrecht i. 102b).

(5) *Candrikā* by Triśatapatajabhīma. Mentioned in Hall's *Index*, p. 63.

(6) *Rasika-rañjanī* by Viśvanātha. Oppert 4112 (Aufrecht i. 103a).

(7) *Vivṛti* or *Kāvya-tattva-viveka-kaumudī* by Kṛṣṇakīmikara Tarkavāgīśa Bhāṭṭācārya of Gopālapura in Bengal. *IOC* pt. iii, no. 1128/1497, p. 321.

(8) *Śrutānupālinī* by Vādijaṅghāla (or "ghaṅgbala). Printed as noted above. Stein pp. 61, xxviii, extract no. 1179. The *Report of Peripatetic Party of Madras MSS Lib.* 1917-19 mentions an acquisition of this comm. for the Library. MS in BORI, *Cat.* xii, no. 125. The comm. mentions Kāśyapa, Brahmadatta and Nandisvāmin as predecessors of Dandin.

(9) Comm. by Bhagīratha, Aufrecht i. 102b.

(10) Comm. by Vijayānanda. MS in BORI, *Cat.* xii, no. 123 (incomplete).

(11) *Vaimalya-vidhāyinī* by Mallinātha, son of Jagannātha, Aufrecht ii. 20a. This is perhaps the same Mallinātha as is referred to by Viśveśvara in *Alamkāra*, p. 69 as a commentator on *Kāvyaśārṣa*; and he should be distinguished from the better known Kolācalā Mallinātha.

(12) Comm. (incomplete) by Tribhuvanacandra, otherwise called Vādisimha, a Jaina. HPS iii, no. 57.

(13) Comm. by Yāmuda or Yāmuneya. MSS in BORI, *Cat.* xii, no. 126. It is probably a South Indian work which divides the *Kāvyaśārṣa* into 4 chapters, as in Madras ed. of Rangacharya.

(14) *Ratnaśrī* by Ratnaśrījāna. Ed. as described above. The author was a Ceylonese monk who wrote under the patronage of some Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, named Tuṅga, under the overlordship of Rājyapāla of Gauḍa and Magadha (c. 908 A. D.). Authors quoted, besides Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa, are Mātṛceṣa, Āryaśūra, Kohala, Rāmaśarman, Medhāvitudra, Kambala, Harivṛddha, Bhāmaha, Bhar-

tṛmeṇṭha, Guṇādhya, *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa*, Mallanāga, and Dharmakīrti.

(15) Anoymous Comms. in Mitra 297, Oppert 7903 ; SCC vii 21. A comm. by Dharmavācaspati in Oppert 2581 is probably a mistake for Taruṇavācaspati. Regnaud (*Rhétorique*, p. 367 fn) also mentions a commentary by Vācaspati and refers to Taylor ii 501 ; which work probably refers also to this commentary.

UDBHĀṬA

(1)

Udbhaṭa, who wrote a commentary named *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa* or [°]*vivṛti*¹ on Bhāmaha, as well as utilised the latter's work² in his *Kāvyālāṅkāra-saṃgraha*, certainly lived before the final exposition of the Dhvani-theory by Ānanda-vardhana³ who, in the middle of the 9th century, actually cites Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa twice at pp. 96, 108. Udbhaṭa's name indicates that he was probably a Kashmirian. Kahlaṇa (iv. 495) mentions a certain Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa who was a *sabhbāpati* of king Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir (about 779-813 A. D.) ; and Bühler, to whom we owe the discovery of Udbhaṭa's work in Kashmir, identifies him with the author of the *Kāvyālāṅkāra-saṃgraha* (or [°]*sāra-saṃgraha*). Accepting this identification,

1 The *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa* is frequently mentioned and cited by later writers ; e.g. Abhinavagupta in his *Locana* (p. 10, 40, 134, 159), Hemachandra (Comm. p. 17, 110), Māṇikyacandra (*Saṃketa*, ed. Mysore p. 289), Samudrabandha (on *Alam. sarvasva*, p. 89). Pratīhārendurāja (p. 13) etc.

2 Udbhaṭa seems to have taken over almost *verbatim* from Bhāmaha the definitions of *ākṣepa*, *vibhāvanā*, *atiśayokti*, *kathāsaṃkhyā*, *utprekṣā paryāyokta*, *apahnuti*, *virodha*, *aprastuta-praśamsā sahokti*, *sasaṃdeha* and *anuvaya*. The poetic figures are enumerated almost in the same order as that of Bhāmaha. But Udbhaṭa omits a few Alāṅkāras defined by Bhāmaha (e. g. *yamaka*, *upamā-rūpaka*, *utprekṣāvayava*) and adds a few not defined by the latter (e. g. *puṇar-uktavad-ābhāṣa*, *kāryalinga*, *drṣṭānta* and *saṃkara*).

3 Cf the opinions of Pratīhārendurāja (p. 79), Ruyyaka and Jayaratha (p. 3) and Jagannātha (pp. 414-5).

4 *Kashmir Rep.* p. 65.

we should, however, place the most flourishing period of Udbhaṭa's activity, as Jacobi points out, in the first part of Jayāpiṭa's rather long reign; because this sovereign in the latter part of his career appears to have alienated the Brahmins by his oppression of the people. Udbhaṭa, therefore, should be assigned to the end of the 8th century, and he may have lived into the beginning of the 9th.

Besides the lost *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa*, Pratīhārendurāja tells us (p. 15) that Udbhaṭa wrote a poem, called *Kumāra-saṃbhava*, from which are taken most of the illustrations in the text.

We have already mentioned above that Udbhaṭa probably wrote also a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*, but it is no longer available. The followers of Udbhaṭa or the Audbhataś are mentioned by Abhinavagupta in his commentary on Bharata.

Udbhaṭa's *Kāvya-Ālamkāra-saṃgraha* consists of six chapters (called *Vargas*), contains 75 Kārikās in Anuṣṭubh with 95 illustrations, and deals with 41 Ālamkāras. Some verses are assigned to Udbhaṭa in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* 498, 1463, 3453, of which no. 498 is a well known gnomic stanza found also in such collections as the *Cāṇakya-śataka*. Although closely following Bhāmaha in the treatment of Ālamkāras, Udbhaṭa has certain views peculiar to himself, which are either absent in Bhāmaha or in which he differs from his predecessor. For instance, Bhāmaha speaks of three kinds of Śleṣa while Udbhaṭa mentions two kinds, and the basis of classification is different; Udbhaṭa's three Vṛttis, on which the classification of Anuprāsa proceeds, are absent in Bhāmaha.¹

(2)

MUKULA AND PRATIĀRENDURĀJA

Pratīhārendurāja, Udbhaṭa's commentator, was, as he himself tells us, a native of Kośala and a pupil of Mukula.

1 For more instances see P. V. Kane, *HSP*, pp. 127-28.—For a résumé of the topics covered by Udbhaṭa's work see vol. ii ch. ii(2).

Mukula is known to us as the author of *Abhidhā-vṛtti-nāṭkā*, a work on the grammatico-rhetorical question of Abhidhā and Lakṣaṇa, consisting of 15 Kārikās with Vṛtti. From the last verse of this work we learn that the author's father was Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa who lived, according to Kahlaṇa (v. 66, in the reign of Avantivarman of Kashmir (855-884 A.D.)¹ and was, therefore, a contemporary of Ratnākara and Ānandavardhana. Accepting Kahlaṇa's statement, Mukula should be placed roughly towards the end of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th. His pupil Pratīhārendurāja, therefore, belongs approximately to the first half of the 10th century.² In his commentary on Udbhaṭṭa called "Laghu-vṛtti", Pratīhārendu quotes from Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Vāmana, the Dhvanyāloka and Rudraṭa, actually naming most of them, and appears to be fairly familiar with the Dhvani-theory, as explained by Ānandavardhana, to which, however, he does not subscribe.

Peterson appears to suggest³ the identification of Pratīhārendurāja with Bhaṭṭendurāja, whom Abhinavagupta refers to as *asmad-upādhyāya* in his *Locana* (pp. 25, 43, 116, 160, 207, 223) as well as in his commentary on Bharata, where this teacher is quoted sometimes simply as *upādhyāya*. At the commencement and close of his *Locana*,⁴ Abhinavagupta indicates his immense indebtedness to this teacher, and in one place (p. 160) we find in his praise the somewhat grandiloquent epithet *vidvat-kavi-sahṛdaya-cakravartin*; which together with the fact that Abhinava also indicates that he learnt Kāvya from Bhaṭṭendurāja will go to support the conjecture

1 Bühler *op. cit.* pp. 66, 78

2 Cf. Pischel, Pref. to *Śrīngtil*, p. 12.

3 Introd. to *Subhāṣ*, p. 11; but *contra* in Aufrecht i 59a. Banhatti's more recent advocacy of identity is hardly based on substantial and convincing reasons. The only instance where the two Indurājas are confused or identified occurs in Samudrabandha p. 132; but this is no strong evidence.

4 ed. Kāvyaṁlā p. 1; and ch. iv in *JDL*, 1922, p. 42 (reprinted in S. K. De, *Some Problems* p. 245 f).

that this preceptor was apparently well versed in both the theory and practice of poetry. Although chronology does not stand in the way, there are several reasons which might induce one to distinguish the two Indurājas. From Abhinava's commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā*¹, we learn that Bhaṭṭendu was son of Śribhūtirāja and grandson of Saucuka of the Kātyāyana gotra; but of Pratihārendu's genealogy or personal history we know nothing, except that he was a Kauñkāna and a pupil of Mukula². Bhaṭṭendu appears chiefly as a poet who wrote, as Abhinava's quotations show, in Sanskrit and Prakrit, and whose verses apparently supplied a ready source of apt poetic illustrations to his pupil's works, probably inspired by himself. If some of his opinions on Rasa and allied topics are quoted by Abhinava in his commentary on Bharata, they bear no kinship to Pratihārendu's views, as expressed in the latter's commentary on *Udbhaṭṭa*. Although the prefixes Bhaṭṭa and Pratihāra, being mere honorific titles, need not make any serious difference, Abhinava's citation of his teacher always as Bhaṭṭendurāja (and never as Pratihārendurāja) is somewhat remarkable; and in view of the fact that these two Indurājas were probably contemporaries, might this not indicate that Abhinava meant to imply a difference? The two writers are never confused even in later anthologies, for the poet is always designated Indurāja³ or Bhaṭṭendurāja. The conjecture, therefore, is not unlikely that Abhinava's teacher may have been the poet Bhaṭṭendurāja, who is quoted under this designation in

1 Bühler, *op. cit.* pp. 80 and cxlii-vii.

2 It is curious that Abhinava, who takes care to refer to most of his teachers and "teacher of teachers" (*parama-guru*) should have omitted a reference to Mukula, whose work, if he was a *parama-guru*, should have been important to him, inasmuch as it dealt with the quasi-rhetorical question of the functions of word and its sense.

3 Two verses of Indurāja are cited at 287 and 306 (Kavi's ed. of *Nāṭya-sūtra*.)

Kṣemendra's two works¹ as well as in the poetical anthologies² of Śārṅgadhara, Vallabhadeva and Jahlāṇa. The commentator Pratīhārendurāja, on the other hand, was never known for his poetical pretensions, and was chiefly a writer on Poetics, who obviously belonged in his views to the older system of Udbhaṭa and did not, as Abhinava did, believe in newly established doctrine of Dhvani, with which, however, he appears to be fully conversant. Referring to this new theory of Ānandavardhana, Pratīhārendu states in one place (p. 79) that what is known as Dhvani and taken to be "the soul" of Poetry by some thinkers is included implicitly by his author Udbhaṭa in the treatment of some of the poetic figures under discussion, and therefore need not be separately considered. Bhaṭṭendurāja, on the other hand, appears to have favoured the new theory of Dhvani ; for Abhinavagupta (*Locana* p. 2) tells us that this teacher of his explained to him the Maṅgala-śloka of Ānanda's *Vṛtti* in the light of the Dhvani-theory. The standpoints of Pratīhārendurāja and Abhinava are so divergent that it is difficult to admit any spiritual relationship between the two ; for the former was in no way an adherent of the Dhvani-theory, of which Abhinava was a recognised advocate.

(3)

RĀJĀNAKA TILAKA

Jayaratha, commenting on Ruyyaka's (or Rucaka's) *Alamkāra-sarvasva*, refers in more than one place (ed. NSP 1893, pp. 15, 124, 205) to an *Udbhaṭa-viveka* or *Udbhaṭa-*

1 *Aucit, vic.* under *sl. 25, 31* ; *Sivṛitta-til*³ under *sl. 2, 24, 29, 30*.

2 *Subhāṣitāvalī* 918. The verse *parārthe yaḥ pīḍūm*, ascribed to Indurāja in the *Paddhati* of Śārṅgadhara (1052), is quoted anonymously twice by Ānandavardhana (pp. 53, 218), a fact which, however, is not decisive ; because Abhinava's commentary is silent as to the authorship of this verse, which occurs in *Bhallaṭa-śataka* 56 and is ascribed to another poet Yaśas in the *Subhāṣ*⁴ 947. The *Saduktikarṇāmyta* attributes it to Vākpati, while Hemachandra (Comm. p. 257) and Jayaratha (p. 103) cite it anonymously.

vicāra by Rājānaka Tilaka, and states that Ruyyaka generally followed the views propounded by Tilaka. We know that a Rājānaka Tilaka was Ruyyaka's father. An anonymous commentary, entitled *Vivṛti*, has been published in the Gaekwad's Series (see below under Bibliography)¹, along with the text of Udbhaṭa commented upon. It has been claimed by the editor of this publication that the *Vivṛti* is identical with the *Viveka* or *Vicāra* cited by Jayaratna. Attention was drawn to this commentary in a notice of its unique MS, existing in the Madras Govt. Oriental MS Library by the present writer², as well as by Banhatti about the same time in his edition of Udbhaṭa's work. Banhatti is rather cautious in his discussion of the question of identity, but he appears to be inclined to the view that the *Vivṛti* is "evidently a distinct work from the *Udbhaṭa-viveka* or -*vicāra* of Rājānaka Tilaka mentioned by Jayaratna."³ The editor of the *Vivṛti*, however, makes an elaborate attempt to demonstrate that the *Vivṛti* cannot but be taken as the lost *Viveka* or *Vicāra* of Tilaka⁴. The evidence adduced is plausible indeed, but does not appear to be conclusive, and in the absence of more definite data it would be better to leave the question open. That this anonymous commentary is late is evidenced not only by its content but also by its citation of Rājaśekhara's *Viddhaśāla-bhāṣyikā*, as well as by its obvious appropriation of Mammāṭa's standard work. Its value as an exegetical work cannot be placed too high.

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1 See a review by the present writer in *JRAS*, 1934, pp. 173-74.

2 In *BSOS*, iv, 1926, p. 279.

3 P. V. Kane (*HSP* p. 130) agrees with this view.

in the comm. are given mistakenly as Kārikā-verses); (3) ed. N. D. Banhatti, with the comm. of Pratīhārendurāja, Bombay Skt. Series, Poona 1925. Our references are to Telang's edition, unless otherwise indicated.

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Mukula

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Pratīhārendurāja

Edition. With the text of Udbhaṭa as described above.

Rājānaka Tilaka

See above under Commentaries.

VĀMANA

(1)

The upper limit to Vāmana's date is given by his own quotations (IV. 3. 6 and i. 2. 12) from the *Uttara-rāma-carita* (i. 38) and *Mahāvīra-carita* (i. 54) of Bhavabhūti, who is known to have flourished under the patronage of Yaśovarman, king of Kanauj, in the first quarter of the 8th century¹. The lower

1 *Rāja-taraṅga* iv. 144; Bhandarkar, pref. to *Mālati-mādhava* pp. xiiif; *JBRAS* xxiii, p. 92f; S. P. Pandit in pref. to *Gaudaraho* p. lxviif; *WZKM* ii 332f. Reference is made in an argument on an illustrative passage in the Vṛtti on iii. 2. 2 to Subandhu (v. 1. Vasubandhu) a minister of Candragupta. There has been a good deal of controversy over the identity of the king (*bhūpati*) who is said to have been a patron of Subandhu or Vasubandhu (see *IA* xl, 1911, p. 170f, 312; xli, 1912, p. 1, 15; *IHQ* i, p. 261). V. Raghavan (*IHQ* xix, 1943, pp. 70-72) has shewn that it is unnecessary to suppose that Vāmana refers to Subandhu, the well known author of the prose *Kathā Vāsavadattā*; Vāmana is speaking of a minister named Subandhu of Candragupta Maurya and Bindusāra—whose drama is cited by Abhinavagupta as *Vāsavadattā Nātya-dhārū* of Mahākavi

limit is given by Rājaśekbara's quotation (p. 14) from Vāmana i. 2. 1-3, and his reference to the Vāmanīyas, which indicates that by end of the 9th century Vāmana had a respectable number of followers going by his name. We learn also from Abhinavagupta (*Locana*, p. 37)¹ that Vāmana was probably known, in the middle of the 9th century, to Ānandavardhana who, however, never directly cites Vāmana but seems to refer, in a manner not to be mistaken, to the latter's Rīti theory in his *Vṛtti* on iii. 52. Like Bhāmava, Daṇḍin and Udbbaṭa, Vāmana probably lived before the Dhvani-theory, under Ānandavardhana, came into prominence; and Pratīhārendurāja, who professes a great reverence for Vāmana's views, expressly states (p. 81), while discussing *alaṃkāra-dhvani*, that in such cases Vāmana has employed the term *vakrokti* (iv. 3. 8)². We will not be wrong, therefore, if we fix the lower limit of Vāmana's date at the middle of the 9th century³.

Subandhu, the term *Nāṭya-dhārā* signifying that the entire drama was developed by a series of acts within acts.

1 The *Locana* quotes from Vāmana at pp. 8, 10, 180, also *Abhinava-bharati* vol. i, p. 283 (=Vāmana i. 3. 30-31)—Vāmana quotes (iv. 3. 10 *ubhas yadi vyomini*) from Māgha iii. 8; also Vāmana v. 2. 9 = Māgha i. 25. The words *yo bhartr-śāntasya* cited as ungrammatical in v. 2. 28 occurs in *Pratijñā-yangandharṣaya* iv. 3; and the verse *śaracchālākha-gaureya* cited in iv. 3. 25, occurs in *Śvapna-śayadatta* iv. 7.

2 Even supposing with Jacobi that Vāmana was contemporaneous with the anonymous Dhvanikāra, he cannot yet be shown to have been influenced in any way by the opinions of that school. The remarks of Ruyyaka (p. 7) and Jayaratha apparently support the trend of Pratīhārendurāja's opinion, and Jayaratha expressly says, with reference to these old writers, that they were unaware of the views of the Dhvanikāra (*dhvani-kāra-matam ebbhī na dṛṣṭam*, p. 3), the Dhvanikāra being, in Jayaratha's opinion, the same as Ānandavardhana himself.

3 Cappeller's thesis propounded (in *Vāmana's Stilregeln* pp. iii f; also pref. to his ed. pp. vii f) that Vāmana should be placed later than 1000 A.D. is disproved entirely by the quotations given above. Cf. Pischel, *op. cit.* pp. 23 f. The mention of Kavīrāja need not, as Pischel shows, of itself place Vāmana as late as 1000 A.D.

These considerations make it probable that Vāmana lived between the middle of the 8th and the middle of the 9th century, at about 800 A.D., and justify Bühler's identification, in deference to Kahlāṇa iv. 497 and "the tradition of Kashmirian Pandits", of our Vāmana with the Vāmana who was a minister of Jayāpīda of Kashmir (779-813 A.D.). This conclusion makes Udbhaṭa and Vāmana contemporaries and rivals; and the way in which Rājaśekhara, Hemacandra and Jayaratha refer to the two rival schools of Vāmanīyas and Audbhāṭas lends colour to such a supposition.

The *Vṛitti* (with illustration) on the *Sūtras*, called *Kavipriyā*, is composed, as its *maṅgala-śloka* indicates, by Vāmana himself (cf iv. 3. 33). This is confirmed by the fact that later writers ascribe both parts of the work to Vāmana¹. The illustrations, as he himself informs us, are both *svīya* and *parakīya* (iv. 3. 33). Vāmana's work, after the *sūtra*-style, is divided into five *Adhikaraṇas*, each of which is divided again into *Adhyāyas*. The first and fourth *Adhikaraṇa* have three *Adhyāyas*, the rest two each, the total number of *Adhyāyas* being twelve. The subject-matter of the *Adhikaraṇas* is indicated by their naming: (i) *Śārīra* (ii) *Doṣa-darśana* (iii) *Guṇa-vivecana* (iv) *Ālamkārīka* and (v) *Prāyogika*. The last *Adhyāya* deals with *Śabda-śuddhi* or grammatical correctness as an aspect of *Prāyogika*. The number of *Ālamkāras* defined and illustrated is thirty-six.

(2)

It has already been noted that Vāmana, in many respects, attempts to improve upon the system of Daṇḍin. Vāmana does not claim entire originality with regard to the illustrations he cites, and many of them may be traced to well known sources. The *Riti-theory* itself, which Vāmana for the first time clearly and systematically enunciates, is probably older than Bhāmaha, who alludes to the classification of the *gauḍī*

1 E.g. *Pratīhārendurāja* (p. 17, 76, 81, 84); *Locana* (p. 37).

and *vaidarbhi* ; and Vāmana himself cites from unknown expositors of the past, e.g. in his *Vṛtti* on I. 2. 11, 12-13 ; 3. 15, 29, 32; II. 1. 18; 2. 19 ; III. 1. 2. 9, 25 ; 2. 15 ; IV. 1. 7. etc., with *atra lokāḥ* or *tathā cāhūḥ*. While Daṇḍin supplies an important link between these unknown authors and Vāmana, we find the theory in its completely self-conscious form in the latter. But it appears to have languished after Ānandavardhana came into the field, in spite of the fact that Vāmana's influence apparently created a school known in later times as the Vāmanīya.

MANGALA

To this school probably belonged Maṅgala, who must have been a comparatively early writer, having been cited by Rājasekhara (pp. 11, 14, 16, 20). Maṅgala, we are told by Hemacandra (Comm. p. 195), agrees with Bharata in his definition of Ojas, and maintains with Vāmana that Daṇḍin is not right in emphasising it in the *gaṇī riti*, inasmuch as it is common to all the Rītis.¹ This is all we hear about this writer, but it would indicate that in his views he leaned towards the system of Vāmana who was probably his predecessor. A poet Maṅgala is quoted in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*.

(3)

COMMENTATORS ON VĀMANA

The existing commentaries on Vāmana are mostly late, and are therefore hardly acceptable to a critical and historical student. The *Kāma-dhenu* by the South Indian, Gopendra Tippa Bhūpāla, who was governor under Devarāya II (1423-46 A. D.) of the Vijayanagara dynasty, is a lucid exposition of the text, and its popularity is indicated by its frequent publication in India.

¹ Cf. Maṇikyacandra (*Samketa*, Mysore ed. p. 292).

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Commentaries. (1) *Kāma-dhēmī* by Gopendra (or Govinda) Tippa (or Tirpurahara as he himself renders the name, introd. v. 8) Bhūpāla, about whom see above. He cites, among numerous other authors, Vidyādhara, Vidyānātha, Bhaṭṭa Gopāla (the commentator on *Mammaṭa* ?), Ghaṇṭāpātha (apparently of Mallinātha) and Dharmadūsa Sūri's *Vidagdha-mukha-maṇḍana* (on ii. 2. 21). He is thus later than the 14th century. He cites a work called *Kavi-gajākuśa*. Ed. with the text in Grantha-pradarśinī 1895 ; in the Benares Sansk. Series and in the Srivani-vilasa Press, etc. Our references are by pages to the Benares Ed. (2) *Sāhitya-sarvasva* by Maheśvara (IOC 566 ; ABod 207b). See Śrīvatsalāñchana (under Commentators on *Mammaṭa* below). (3) A Commentary by Sahadeva quoted in the notes to the Gaekwad edition (Baroda) of *Kāvya-mūnāṇīśā* p. 5.

RUDRĀṭA AND RUDRABHATTA

(1)

The lower limit of Rudrāṭa's date is furnished by the citation of Rudrāṭa by name and reference to his *kāku-vakrokti* figure (ii. 16) by Rājaśekhara (p. 31) at the end of the

9th and beginning of the 10th century. This conclusion is supported by two considerations. Vallabhadeva who, as we shall presently see, flourished in the first half of the 10th century, quotes RudraṄa by name in his commentary on Māgba (ed. Kashi Sansk. Series 1929. ii. 44) and mentions (on iv. 21) that he himself also composed a commentary on RudraṄa's treatise on Alāmkāra, where he had discussed in detail the points in question; while in the same commentary Hultzsch notes numerous references, mostly anonymous, to RudraṄa¹. Again, Pratīhārendurāja, about the same time, quotes anonymously (pp 42, 49) RudraṄa's Kārikā-verses vii. 35 and xii. 4, as well as cites (p. 43) the illustrative stanza in RudraṄa vii. 36². Abhinavagupta also quotes anonymously (*Locana*, p. 45) a Kārikā-verse of RudraṄa's (vii. 38). This sets aside altogether the conjectural date, viz. the second half of the 11th century, assigned by Bühler³, as well as his revised date⁴, viz. the middle of the 10th century, which Peterson⁵ first put forward.

The upper limit cannot be so definitely settled; but it seems probable that RudraṄa was younger than Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana, with regard to whose date his own time is to be settled. We need not go so far as to hold with Jacobi⁶ that RudraṄa derived his idea of *vakrokti* from Ratnākara's well known poem *Vakrokti-pañcāśikā*, and therefore was

1 See Hultzsch's pref. to his edition of *Megha-dūta* with Vallabhadeva's comm., London 1911, p. x-xi. These references are not all found in the printed text. This Vallabhadeva must be distinguished from the compiler of the *Subhāṣ*⁷ who bears the same name.

2 Cf. Fischel in *GgA*, 1885, p. 764. Other quotations by Pratīhārendurāja are: p. 11=R viii. 40; p. 31=R viii. 89; p. 34=R viii. 95. Also Dhanika on iv. 35=R xii. 4.

3 *Kashmir Rep.* p. 67.

4 *IA* xii. 30.

5 Peterson i (*Detailed Report* 1883) p. 14; also introd. to *Subhāṣ*⁸ p. 105. Their arguments are based on the date of Nami-sādhu's commentary on RudraṄa, which is now known to be dated in 1069 A.D. See below on Nami-sādhu.

6 *WZKM* ii. 151 f.

later than Ratnākara, son of Amṛtabhānu, who lived under Bṛhaspati and Avantivarṇian of Kashmir ; but it is clear that if this new idea of *vakrokti* did not originate with Ratnākara or even with Rudraṇa, it was defined for the first time by the latter and illustrated by the former as a particular poetic figure. This verbal figure is described as resting on *śleṣa* (paronomasia) or *kāku* (intonation) and is based on a deliberate misunderstanding of one's words for the purpose of making a clever retort (Rudraṇa ii. 14-17). Bhāmaha (ii. 85), on the other hand, had taken *vakrokti*, not as a particular poetic figure, but as a certain strikingness of expression which characterises all poetic figures ; while Daṇḍin had limited the range of *vakrokti* and made it a collective name for all poetic figures with the exception of *svabhārokta* (ii. 362 and *comm.* thereon). Vāmana was the first to regard *vakrokti* as a special poetic figure (*arīhālāṇikāra*), but he too used the expression in a more or less general sense to denote a particular mode of metaphorical expression based on *lakṣaṇā* or transferred sense (iv. 3. 8)¹. From this it appears that (1) the term *vakrokti* travelled through all these writings from a very broad sense as the distinguishing characteristic of all poetic figures to the precise and narrow signification of a specific verbal poetic figure in Rudraṇa's definition ; a definition which, however, unquestionably established itself in all later writers (except in Kuntaka who developed his idea directly from Bhāmaha) ; (2) the order of development points apparently to the conclusion that Rudraṇa was probably later than Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana ; for in his time the broader and older connotation of *vakrokti* was out of date, and it came to be looked upon as a defined species of *śabdālāṇikāra* ; and (3) its illustration by Ratnākara indicates its existence, independently of Rudraṇa, in the 9th century A. D. These indications make it probable, apart from a detailed examination of Rudraṇa's other theories in relation to those of

¹ Cf. Jacobi in *ZDMG* Ixv, p. 130f.

Bbāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana, that the substance of Rudraṭa's teaching was probably later than that of these older writers. If this conclusion is accepted, then Rudraṭa should be placed after Vāmana, who is the latest member of this group ; and this gives us the upper limit to his date.

It seems probable, that Rudraṭa should be placed between the first quarter of the 9th century and its end ; for he appears to be unknown to Ānandavardhana. It will not be wrong if we accept the most plausible date assigned to him by Pischel¹, viz. the middle of the 9th century². The date makes him a contemporary of Ānandavardhana, who never cites or refers to Rudraṭa, as he, does to other well-known predecessors, and by whom this peculiar *ālambikārika* connotation of *vakrokti*, if known, was not apparently recognised.

Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālambikāra* consists of 16 *Adhyāyas* and 734 *Kārikās* in *Aryā* metre (excepting the concluding verses) and comprehends almost all the topics of Poetics. This enumeration excludes 14 *Kārikās* after xii. 40 (dealing with eight kinds of *Nāyikā*) which are declared to be interpolated passages.³

(2)

What is said here about Rudraṭa does not apply to Rudra or Rudrahaṭṭa, although Pischel⁴, Weher⁵, Aufrecht⁶ and

1 Pref. to *Sṛng. til.* pp. 12, 26.

2 The suggestion of Jacobi that Rudraṭa, whose name implies that he was a Kashmuran, was a contemporary of Śaṅkaravarman of Kashmir, successor of Avantivarman, does not make any essential difference to our conclusion, although it is not certain that the example of *vakrokti* given by Rudrata in ii. 15 was at all prompted by Ratnākara, whose work contains similar railleries between Śiva and Gaurī.

3 For summary of topics in Rudraṭa's work see vol. ii. ch. ii (3) below.

4 Pref. to *Sṛng. til.* : *ZDMG* xlii. 1888, pp. 296-304, 425.

5 *Ind. Stud.* xvii.

6 *ZDMG* xxvii pp. 80-t, xxxvi p. 376; *Cat. Bod.* 209b; *Cat. Cat.* pp. 528b, 530a.

Bühler¹ take the two authors to be identical. The identity is declared doubtful by Peterson² and is not admitted by Durgaprasada³ and Trivedi⁴. Finally, Jacobi has set at rest this controversy by showing elaborately, from an examination of their respective texts, that these two writers were in all probability different persons⁵.

From v. 12-14 of the *Kāvyālamīkāra* of Rudraṭa, as interpreted by Nami-sādhu, it appears that Rudraṭa, also called Śatānanda, was son of Bhāṭṭa Vāmukha and a follower of the Sāma-veda. Rudrabhāṭṭa's genealogy or personal history is unknown. But much has been made of the apparent similarity of the two names. The last verse⁶ of the *Śrīgāratilaka*, however, expressly gives the name of its author as Rudra, with which description most of the MSS agree⁷; while both Nami-sādhu and Vallabha call the author of the *Kāvyālamīkāra* by the name of Rudraṭa. The two authors belong, again, apparently to two different religious persuasions, Rudra being a worshipper of Śiva, and Rudraṭa omitting a reference to this deity and mentioning instead Bhavānī and Murāri (besides the usual Gaṇeśa).

1 *Kashmir Rep.* p. 67.

2 *Rep.* i, p. 14; pref. to *Subhāṣ*° pp. 104-5; but *contra* in *Report* ii, p. 19 footnote.

3 Footnote to the ed. of *Śrīg. til.* p. 1.

4 Notes to his ed. of *Ekāvalī* p. 3.

5 *WZKM* ii, 1888, pp. 151-56; *ZDMG* xlii pp. 425 f.

6 The last verse, however, is not found in some MSS.

7 With the curious exception of a Kashmirian MS in Śāradā characters (Bühler's *Kashmir Rep.* no. 264) where the name is given as Rudraṭa. This unique testimony raises a legitimate suspicion, but it can be explained as a piece of not unnatural confusion made by a Kashmirian scribe, to whom the more famous name of Rudraṭa must have been more familiar. The same remark applies to the India office MS no. 1131 (*Cat.* vii, p. 321) and the South Indian MS in *Madras Cat.* xxii (1918) no. 12955, in which, however, the last verse gives the name as Rudra. This evidence, however, of colophons of MSS is not decisive; and it is well known that even later anthologies and writers of note make a similar confusion between the two authors.

Taking the works themselves, Rudraṇa's text of sixteen chapters covers a much larger ground than Rudra's much shorter work of three chapters, and presents a distinctly different outlook. Rudraṇa puts a greater emphasis on the *kāvyālambikāras* or poetic figures which supply, as Nāmī-sādhu points out, the name of the work itself, and which absorb its eleven chapters, leaving only five concluding chapters for a brief supplementary treatment of Rasa, the cognate topic of *nāyaka-nāyikā* and the general problems of poetry. The keystone of Rudra's system, on the other hand, is the idea of Rasa, having special reference to *śringāra* (ch. i. and ii.) with just a summary description of the other Rasas (ch. iii.); and the chief value of his smaller text consists in his minute poetical treatment of the theme of *śringāra-rasa* and *nāyaka-nāyikā*. It will appear, therefore, that while Rudraṇa's scope and method are more ambitiously theoretical and comprehensive, Rudrabhāṭṭa merely singles out a part of the whole subject, and not troubling himself about definitions and rules (which appear almost word for word as they are in Rudraṇa) gives us, in his apt and finely composed illustrative verses, a practical poetical manual on the subject of love and other sentiments. Jacobi, therefore, rightly remarks that "Rudraṇa appears as an original teacher of poetics, while Rudra, at his best an original poet, follows, as an expounder of his *Sāstra*, the common herd."

With regard to the common topics, there is however, a general agreement, even to minute details, which has misled some scholars to attribute the two works to the same author. But beneath this general agreement, the two works reveal many points of difference which affect some of the fundamental conceptions of their respective authors. Taking, for instance, their treatment of Rasa, we find that while Rudra (i. 9) follows the general tradition, prevailing from Udbhaṭṭa's time, of mentioning nine Rasas, Rudraṇa adds one more, viz. *preyas* (xii. 3), treating them in an order somewhat different from that followed by Rudra. Rudra enumerates and dis-

cusses at some length the *bhāvas* (i. 10-19), which are summarily referred to by Rudraṭa in one verse only (xii. 4). A similar difference will be noted in the treatment of *Vṛttis*, of which Rudra (i. 12) mentions, after Bharata (xx. 24f), the usual four (viz. *kaiśikī*, *ārabhaṭī*, *sāttvārī* and *bhāratī*), originally taken as styles of dramatic composition but borrowed here apparently with a similar purpose from dramaturgy to poetry (cf. Bharata *loc. cit.* 21). Rudraṭa, on the other hand, speaks (ii. 19f), after Udbhaṭa,¹ of five *vṛttis* (viz. *madhūrā*, *praudhīā*, *paruṣā*, *lalitā* and *bhadrā*), which have nothing to do with the above four, but being comprised under alliteration (*anuprāsa*) refer primarily to suitable sound-adjustment by special arrangement of letters. With regard to the cognate topic of *nāyaka-nāyikā*, similar material discrepancies can be detected. While Rudra describes at some length the eight conventional *avasthās* (conditions or situations) of the *nāyikā* (i. 131-32), Rudraṭa mentions only four (viz., *abhisārikā*, *khaṇḍitā*, *svādhīna-patikā* and *proṣita-patikā*, xii. 41f), although to make up for this unwanted divergence there is in some MSS a long passage (between xii. 40 and 41), describing the usual eight conditions but irreconcilable to its context, and rightly stigmatised by Rudraṭa's editor as interpolated. The third class of heroine, again, viz., the courtesan (*veṣyā*), appears to be favoured by Rudra (i. 120-30), while Rudraṭa dismisses her in two verses only (xii. 39-40) with an apparent note of condemnation. The tenfold state of a lover, beginning with desire and ending in death, is mentioned in passing by Rudraṭa (xiv. 4-5), but Rudra defines and illustrates each of these states in detail (ii. 6-30). While the trespasses in love, according to Rudra (ii. 53), depend on time (*kāla*), place (*deśa*) and circumstances (*prasaṅga*), Rudraṭa thinks (xiv. 18) that a fourth condition, viz. the person concerned (*pātra*) should be added.

1 Udbhaṭa mentions only three *vṛttis* in connexion with *anuprāsa*, viz. *paruṣā*, *upanāgarikā* and *grāmyā* (i. 4-7).

All these indications make it highly probable that Rudraṭa and Rudra were two different persons ; but if this is so, how are we to explain the fact most of the verses in the *Śrīgāra-tilaka* are, but for their difference in metre (*anusūbh* and *āryā* respectively) identical almost word for word with the corresponding verses in the *Kāvyālambikāra*? This point has been emphasised with some plausibility by the advocates of the identity of the two writers. But it should be noticed that this extraordinary verbal coincidence does not extend beyond those verses which give the rules and definitions ; for the illustrative stanzas in the *Śrīgāra-tilaka*, composed in a variety of metres, and forming a distinctive feature of this more poetical work, do not occur in the *Kāvyālambikāra* at all. It is not unusual to find similar treatment and terminology in technical treatises, abounding in standardised and conventional rules and definitions ; but this is not enough to explain this extraordinary plagiarism tempered, it is true, by the presence of highly poetical and presumably original¹ stanzas composed to illustrate these dry rules and definitions. Nor is this explanation, which is based on the supposed identity of the two writers, at all free from considerable doubt in view of the discrepancies noted above. The real explanation probably lies in the supposition that Rudra, apparently a later writer and chiefly a poet, and never pretending to be an original teacher of Poetics, found in these ready-made rules of Rudraṭa enough poetic possibilities, as well as an opportunity of displaying his own poetic powers, and proceeded forthwith to furnish the missing poetic illustrations.² As he did not apparently aspire to write an original

1 Some illustrative stanzas in the *Śrīg. til.* are taken from earlier works like the *Amaru-sātaka*.

2 These chapters in Rudraṭa are purely expository, and are not fully illustrated as the preceding chapters are. One may be led to suppose that Rudraṭa himself composed the *Śrīgāra-tilaka* to supply this deficiency, but this hypothesis does not sufficiently explain the divergence of views on the points noted above, which apparently indicates that the task of supplementing could not have been under-

thesis on the topics concerned, he did not trouble to alter the wording of the fixed canons and made only enough changes to suit the metre. While Rudraṭa is concerned directly with rules and prescriptions, Rudra is more practical in his object and treatment and intends his treatise on love apparently to serve as a psychologico-poetical guide to the gay science, furnishing it, as he does, with an elaborate analysis of the various moods and sentiments, which belong to the province of *Erotics* as well as *Poetics*¹.

taken by himself but by some other author, who held some views different from his own. It cannot be argued that chapters xii-xvi in question, which contain this deficiency, is a later addition by some other hand, on the ground that the closing verse of ch. xi reads like the end of the work itself; for a similar remark applies to the closing verses of chapters iii, iv and v.

1 The quotations from these two writers in later literature are unfortunately mostly anonymous, and do not materially help us in deciding this question. Among the very few cases where the author's name is cited along with his verses, Mammaṭa, himself a Kashmirian, correctly refers (*ad ix. 8a*) the verse *sphuṭam arthālaṃkāram* to Rudraṭa (iv. 32). Samudrābandha (p. 6) and Hemācandra (p. 286 Comm.) refer rightly to Rudraṭa vii. 38-40 and vii. 27 respectively. Ruyyaka, while discussing Rudraṭa's views does not refer to his treatment of the Rasas at all. On the other hand, Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa (p. 35) cites *vāmatā durlabhatyam* from *Śrīgāra-til.* (ii. 41), and correctly refers to the author as Rudra. Vallabhadeva in his anthology cites a number of verses from the *Kāyyūlamkāra* (421=ii. 17; 730=iii. 57; 1387=vi. 10; 1667=ii. 30; 2047=vii. 71; 2061=vii. 33; 2234=vii. 41; 2409=vii. 32), and with two exceptions, gives the name of the author correctly as Rudraṭa. Similarly, Śārṅgadhara quotes eight verses from the *Śrīgāra-til.* (3409=i. 95; 3567=i. 35; 3568=i. 81; 3679=ii. 107; 3578=ii. 12; 3579=ii. 50; 3675=i. 51; 3754=i. 30), and with two exceptions, again, refers them correctly to Rudra. The two exceptions of Śārṅgadhara (viz. 3773 and 3788) are wrongly attributed to Rudra; but Vallabhadeva quotes the very same verses (2234 and 1667), and correcting the mistake refers them rightly to Rudraṭa. Vallabhadeva's two exceptions (2247 and 3122) cannot be found in Rudraṭa to whom they are attributed, nor in Rudra. Jahṛaṇa attributes 21 verses to Rudra, of which 5 cannot be traced in his work. Of these, *kim gauri nūm* occurs in Rudraṭa ii. 16; *ambā Sete'tra* occurs

(3)

Rudrahaṭṭa's date is uncertain; but as Hemacandra (p. 110) is the oldest writer to quote anonymously and criticise his *mangala*-verse (i. 1), we should place him between Rudraāa and Hemacandra, i.e. later than the 9th century but earlier, probably not much earlier, than the 12th. One verse, however, of Rudra, which cannot be traced in his *Śringāra-silaka*, is quoted by Dhanika (iv. 60, ed. N.S.P. 1917, p. 103); and if this Rudra is the same as our author, he should be placed before the end of the 10th century.¹

(4)

COMMENTATORS ON RUDRAĀA

Vallabhadeva

Vallabhadeva's commentary on *Rudrajālamīkāra*, referred to by himself in his commentary on Māgha (on iv. 21, vi. 28) is the earliest known commentary on Rudraāa and is still to be recovered. Vallabhadeva, who bore the surname of Paramāratha-cīhna and who describes himself as son of Rājānaka Ānandadeva², is a well-known commentator on several standard poetical works, including those of Kālidāsa, Māgha, Mayūra and Ratnākara. He was apparently a Kashmirian and probably belonged to the first half of the 10th century; for his grandson Kayyaṭa, son of Candrāditya, wrote a commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Devi-śataka*³ in

in *Kavi-vacana-saṃc.*; 505 = *Subhāṣī* 2247 (attributed to Rudraāa) = *Saduktī-karṇa* ii. 73 (attributed to Bhaṭṭa); *ekākinī yad abalā* is attributed wrongly to Rudra (as in the *Paddhati* 3773) but correctly assigned by Vallabhadeva to Rudraāa. Hemacandra quotes anonymously three verses from Rudra (i. 1=p. 110; i. 44=p. 304; i. 68=p. 305).

1 Dhanika also quotes anonymously from Rudrata (xii. 4) in his comm. on iv. 35, ed. N.S.P. Cf. Rudrabhaṭṭa i. 16

2 From the closing verse of the comm. on *Vakrokti-pañcāśikā* Ānandadeva seems to have held some high appointment in Kashmir (colophon in *Kāvyamālā Gucchaka* i, p. 114; Mitra x, no. 4064).

3 See footnote to the ed. of *Vakrokti-pañcāśikā* in *Kāvyamālā*,

977-78 A. D., during the reign of Bhīmagupta of Kashmir (977-82 A. D.). Vallabha's preceptor was Prakāśavarṣa who, Hultzsch thinks, is perhaps identical with the poet Prakāśavarṣa, who is quoted in *Subhāṣitāvalī* and *Śāringadharapaddhati* and who wrote a commentary on Bhāravi (Aufrecht i. 347). Our author must be distinguished from Vallabhadeva, the compiler of the anthology *Subhāṣitāvalī*, who is assigned by Aufrecht to the 16th century¹. From Hultzsch's list of Vallabha's quotations in his commentary on Māgha it is interesting to note that he cites Medhāvirudra, Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa, Bhaṭṭi and the *Viṣamabāṇa-līlā* (apparently the Prakrit poem of Ānandavardhana).

Nami-sādhu

After Vallabhadeva, comes Nami (known as Nami-sādhu or Nami-paṇḍita), who is described as a Śveta-bhikṣu, indicating that he was a Śvetāmbara Jaina. He describes himself as "the bee that sucked honey from the lotus-feet of Śrī-śālibhadra Sūri, the ornament of the *gaccha* of the city of Thārāpadra". We know that Jinabhadra Sūri, who was a pupil of Śālibhadra, wrote in Saṃvat 1204=1148 A. D.² Śālibhadra is also referred to as Śrī-śāli-sūri in another work of Nami's called *Ṣadāvaśyaka-fīkā*, of which the date is given in the work itself as Saṃvat 1122=1065 A. D.³ In one of the concluding verses of his commentary on Rudraṭa, Nami states that his commentary was composed in Saṃvat 1125=1069 A. D.⁴ Among writers on Poetics

Gucchaka i, pp. 101-2: and to ed. of the *Devī-Sataka* in *ibid*, Gucchaka ix. p. 1. Cf. Hultzsch's pref. to *Megha-dūta* p. ix.

1 Bühler (*Kunst Poesie* p. 71) thinks that anthologist Vallabhadeva flourished between 1400 and 1350 A.D. The date now requires revision, for this anthology is quoted directly (with the names of the work and author) by Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda in 1160 A.D. in his commentary on the *Amara-koṣa*. See on this question S. K. De in *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 471-91 and *BSOS*, v, pt. i, p. 27f; v, pt. iii, p. 499f.

2 Peterson i p. 68.

3 Peterson iii p. 13.

4 *pañca-viṁśati-saṁyuktair ekādaśa-samāśataiḥ / vikramāt sama-*

cited by Nami on Rudra $\ddot{\text{a}}$, we find the names of Bharata (p. 150, 156, 164), Medhāvirudra (pp. 2, 9, 145), Bhāmaha (p. 2, 116), Daṇḍin (pp. 2, 5, 169), Vāmana (pp. 11, 100, 116), Udbha $\ddot{\text{a}}$ (pp. 69, 82, 150) and the *Arjuna-carita* by Ānandavardhana. He also cites *Tilaka-maṇjari* (on xvi. 3) apparently of Dhanapāla, and one Jayadeva on prosody (on i. 18, 20).¹ It is interesting to note that Nami quotes a Prakrit verse from one Hari (ii. 10), presumably a writer on Poetics, which mentions eight Vṛttis instead of five of Rudra $\ddot{\text{a}}$.

Āśādhara

Peterson (ii, p. 85) brought to our notice another Jaina commentator on Rudra $\ddot{\text{a}}$, called Āśādhara, son of Sallakṣaṇa and Ratni. He was a Jaina teacher who lived till Samvat 1296=1240 A.D. He should be distinguished from Āśādhara, son of Rāmajī Bhaṭṭa, a very late writer who composed a commentary on Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*.² In the Praśasti at the end of his *Dharmāmṛta*, Āśādhara's personal history is given. He belonged to the Vyāghreravāla family and was son of Sallakṣaṇa (or Lakṣaṇa) and Ratni. He was born in the fortress of Maṇḍalakara situated in the country round the Śākambharī (Sambhar) Lake. He had by his wife Sarasvatī a son named Chāhaḍa, who was a favourite of Arjunavarman of

tīkṛṇtaḥ prāvṛṣidam samarhitam. The reading *pahe-śat-sati** in this verse is doubted on the authority of Kielhorn's palm-leaf MS (*Report*, 1880-81, p. 63) which reads instead *śat-saptati*. This new reading will place Nami much later; but it is not supported by other MSS (e.g. Mitra 3102; Stem 61; Peterson i p. 16), as well as by the evidences adduced above from other sources. Kielhorn's reading is obviously incorrect in itself, because it makes the verse deficient in metre.

1 For this author see H. D. Velankar, *Jayadevan*, Bombay 1949. This Jayadeva and his *Chandah-sastra* are also cited by Abhinavagupta in his comm. on Bharata. For his date (before 950 A.D.) see P. K. Gode in *Poona Orientalist*, pp. 33-38 (reprinted in his *Studies in Indian Lit. Hist.* 1, pp. 135-43).

2 The two are confused by Aufrecht i. 54b and, following him by Harichand Sastri p. 18; but Aufrecht expresses doubt about their identity.

Mālava (first quarter of the 13th century). After the invasion of Sāhibadīna, king of the Turuṣkas (apparently Shāhābu-d-din Ghūr, Sultan of Delhi, who vanquished Pṛthurāja in 1193 A.D.), Āśādhara emigrated to Mālava and lived in Dhārā, where he learned the doctrines of Jaina faith and Jinendra-vyākaraṇa from Paṇḍita Mahāvīra, pupil of Dharasena. Āśādhara was reputed for his learning, being praised by the sage Udayasena, by the poet Vihlaṇa (*sic*) who is *not* the Kashmirian poet Bihlaṇa who lived about 1070-90 A.D., but minister of Vijayavarman king of the Vindhya, and by the great *yati* Madanakīrti. He wrote more than 15 works, of which he gives a list, referring also to his commentary on Rudraṭa¹. His *Triṣaṣṭi-smṛti-sāstra*, which gives stories of 63 great men mentioned in the Jaina Purāṇas, was composed in 1236 A.D.²

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Nami-sādhī

Edition. *Kāvyamālā* 2, 1886, 1909, with the text (see above).

Āśādhara

Mss. Aufrecht i 103a, 779a.

No MS of Vallabhadeva's commentary on Rudraṭa is known.

Rudrabhāṭṭa

Editions. *Śrīgāra-tīlaka* (1) by Pischel with an introd. Kiel 1886 (2) *Kāvyamālā* Gucchaka iii 1887, 1899. Our references are to Pischel's edition.

1 Peterson ii p. 85 and fn; Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, pp. 103-4.

2 Aufrecht i 54b. Winteritz (*Geschichte*, ii, p. 354, fn 5) assigns 1228-1244 A.D. as the date of Āśādhara's literary activity. See also Kielhorn in *EJ.* ix. 1908, p. 107f.

Commentary. *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, son of Harivamśa Bhaṭṭa Drāviḍa. See under Commentators on Mammaṭa and Bhānudatta, below. Mentioned in Kāvyamālā ed. of the text (p. 111). He calls his author Rudra. If the Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, cited by Kumārasvāmin, be the same person, then he is earlier than the beginning of the 15th century. As Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, appears to be a South Indian writer, this conjecture is probable. Oppert's entry of *Vana-taraṅgiṇī* (ii 2711, 1787) on Rudraṭa is apparently a mistake for this work, and the name Rudraṭa is a confusion for Rudra.

THE WRITER ON ALAMKĀRA IN THE VIŚNU-DHARMOTTARA AND AGNI-PURĀṇA

The Viśnu-dharmottara

The *Viśnu-dharmottara*¹, counted as an Upapurāṇa, is one of the later Purāṇic works of an encyclopaedic character which, in the course of its rapid treatment of multifarious subjects, devotes a few chapters to the topics of dancing (Nrīta), singing (Gita) and music (Ātodya), Poetics (Alamkāra), Dramaturgy (Nāṭya) and allied subjects. The work consists of three Kāṇḍas of more than eight hundred chapters, the distribution and number of chapters in each Kāṇḍa being as follows: i—ch. 269; ii—ch. 183; iii—ch. 355. We are concerned here only with a few chapters of Kāṇḍa iii, which begins with what is called *Citra-sūtra* or the art of painting and proceeds to the allied topics of dancing, singing and music. Ch. 14-15 of this Kāṇḍa is devoted generally to some topics of Poetics. They name and define 17 kinds of poetic figures (*alamkāras*), which are: Anuprāsa, Yamaka (two types Saṃdaṣṭa and Samudga distinguished), Rūpaka, Vyatireka, Śleṣa, Utprekṣā, Arthāntara-nyāsa, Upa-nyāsa (probably a kind of Vjājokti), Vibhāvanā, Atiśayokti, Svabhāvokti (or according to some MSS. Vārtā), Yathā-saṃkh-

1 For a detailed account of the content of this huge compilation, chapter by chapter, see R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, i, Calcutta 1958, pp. 147-218.

ya, Viśeṣokti, Virodha, Nindā-stuti, Nidarśana and Ananvaya. In this list may be included Upamā which, however, is not explicitly mentioned or defined. In some of these verses reference is made to older authorities (*purātana* or *purāṇa*). Ch. 15 speaks of Kāvya and distinguishes it from Śāstra and Itihāsa. The Mahākāvya is then defined and characterised ; it should contain nine Rasas, namely, Śringāra, Hāsyā, Karuṇā, Raudra, Vīra, Bhayānaka, Bībhasta, Adbhuta and Śānta; there should be description of towns, countries etc ; it should have a Nāyaka and Pratināyaka, but it should not describe death of the Nāyaka. Ch. 16 names, defines and classifies Prahelikās. Ch. 17-31, based mostly on Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*, deal generally with dramaturgy. The Rūpakaś are classified into 12 varieties, namely, Nāṭaka, Nāṭikā, Prakaraṇa, Prakaraṇī, Utsṛṣṭikāṇka, Bhāṇa, Samavakāra, Īhāmṛga, Vyāyoga, Vīthi, Dīma and Prahasana. Eight types of Nāyikās are distinguished, namely, Vāsaka-sajjā, Virahotkanṭhitā, Svādhīna-bhartṛkā, Kalahāntaritā, Khaṇḍitā, Vipralabdha, Proṣita-bhartṛkā and Abhisārikā. Ch. 18-19 deal with the different kinds of vocal (Gīta) and instrumental (Ātodya) music, appropriate to the nine Rasas. Ch. 20-29 define Nāṭya, classify Nṛtta, deal generally with the construction of the stage and its attendant religious rites and describe the four modes of Abhinaya, namely, Āṅgika, Sātvika, Vācika and Āhārya. Ch. 30 deals in 28 verses with the nine Rasas (including Śānta) and their mode of delineation. Ch. 31 describes 49 Bhāvas, including Nirveda.

This brief résumé will give a rough idea of the topics included in the 28 chapters of the Upapurāṇa on Alambikāra, Nāṭya and allied subjects. But the section is essentially a rapid compilation and presents no definite system. The date of the Upapurāṇa, however, must be early. It is later certainly than Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra* which is used as a source, but it is earlier probably than Bhaṭṭi and the works of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, who enumerate a much larger number of poetic figures. Its internal evidence as a whole indicates that it cannot be

earlier than 400 A. D. and later than 500 A. D. It was composed either in Kashmir or in the northernmost part of the Panjab; but its date is too early for any reference, direct or indirect, to the Kashmirian Dhvani school.¹

The Agni-purāṇa

The writer on *Alamkāra* in the *Agni-purāṇa* (chs. 336-346) attempts to treat the subject of Poetics in what may be described roughly as an eclectic fashion, but the account is much fuller and more systematic. It appears to follow at the same time a tradition which is distinct from and probably older than that of the Kashmirian school of Ānandavardhana, although the work itself may not have been old. The date of this apocryphal work, which is counted as one of eighteen *Mahāpurāṇas* is uncertain;² but there is enough evidence to show that the *Alamkāra*-section in it is chiefly a compilation by a writer, who was himself no great theorist but who wanted to collect together and present a workable epitome, conforming in essentials to the teachings of no particular system, yet gathering its material from all sources. This is apparent not only from its independent, if somewhat loosely joined and uncritical treatment, but also from the presence of verses culled from Bharata, Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and probably other old unknown writers.³ Bharata is cited by name in *Agni* 339, 6, and a large part of its treatment of *nāṭya*, *nṛtya*, *abhinaya* and *rasa* follows Bharata's exposition, even to the literal

1 On the question of the date and provenance of the *Upapurāṇa* see R. C. Hazra, *op. cit.* pp. 205-12.

2 The present *Agni-purāṇa* is said (*IHQ*, xii, pp. 683-89) to be a recast of an earlier and original *Agni-p.* which is the text described by the *Matsya-p.* and *Skanda-p.* and quoted by some *Dharma-śāstra* writers.

3 Thus, the verse *abhidheyena sañibandhūt* (*Agni* 344, 11-12), which is also cited anonymously by Mammaṭa (*Sabda-vyāpā* p. 8) and in the *Kāma-dhenu* on Vāmana iv. 3, 8, is attributed to one Bhartrmitra by Mukula (p. 17). The verse is not traceable in Bhartrhari. Bhartrmitra is cited also by Somesvara in his comm. on Mammaṭa (p. 16).

borrowing and paraphrase of some of his well known verses. Thus, *Agni* 337. 11-12=Bharata xxii. 28-29 ; *Agni* 338. 12=Bharata vi. 36 ; *Agni* 338. 7-8=Bharata vi. 39 ; *Agni* 342. 15-17=Bharata xvii. 62-65. The definition of poetry (*Agni* 336. 6) and of poetic figure (*Agni* 341. 17) are copied literally from Daṇḍin i. 10 and ii. 1 respectively. Cf also *Agni* 336. 13=Daṇḍin i. 29=Bhāmaha i. 27 ; *Agni* 336. 23, 25,26=Daṇḍin i. 12, 15, 17=Bhāmaha i. 20. This will be enough to indicate not only the general nature of the work, but also the probability that these chapters of the *Purāṇa* were compiled later than Daṇḍin.¹ Two verses again (*apāre kāvya-saṃśāre* and *śrīgārī cet kavīḥ*) occur in *Agni* 338. 10-11 and in the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana (p. 222), who flourished in the middle of the 9th century.² As the authorship of one of these verses (*śrīgārī cet kavīḥ*) is ascribed expressly by Abhinavagupta to Ānandavardhana himself (*Abh. Bh.* ed. GOS, i, p. 295) we can assume that the *Agni* borrowed this verse from the *Dhvanyāloka*. We cannot draw any definite inference from the *Agni-purāṇa*'s omission of a direct reference to Vāmana's teachings, but the definition of the term *vakrokti* bears some resemblance (341. 33) to Rudraṭa's novel characterisation of the same figure (ii. 14-16).³ On the other hand, this section of the *Agni-purāṇa* (like the *Alamkāra* section of the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* is not cited as an authority in the sphere of Poetics (if we except Bhoja's anonymous appropria-

1 Some of the definitions of poetic figures given by the *Agni* (E.g. *Rūpaka*, *Utprekṣā*, *Viśeṣokti*, *Vibhāvanā*, *Ākṣepa*, *Aprastutapraśaṃsā*, *Samāsokti* and *Paryāyokta*) occur in almost identical language in Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha.

2 As the tradition of opinion embodied in the *Agni-purāṇa* appears to have been followed and further developed by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatī-k*, its date is presumably earlier than the 11th century. It is not suggested that Bhoja built up his elaborate system on the confused verses of the *Agni*, but the tradition of opinion is not essentially different. On a post-Bhoja date see *IHQ* x, pp. 767-79.

3 This point need not be emphasised; for this idea of *vakrokti* was prevalent, as Ratnākara's poem shows, in the 9th century.

tions) until we come to the time of Viśvanātha (14th century) who quotes *Agni* 336, 3-4 (=i. 2) and 337, 7. Whatever may be the date of the *Purāṇa* as a whole, which is a kind of an ambitious cyclopaedia, incorporating sections on various departments of knowledge, we may, from what has been said, be justified in assigning the *Alamkāra*-section to a period later than the middle of the 9th century.¹ The concept of *dhvani* is casually included in the figure *ākṣepa*,² after the manner of most old authors, who flourished before that theory came into prominence.³

With regard to the content of the *Alamkāra*-section, the arrangement of chapters and topics are as follows. Ch. 336 defines and classifies *Kāvya*. Ch. 337 deals with the topics of Dramaturgy (12 kinds of *Rūpaka* and *Uparūpaka*, 5 *Artha-prakṛtis* and 5 *Samdhis*). Ch. 338 considers the *Rasas* (with *Sthāyi-bhāva*, *Vibhāva* and *Anubhāva*), the types of *Nāyaka*-*Nāyikā* and their qualities. Ch. 339 speaks of four *Rūtis* (*Pāñcāli*, *Gauḍī*, *Vaidarbī* and *Laṭī*) and four *Vṛtis* (*Bbāratī*, *Sāttvati*, *Kaśikī* and *Ārabhaṭī*). Ch. 340 is devoted to dancing. Ch. 341 is concerned with four kinds of *Abhinaya* (*Sāttvika*, *Vācika*, *Āṅgika* and *Āhārya*). Ch. 342 defines and classifies *Śabdālamkāras*, including seven varieties of *Citra* and sixteen kinds of *Prahelikā*. Ch. 343 deals with *Arthālamkāras*; Ch. 344 with what are called *Śahdārthālamkāras* (but it

1 P. V. Kane (*Hist. of Dharma-śāstra* i, pp. 170-73) gives c. 900 A.D. as the date of the *Smṛti*-chapters; to the *Alamkāra*-section he assigns the same date. Also see *IQH* xii, p. 689-90.

2 The word *dhvani* is also used in the opening verse of this section (336, 1; cf. Bhoja f. 1); but apparently it alludes to the grammatical word, which reveals the *sphoṭa* and which is indicated by the same term in the *Vākyapādiya*. Bhoja makes the same omission; but of course he was more fully aware of the views of Ānandavardhana and his followers. The *Purāṇa* was probably aware of the *Dhvani*-theory as propounded by Ānandavardhana (one of whose verses is appropriated), but it did not apparently subscribe to it.

3 Cf. Ruyaka np. 3f.

cludes Ākṣepa, Samāsokti and Paryāyokta). Ch. 345-46 are devoted to Guṇas and Doṣas.

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CHAPTER IV

THE DHVANIKĀRA AND ĀNANDAVARDHANA

(1)

Ānandavardhana has been assigned by Bühler and Jacobi to the middle of the ninth century, on the strength of *Rājataranginī* v. 34, which makes him one of the ornaments of the court of Avantivarman (855-84 A. D.) We are pretty certain of the time of Abhinavagupta. Ānandavardhana's commentator; for, as he himself states, his *Bṛhatī Vṛtti* on the *Īvara-pratyabhijñā* was written in 1015 A. D., while his *Kramastotra* was composed in 990-991 A.D. and his *Bhoiravo-stotra* or *Īvara-stotra* in 992-93. From Abhinavagupta's remarks at the end of his "Locona" commentary on Uddyotas i and iii of the *Dhvanyāloka*, it appears that the study of this famous work was traditional in his family, and that his own commentary was composed as a rejoinder to another, called the *Candrikā* (p. 60), written by one of his predecessors in the same *gotra*; and four times in his "Locono" (pp. 123, 174, 185, 215) he discusses or controverts the views of this earlier commentator, who is specifically referred to as the *Candrikā-kāra* at pp. 178 and 185.¹ This should certainly allow some generations to lie between Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, and negative completely Pischel's contention that in three passages Abhinavagupta speaks of Ānandavardhana as one of his teachers. These passages occur at pp. 37, 183, and 214 of the printed text, but a perusal of them with re-

1 *candrikā-kārais tu pañhitam. . .ity alam pūrva-vṛṣṭyaiḥ saha vivādena babhūnī*, p. 185; *ity alam nija-pūrva-ja-sagotraīḥ sākārī virādena*, p. 123, etc.—The *Candrikā-kāra* is also cited by Somesvara (p. 55) in his com. on *Mammaṭa*.

2 This *Candrikā* is also referred to in a punning verse at the beginning of Mahimabhaṭṭa's *Vyāti-viveka* (i. 5): *dhvani-vartmany ati-gahane skhalitam vñyādī pade pade sulabham/rabbhasena yat pravṛttā prakāśakam candrikādy adṛṣṇaiva*, on which the commentator remarks: *candrikā jyotsnā dhvani-vicāraṇa-grantho'pi* (p. 1).

ference to their context will show that the honorific word *gn̄n*, if it at all refers to Ānandavardhana, must refer to him, not literally but figuratively, as *paran̄iparā-gn̄n*, whose work was held in esteem in his family¹; or (which is more likely) the reference is to one or other of Abhinavagupta's teachers, such as Bhaṭṭa Tauta or Bhaṭṭendurāja, the former of whom is cited as *asmad-npādhyāyāḥ* or *asmad-guravaḥ* very often in Abhinava's commentary on Bharata. Again, Kayyaṭa states that he wrote his commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Devīśataka* (ed. Kāvyamālā, Gucchaka ix) at about 977 A.D., so that by the end of the tenth century Ānandavardhana was well enough established in fame to have two such learned commentators. Finally, Rājaśekhara, who lived about the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century, mentions and cites Ānandavardhana by name in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (p. 16), and this should certainly clear up any doubt as to the authenticity of the date assigned by Kahlāṇa and accepted by Bühler and Jacobi.

(2)

The celebrated work on Poetics known as *Dhvanyāloka* (also called *Kāvya-loka* or *Sahṛdayāloka*),² of which or a part of which Ānandavardhana is reputed to be the author, may be distinguished into two parts, viz. (1) the Kārikā, consisting of verses and treating of *dhvani*, and (2) the "Vṛtti, or exposition, generally in prose with illustrative verses, of the Kārikā. Now the question has been raised whether the Kārikā and the Vṛtti are of the same authorship or should be attributed to different authors.

1 Jacobi, *WZKM* iv, pp. 237-38.

2 The work is called *Kāvya-loka* by Abhinava in the concluding verses of Uddyota iii and iv. But in his comm. on Bharata (vii, vol. i, p. 344; xvi. 5, vol. ii, pp. 299-300) he refers to his own comm. on the *Dhvanyāloka* as *Sahṛdayāloka-locana*.—For a brief summary of the contents of the work see Kane in *HSP*, pp. 190-91.—On *Dhvanyāloka* and the text of the *Dhvani-kārikās* see S. P. Bhattacharya in *Proc. A-I.O.C.*, Patna 1933, pp. 613-22.

Abhinavagupta, who is followed in this respect by several later writers on Poetics, carefully distinguishes between the Kārikākāra and the Vṛttikāra, by directly opposing them, and also by using the term *vṛtti-grantha* in contradistinction to the *kārikā*¹. In three of these passages (pp. 123, 130-1; ch. iv p. 29) Abhinavagupta expressly tries to reconcile the conflicting views expressed by the Kārikākāra and the Vṛttikāra.

Bühler² first drew attention to this point; and Jacobi³, relying on Abhinavagupta's testimony, put forward the suggestion that the Dhvanikāra, the supposed author of the Kārikā, was a different and older writer who should be distinguished from Ānandavardhana, the author of the Vṛtti. In support of this, it has been pointed out that one does not find complete agreement of opinion between the two parts of the work, although the one is an exposition of the other. On the other hand, it seems that the system as given in its bare outline by the Kārikākāra in his concise verses has been considerably expanded, revised, and modified by the Vṛttikāra; and many problems not discussed or even hinted at by the former are elaborately treated of by the latter. In one place, for instance (p. 123), Abhinavagupta clearly points out that the classification of *dhvani* according to *vastu*, *olampkāra*, and *rasādi* is not expressly taught in any Kārikā; while in another place in ch. iv, Abhinavagupta states that the question as to the source of the endless variety of *artha* in poetry is mentioned by the Vṛtti-

1 pp. 1, 59-60, 71, 78, 85, 104, 123, 130-1; ch. iv pp. 25, 29, 37, 38, 39, 40 in *JDL.*, ix, 1923, Calcutta University. One of these passages from *Locana* on p. 123 would imply that the earlier commentator, the Candrikākāra, probably made a similar distinction between the Kārikākāra and the Vṛttikāra. For these passages collected together, see S. K. De in the *ESOS* i, pt. 4, p. 3 (reprinted in S. K. De, *Some Problems of Sanskrit Poetics*, Calcutta 1959, pp. 80-90, where the whole question is discussed) and Harichand Sastri *op. cit.* pp. 86-87.

2 *Kashmir Rep.* p. 65.

3 *ZDMG*, 1902, p. 405f.

kāra but not touched upon by the Kārikākāra. Indeed, it seems that Ānandavardhana in his classical Vṛtti attempted to build up a more or less complete system of Poetics upon the loosely joined ideas and materials supplied by the brief Kārikās ; and his success was probably so marvellous that in course of time the Kārikākāra receded to the background, completely overshadowed by the more important figure of his formidable expounder ; and people considered as the Dhvanikāra not the author of the few memorial verses but the commentator Ānandavardhana himself, who for the first time fixed the theory in its present form. The term "Dhvanikāra" itself came gradually to be used in the generic sense of "the creator of the Dhvani School", and therefore indiscriminately applied by later writers to Ānandavardhana, who might not have been the founder of the system, but who came to receive that credit for having first victoriously introduced it in the struggle of the schools.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in the apocryphal verse ascribed to Rājaśekhara in Jahlaṇa, Ānandavardhana is regarded as the founder of the *dhvani*-theory. Similarly, Samudrabandha (p. 4), passing in review the five schools of Poetics before Ruyyaka, mentions Ānandavardhana as the founder of the fifth or last Dhvani School. This would also explain the two groups of apparently puzzling citations from the *Dhvanyāloka* met with in the works of later writers, in which they either confuse or identify Ānandavardhana with the Dhvanikāra. On the one hand, we have several Kārikās cited under the name of Ānandavardhana, while on the other, several passages which occur in the Vṛtti are given under the name of the Dhvanikāra. This confusion was so complete in later writers that even in the latter part of the eleventh century Mahimabhaṭṭa, who professed to demolish the new theory by his fierce onslaught in the *Vyakti-viveka*, quotes from the Kārikā and the Vṛtti indiscriminately under the generic appellation of the Dhvanikāra. In the same way Kṣemendra, in the last quarter of the eleventh century, and Hemacandra,

in the first quarter of the twelfth, make Ānandavardhana responsible for Kārikās iii. 24 and i. 4 respectively, while still later writers like Jayaratha, Viśvanātha, Govinda and Kumārasvāmin regard Ānandavardhana himself as the Dhvanikāra, to whom the Kārikā, as well as the Vṛtti, is indiscriminately attributed¹. Mammāja, generally a careful writer, distinguishes Ānandavardhana from the writer of the Kārikās, whom he styles *dhvanikāra* or " *dhvanikṛt* (pp. 213 and 214), but in one place (p. 445) he apparently falls into confusion and ascribes to the Dhvanikāra a verse which undoubtedly belongs to the Vṛtti. The question, however, of the differentiation of the Kārikākāra and Vṛtikāra cannot yet be taken as finally settled.

(3)

If the Dhyanikāra, however, is distinguished from Ānandavardhana, the question naturally arises—who was this Dhvanikāra, and what date should be assigned to him? Abhinavagupta does not give us any information on this point. Jacobi, in the learned introduction to his translation of the *Dhvanyāloka*, poses the question very ably without, however, furnishing a precise solution. Sovani's hypothesis² that the name of the unknown Kārikākāra was Sahṛdaya, is hardly convincing; for his grounds for this presumption are that (1) one of the alternative names of the work itself is

1 Kṣemendra, *Aucitya-vicūra*, p. 134 = *Dhvanyāloka* iii. 24; Hemacandra, Comm. p. 26 = Vallabhadeva, *Subhāṣī* 157 = *Dhvanyāloka* i. 4; Govinda Thakkura, p. 16 = *Dhvanyāloka* p. 221; Viśvanātha, p. 114 = *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 130; Jayaratha, p. 119 = *Dhvanyāloka* p. 111; Kumārasvāmin, p. 64 = *Dhvanyāloka* iii. 3. Rājaśekhara (p. 15) in his only quotation from Ānandavardhana really cites a Parikara-sloka of the Vṛtti at p. 137. Kuniaka, on the other hand, quoting the Prakrit verse *talū jīlapī* (*Dhv.* p. 62), which is Ānandavardhana's own (from his lost *Viśvabhrīṣu-*), appears to designate Ānandavardhana as the Dhvanikāra (see introd. to *Vakrokti-jñāna*, 2nd ed. p. xi).

2 *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 164-67.

Sahṛdayāloka and that (2) the use of the words *sahṛdaya* and *kari-sahṛdaya* at the end of chapter iv of the *Dhvanyāloka* and in the beginning of Abhinavagupta's commentary is significantly corroborative. It is well known, however, that the word *sahṛdaya* (lit. a man with a heart) is used in innumerable places in Alāṃkāra literature, as in the verses in question, to designate a man of taste, a judge of literary beauty, a connoisseur of Rasa. Ānandavardhana himself discusses *sahṛdayatva* at some length in his *Vṛtti* (p. 160), and Abhinavagupta arrives at a concise definition of a *sahṛdaya* thus (p. 11): *yeṣāṁ kāvyaṁśīlanābhya-vaśad viśadibhūte mano-mukure varṇanīya-tanmaya-bhavana-yogyatā, te hṛdaya-śaṇīvādabhājaḥ sahṛdayāḥ*, a definition which became so much standardized that Hemacandra does not scruple to copy it literally (Comm. p. 3).¹

In the absence of materials it is very difficult to decide the question finally. Jacobi maintains, on the indication of a passage in Abhinava, that this unknown Dhyanikāra was a contemporary of Manoratha, who is placed by *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* (iv. 497 and 671) in the reign of Jayāpīḍa and his successor Lalitāpīḍa i.e. at the third quarter of the eighth and the first quarter of the ninth century (about 780-813 A.D.); but there are difficulties which seriously stand in the way of our arriving at a definite decision on this point. While discussing the various theories which deny the existence of *dhvani*, Ānandavardhana quotes a verse anonymously with the remark: *tathā cānyena kṛta evātra ślokah*, upon which Abhinavagupta in his gloss remarks: *tathā cānyena iti. granthakṛt-samāna-kāla-bhāvinā manoratha-nāmīnā kavīnā*. If we suppose that by *granthakṛt* Abhinavagupta means Ānandavardhana, then Manoratha, who is thus made a contemporary of the latter, lives in the middle or second part of the ninth century, i.e. somewhat

1 Mammaṭa begins his work (p. 10) with a reference to *kavi* and *sahṛdaya*, who are etymologically distinguished by Vidyādhara (p. 21); and both Mammaṭa and Viśvanātha declare that the *sahṛdaya* alone can have a true perception of Rasa in poetry.

later than the date assigned to him by Kahlaṇa, presuming of course that both the Manorathas are identical persons. If, on the other hand, we suppose that *granthakṛt* refers, as Jacobi conjectures, to the anonymous Dhvanikāra, we are confronted with the fresh difficulty that by the term *granthakṛt* Abhinavagupta invariably means Ānandavardhana (pp. 12, 37, 90, etc.). To remove this difficulty we must suppose either (1) that Kahlaṇa is wrong, as Pischel argues, in assigning Manoratha to the reign of Jayāpīḍa and Lalitāpīḍa, (2) that the two Manorathas were not identical persons, or (3) that Abhinavagupta himself has confused the Kārikākāra with the Vṛttikāra in a manner not usual with him. As there are no definite means of deciding any one of these equally plausible propositions, the conjecture that the original Dhvanikāra was a contemporary of the Manoratha of Kahlaṇa cannot be taken to have been definitely proved.¹

(4)

It seems, on the other hand, that the Kārikās date back to an earlier time than the first quarter of the ninth century, in which the Dhvanikāra is placed by Jacobi as a contemporary of Manoratha. The allusion to Manoratha and the apparent discrepancy in Kahlaṇa's statement need not trouble us, nor need we challenge the otherwise trustworthy testimony of Abhinavagupta; for it is quite reasonable to suppose that the Manoratha under discussion is perhaps a poet who was, Abhinavagupta says, contemporaneous with Ānandavardhana, and therefore quite a different person from the well known Manoratha of Kahlaṇa. This is perhaps a much simpler explanation than straining the word *granthakṛt* to mean the Kārikākāra in the face of Abhinavagupta's own distinct indication to the contrary; and in this way we are not affected in the least by Kahlaṇa's Manoratha, with whom we have nothing to do. If, on the other hand, we place the

1. T. R. Chintamani in *JOR* ii (1923), pp. 44-47 tries to reconcile the discrepancies.

Dhvanikāra in the time of Kahlaṇa's *Manoratha*, this would leave only a bare margin of one or two generations between the Kārikākāra and the Vṛttikāra, which does not seem to be enough to make room for a period of scholastic exposition of the subject. But undoubted traces of such activity are preserved to us in the few memorial verses—*parikura-ślokas* (pp. 34, 130, 137, 147, 163), *saṃgraha-ślokas* (pp. 87, 223), *saṃkṣepa-ślokas* (pp. 44, 74, 243)—incorporated by Ānandavardhana in his *Vṛtti* which itself, therefore, is not likely to be the first of its kind. These Ślokas are a sort of recapitulation-stanzas which are adduced by the Vṛttikāra from unknown sources, sometimes to explain the meaning of the Kārikās, but more often to amplify and supplement them. But at the same time we need not suppose a very long intervening period between the original dogmatic formulator of a theory and its first thoughtful expounder; for it is not necessary that a system should always require a long stretch of time in forming itself. The phenomenon is not unusual that if a literary or intellectual movement is already afoot and is, at it were, in a effervescent state, a few generations, or at most a century, are enough to bring it to the inevitable culmination, or at least to some preliminary completion. If we suppose that a system of *dhvani* had been in existence at a very early period, we should expect to find, as we do find to a certain extent in the case of the *Rasa*-theory, its influence working, at least indirectly, on the earlier writers who preceded Ānandavardhana, although this argument in itself does not carry with it a decisive force. It may be admitted, on the other hand, that the Dhvanikāra apparently shows himself conversant with some theories of *rasa*, *rīti* and *alaṃkāra*. But this neither proves nor disproves his own antiquity or that of his system, for there is no evidence to show that he was aware of the particular views of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin or Vāmana who championed these theories; nor are these writers to be taken, like the Dhvanikāra himself, as the absolute founders of the systems they individually

represent. It only goes to establish that the theory, enunciated by the Dhvanikāra, might have existed side by side with these systems, as we find them in the extant works : for it could not have been much later, inasmuch as such a supposition would bring it too near the time of Ānandavardhana himself. If the Dhvanikāra was contemporaneous with Daṇḍin or Vāmana, he may be placed at most a century earlier than his commentator in the first half of the 8th century.

(5)

If Ānandavardhana gave the final authoritative shape to the *dhvani*-theory (only the details of which were worked out by Abhinavagupta and others), the anonymous Dhvanikāra was not its absolute creator. This is made clear by the first Kārikā, which tells us that the theory was already taught by earlier thinkers, and that it existed even at the time of the Dhvanikāra himself in various forms, handed down, as Ānandavardhana explains, in unbroken tradition (*paramparayā yah samāmnātah*), although it may not have been explained, as Abhinava adds in his gloss, in particular books (*avicchin-nena pravāheṇa tair etad uktam. viñāpi viśiṣṭa-pustakeṣu vivecanād ity abhiprāyah*, p. 3). This implies without doubt that the school existed from a very early time, but some unknown writer gathered together, summed up, and fixed the theory in a form which obtained considerable literary esteem for his work and the honoured but somewhat vague appellation of the Dhvanikāra for himself. But his name and fame, in course of time, were eclipsed by those of his great Vṛttikāra who succeeded in establishing the theory for all time and to whom posterity began to ascribe, not altogether undeservedly, all the honours of his predecessor, so that one of the latest writers on Alāṅkāra, Kumārasvāmin (p. 288), glorifies him with the curious but significant epithet—Dhvanyācārya.

(6)

Very little is known of Ānandavardhan's personal history. The colophon at the end of ch. iii of his work in the India

Office MS calls him *noṇopādhyāyātmaja*, while the colophon to ch. iv gives the form *jonopādhyāya*. Of these two forms of the name of his father, the former seems to be correct, for referring to Ānandavardhana's *Devī-śataka*, Hemacandra (Comm. p.225) cites its author as *noṇa-sutāḥ śrīmad-ānandavardhana-nāmā*. Kayyaṭa also, commenting on the last punning verse of the same work, refers to the author as the son of Noṇa, and mentions his two works, the *Viṣamabāṇa-lilā* and *Arjuna-carita*, supposed to have been punningly alluded to in that verse. Both these works are cited in Ānandavardhana's *Vṛtti*, by Abhinavagupta (pp. 152, 176, 222), by Hemacandra (pp. 15, 213); and the first work appears to be a Prakrit poem. Ānandavardhana himself refers to another work of his own at p. 233, on which Abhinava adds the gloss: *granthāntara iti viniścaya-fīkāyāṇi dharmottamāyāṇi yā vivṛtī amunā granthakṛtā kṛtā*. This is apparently a work called *Dharmottanā* a commentary on the (*Pramāṇa-*) *viniścaya* of Dharmakīrti. Abhinava in *Locana* iv (p. 31) refers to another work of Ānandavardhana's called *Tattvāloka*, in which the latter is said to have discussed, among other things, the relation between *kāvya-naya* and *śāstra-naya*.

(7)

ABHINAVAGUPTA

Abhinavagupta's fame rests chiefly on his philosophical works on Kashmir Śaivism, but he appears also to have attained a considerable reputation in the realm of Poetics by his two remarkable commentaries on Bharata and on Ānandavardhana, called respectively *Abhiuvara-bhāratī* and *Kāvyāloka-locana*. Since the *Locana* is cited several times by name, it seems to have been written before the other commentary. He also cites in his *Locana* (p. 179, also p. 29) another commentary (*vivarajīa*) of his own, now lost, on the *Kāvya-kautuka* by one of his teachers (*asīmad-upādhyāya*) Bhaṭṭa Tauta. Nothing is

known of this Bhaṭṭa Tauta (also called Bhaṭṭa Toṭa); but it appears from its fourth introductory verse that Abhinava's commentary on Bharata was inspired by this teacher, who is cited there very frequently, just as his *Locana* was inspired by his other teacher Bhaṭṭendurāja. The exact scope and extent of Tauta's lost work is not known, but from Abhinavagupta's reference (pp. 187, 275, 310) it appears to have dealt with the theories of poetry in general and Rasa in particular, and explained some relevant passages from the *Nātyaśāstra*.¹

The *Kāvya-kautuka* is also referred to in the anonymous commentary on the *Vyakti-viveka* (p. 13); and Hemacandra (p. 316) quotes three verses from Bhaṭṭa Tauta in his text and reproduces (p. 59) in his commentary (appropriating the passage directly from Abhinava on Bharata) an opinion of this teacher in connexion with the theory of Rasa. Kṣemendra in his *Aucitya-vicāra* (under *śl.* 35) attributes to Tauta a fragment of a verse which is given in full but anonymously by Hemacandra (p. 3).² Tauta is quoted also by Māṇikyacandra (at p. 5), by Śrīdhara and by Cāṇḍīdāsa in their respective commentaries on *Mammaṭa*.

Bhaṭṭa Tauta, together with Bhaṭṭendurāja, who is extravagantly praised in the *Locana* and whose relation to Abhinava we have already discussed, were probably his preceptors in Kāvya and Alāṃkāra. His references to his instructors in philosophy, like Siddhicela³, Lakṣmaṇagupta and others, in his philosophical works possess no interest for us; but it may be noted that Abhinava, in his *Pratyabhijñā-vimarsini* *Laghu-vṛtti* refers to Utpala as his *parama-guru*, the teacher

1 See above under commentators on Bharata p. 33, 101. Somesvara (Comm. on *Mammaṭa* p. 55) appears to have seen the work, as well as Abhinava's comm. on it (*ac ca Bhaṭṭa-Totena Kāvya-kautuke, Abhinavaguptaś ca tad-vṛttau nirṇitam*).

2 This verse is ascribed, perhaps wrongly, to Māṇava (or Bhīmava?) in *Kūma-dhenu* on *Vāmana*, p. 4, ed., Benares.

3 Cited in *Locana*, concluding verses.

of his teacher. This description of Utpala (see above p. 33) is repeated in his *Locana* (p. 30), where Abhinava discusses the term *pratyabhijñā*, used in the text (i. 8), and refers to what is said on this point by Utpala. This Utpala is well known in the history of Kashmir Śaivism as the author of the *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā* (on whose *Sūtra* and *Vṛtti* Abhinava wrote a *Laghu Vṛtti* and a *Bṛhatī Vṛtti* respectively), and is assigned by Bühler (*op. cit* p. 79) to the first half of the 10th century. From what Abhinava himself says in his numerous works on Kashmir Śaivism, we may indicate the line of spiritual succession (*guru-paraiṇparū*) thus: Somānanda—Utpala—Lakṣmaṇagupta—Abhinavagupta; Somānanda being probably a pupil of Vasugupta who is taken as the earliest founder of the *Pratyabhijñā-śāstra*. The *guru-paraiṇpara* in his study of the Tantras may be given thus: Sumatinātha—Somadeva—Śaṃbhunātha—Abhinavagupta.

In the concluding portion of his *Parātrīṇiśikā-vivaraṇa*, Abhinava gives us an interesting personal and genealogical account, in which he tells us that he was son of Kāśmīraka Cukhala¹ and grandson of Varāhagupta, and had a brother named Manorathagupta. Abhinava's date is easily gathered from his relation to Utpala and Ānandavardhana, as well as from his own dating of some of his works. As we have mentioned above, his *Krama-stotra* was composed in 990-91 A. D. and his *Bhairava-* or *Īśvara-stotra* in 992-93 A.D., while his *Bṛhatī Vṛtti* on Utpala's *Pratyabhijñā* bears the date 1015 A.D. We can therefore, place him with certainty at the last quarter of the 10th and the first quarter of the 11th century².

1 Bühler's MS has *kāśmīraka viculaka* (*op. cit.* p. clv) as well as *cukhala* (p. clvii); the real name appears to have been Narasiṃha-gupta, while his mother's name was Vimalā.

2 For the works of Abhinavagupta see K. C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta*, ChSS, Benares 1935 pp. 122-24; V. Raghavan in *JOR*, xiv pp. 318-20 and *New Cat. Cat.* i, pp. 224-26. On Writers quoted in *Abhinavabhāratī* see V. Raghavan in *JOR* vi pp. 153-62.

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by Udayottunga or Udaya-rāja from Kerala, publ. as above, Madras 1944 by Kappuswami Sastri. The author probably flourished in the second half of the 15th century (K. R. Pisharoti in *Journal of the Ganganath Jha R. Institute*, i, pp. 445 52). He wrote a Dūta-kāvya named *Mayūra-saṃdeśa* (ed. C. Kunhan Raja, Poona Orient. Series 1944); on which see K. Kunjunni Raja, *op. cit.* p. 228.

The *Candrikā* comm. on Ānandavardhana, referred to by Abhinava and others, is apparently lost.

On *Abhinava-bhāratī* on Bharata see above under Bharata.

No MS has been discovered of Abhinava's *Kāvya-kautuka-vivaraṇa*, or of the *Kāvya-kautaka* itself.

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CHAPTER V

FROM RĀJAŚEKHARA TO MAHIMABHATTĀ

RĀJAŚEKHARA

(1)

Rājaśekhara, son of *mahāmantrīn* Durduka or Duhika and Śīlavatī¹ and great-grandson of the poet Akālajalada of the Yāyāvara family, is better known as a poet and dramatist than as a writer on Poetics. In his *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa* i, 12, Rājaśekhara describes himself as the author of six works which must have existed even before this presumably early production of his.² It is not known whether his other three well known dramas belong to this period, but it appears that he probably composed more than six works. Hemacandra (Comm. p. 335) cites a work of Rājaśekhara's, entitled *Hara-vilāsa*, as an example of a poem which bears the name of its author (*sva-nāmāñktā*), and quotes two verses from the same (Comm. pp. 334-335); from which Ujjvaladatta also (ii. 28) gives a half-verse. In the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, again (xvii p. 98), there is a reference to another work of his own, called *Bhuvana-kōśa*, for information on general geography.³ Ujjvaladatta (ii. 26) also quotes a line from Rājaśekhara on the synonyms

1 *Bāla-rāmā** ad i. 7, 13; *Bāla-bhā** ad i. 8; *Viddha-sāla** ad i. 5. Rājaśekhara calls himself a Kavirāja (*Karpūra-māñjī* i. 9; *Viddha-sāla* i. 5), which is, according to *Kāv.mīm.*, the seventh, out of the ten stages, of poetic skill, one degree higher than that of a *mahākavī*.

2 In *Karpūra-māñjī* i. 9 we are told that Rājaśekhara began his career as a *billa-kavī*, so called apparently from his two works *Bāla-rāmā** and *Bāla-bhā**; while in this Prakrit drama, as well as in *Viddha-sāla**, he appears to have attained the distinction of a *Kavirāja*.

3 Kane (HSP, p. 207-8) believes that the *Bhuvana-kōśa* was not a separate work but formed a part of the *Kōśa mīm.*

of Śiva, which, if not occurring in the *Hara-vilāsa*, was probably taken from an unknown lexicon by him.

In the two anthologies of Vallabhadeva and Śārṅgadhara, we get a considerable number of verses ascribed to Rājaśekhara. Of these, about 24 have been identified by Sten Konow in Rājaśekhara's four plays,¹ but about 10 have not yet been traced in any of his known works, nor are they to be found in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*. These untraced verses, including most of the memorial verses on poets, probably belong to another and younger Rājaśekhara.²

There can be hardly any doubt that the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* should be ascribed to the dramatist Rājaśekhara, although it is not mentioned in these enumerations of Rājaśekhara's works.³ Our author gives his own name at the end of the first chapter of this work as *yāyāvarīya* Rājaśekhara, which agrees with the description given in the dramas and which makes later writers cite our author simply as *yāyāvara*⁴. The opinions of the *yāyāvara* family, to which he belonged and in which

1 ed. *Karpūra-maṇī*^o pp. 189-91.

2 This other Rājaśekhara may or may not be the Jaina Rājaśekhara, author of the *Prabandha-koṣa* (1348 A.D.). Rice 282 mentions a work called *Karpūra-rasa-maṇjarī* by Būlakavi, which apparently refers to Rājaśekhara and his well known Prakrit drama, and not to any work on *Alamkāra*.

3 Aufrecht notes (*ABod* 135a) that the *Kāv. mīm.* is cited by name by Śāṅkara in his commentary on *Sakuntalā*.

4 *Bāla-bhā*^o i. 6. 13; *Viddha-sāla*^o i. 5; and Dhanapāla in *Tilaka-maṇī*^o ed. *Kāvya-mālā* 85, 1903, sl. 33, and Māṇikyacāṇdra in *Samketa* comm. (ed. Mysore) p. 308. Also Hemacandra (p. 235) and Somesvara (ed. Jodhpur 1959, p. 224, *yāyāvarīya*). Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita on *Viddha-sāla*, i. 5 quotes Devala to show that *yāyāvara* means a kind of a householder (*dvividhō gr̥hasthalī, yāyāvaraḥ sātīnaś ca*; see *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñā*^o i. 128) according to which *yāyāvara* means a particular class of Brahmins who lead a plain life and do not accept gifts etc. Rājaśekhara's wife came from Kṣatriya family, but Anuloma marriage was permitted. See Kane, *Hist of Dhamma-sūstra* ii. pp. 641-42.

were born poets and scholars like Surānanda,¹ Akālajalada,² Tarala³ and Kavirāja, are cited frequently by him under the general designation *śāyāvaraṇa*,⁴ as well as under the individual names of these famous members of the family who are enumerated in the *Bāla rāmāyaṇa* i. 13 and elsewhere. He also quotes with respect the views of his wife Avantisundarī of the Cāhuāna family (pp. 20, 46, 57), for whose pleasure, we know, he wrote his *Karpūra-maṇjari* (i. 11) and who seems to have been an accomplished authoress. The present work does not also omit a display the author's love for Prakrit dialects (pp. 34, 51) as well as his knowledge of geography (ch. xvii), of which he gives ample evidence in Act x of the *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa*. These and other details, on which we need not dwell any further, show that our Rājaśekhara is no other than the well known dramatist.⁵

(2)

The published text of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* in eighteen chapters is apparently the first part of a projected extensive volume, of which a general summary or scheme is given in

1 An ornament of the country of the Cedis (cedi-mandala-nāndana, Jalhana's *Sūkti-muktāvali* 88-89, p. 47). His patron Raṇavigraha is supposed by Bhandarkar (*Report*, 1887-91, p. xix) to have been the brother-in-law of Krṣṇa II of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, whose dates range from 875 to 911 A.D. Quoted also in *Kāv. mīm.* p. 75.

2 Rājaśekhara's great-grandfather. This is not his real name but sobriquet derived from the expression in *Sr. Paddhati* 777 = *Subhāṣī*,⁶ 843 (*dākṣinātya*). Famous for his poetical jems, some of which were plagiarised by Kādambarīrāma (Jahlaṇa *Sūkti-muktāvali* 83-84 (p. 46). Called *māhūrūṣṭra-cūḍāmaṇi* in *Bāla-rūmā* i. 13; also see *Viddhāśāla*⁷ i. 5.

3 Cited by Jahlaṇa. Author of a work, called probably *Suvṛṣṭa-bandha*.

4 pp. 2, 3, 4, 10, 13, 15, 16, 17, 20, 23, 26, 27, 30, 31, 35, 42, 43, 46, 50, 56, 58, 61, 62, 63, 78, 90, 91, 94, 99, 100.

5 See S. K. De, *Hist. of Kāvya Lit.* ch. viii for Rājaśekhara and his dramas.—In *Karp. m.* (on l. 6) he describes himself as *sarva-bhāṣṭecaturā*. As a poet he claims that in his former births he was Val-

the first chapter ; this fact is also indicated by occasional remarks (like *rītayas tisras tās tu purastāt* p. 10 and *tam aupaiśadike vakṣyamāḥ* p. 11) relating to topics to be dealt with in other succeeding parts. If the complete work, as projected, consisted of eighteen *adhikarāṇas*, we have now only one part surviving on the preliminary topic of *kavirahasya* alone.¹ Keśava Miśra (pp. 32, 67) quotes three verses from an Alāṃkāra work by Rājaśekhara, which, if they belong to our author, were apparently taken, as their contents indicate, from some lost chapters on *ubhayālāmīkārika* and *vainodika* respectively.

The popularity of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* with later writers is indicated by the extensive use made of it by Kṣemendra, Bhoja, Hemacandra and the younger Vāgbhaṭa. Hemacandra, for instance, literally copies long passages from chs. viii, ix, xiii-xviii ; while Vāgbhaṭa borrows the same (as well as other) portions either directly from the same source or indirectly through Hemacandra.²

Rājaśekhara himself is indebted to many old writers and cites directly the opinions of Medhāvirudra (p. 12), Udbhaṭa and Audbhāṭas (pp. 22, 44), Vāmana and Vāmaniyas (pp. 14, 20), Rudraṭa (p. 31), Maṅgala (pp. 11, 14, 16, 20) and Ānanda (p. 16), besides unnamed authors who are cited under the general designation *ācārya*.³ We also find the name of Āparājiti. One Aparajita is⁴ quoted in *Sivhāśitāvalī* 1024, and mentioned as a contemporary poet and author of *Mṛgānikalekhā-kathā* in *Karpūra-mañjarī*, ad i. 8. Rājaśekhara also

1 Cf. introd. to *Kāv. mīm.* p. xvii-xviii.

2 A comparative table is given of these wholesale borrowings at the end of the notes in the Gaekwad ed. of the text.

3 pp. 3, 9, 13, 16, 20, 23, 30, 35, 50, 51, 56, 57, 58, 61, 62, 78, 94, 99.

4 One Aparajita-rakṣita is quoted in *Kavīndra-vacana* but as his name implies he was probably a Buddhist, and is possibly not identical with Rājaśekhara's contemporary Āparajiti. V. Raghavan (*JOR*. vi. p. 170) thinks that this Āparajiti of Rājaśekhara is none else than Lollāṭa. See above p. 37, for 1.

mentions *Sutānanda*, one of his ancestors, his wife *Avantisundari*,¹ *Pālyakīrti* (p. 46), *Śyāmadeva* (pp. 11, 13, 17) and *Vākpatirāja*² (p. 62), all of whom, as the citations show, seem to have expressed some opinion on the topics under discussion.

(3)

The date of Rājasekhara has been settled with some exactitude. We learn from his four extant plays³ that his ancestors lived in Mahārāṣṭra, and he himself spent much of his life in the midland as a teacher (*upādhyāya*) to a king named Mahendrapāla (otherwise known as Nirbhaya or Nibbhaya); Rājasekhara was also patronised by his son and successor Mahipāla.⁴ We also understand that one of his plays, the *Bāla-bhārata*, was performed at a place called Mahodaya, for which he shows a partiality also in his *Kāvya-mimāṃsā* (p. 94). Fleet has shown⁵ that this Mahipāla should be identified with the Mahipāla of Asni inscription, dated 917 A.D., and he agrees with Pischel⁶ that Mahodaya is another name for Kānyakubja or Kanavj,⁷ with which place this king, as well as Mahendrapāla, is connected in the

1 A Sanskrit verse of Avantisundari is quoted in *Kav. mīm.*, p. 46; but no work of hers has come down to us. Hemacandra in his *Desī-nāma-mīlā* quotes three Prakrit verses of Avantisundari (i. 81, and i. 157).

2 This Vākpatirāja (Bapai-rāja) is apparently the author of the *Gaudavaho* (middle of the 8th century; *Kablaṇa* iv. 144) and must be distinguished from Mañja-vākpatirāja, the 7th Paramāra king of Mālava, who reigned from 947 to 995 A.D. See below under Dhanañjaya.

3 *Viddha-sāla*⁸ i. 6; *Bāla-rāmā*⁹ i. 5; *Bāla-bhāra*¹⁰ i. 7, 11; *Kar-pūra-māṇī*¹¹ i. 5, 9.

4 *Bāla-bhāra*¹² i. 9.

5 *IA* xvi. 175-78.

6 *GgA*, 1883, pp. 1217f.

7 Cf. *Bāla-rāmā*¹³ ad 87, 89, 90. Rājasekhara's partiality for Mahodaya is also apparent in our text at pp. 8, 94.

Siyadoni inscription¹. It has also been shown by Aufrecht² and Pischel³ that Mahendrapāla, whose dates appear to be 903-07 A. D. from Kielhorn's summing up of the names of the four sovereigns of Kanauj as presented by the Siyadoni inscription, went also by the *biruda* of Nirbhara or Nirbhaya (Nibbhara or Nibbhaya in the Prakrit form), a fact of which Fleet seems to have been unaware.⁴ Rājaśekhara appears to have become at some time of his life a protégé of Yuvarāja who has been identified with Yuvarāja I Kayūravarṣa, the Kalacuri ruler of Tripuri (in the kingdom of Cedi), where the poet's relative Surānanda had migrated. From these evidences, it is clear that Rājaśekhara must have flourished in the beginning of the 10th century, and probably also lived towards the end of the 9th. This is also supported by the fact that the latest writers quoted by Rājaśekhara are the Kashmirian Ratnākara and Ānandavardhana, who belong to the middle or second half of the 9th century, while the earliest writer to mention Rājaśekhara appears to be the Jaina Somadeva, whose *Yaśastilaka* is dated 960 A. D.⁵ About the same time Abhinavagupta (in his Comm. on *Bharata*) expressly mentions *Karpūra-maṇjari* as a *Saṭṭaka*, as well as *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa*. In the Anthologies Rājaśekhara is extensively quoted from the 12th century onward.⁶

1 *EI* i. 170 f. 2 *ZDMG* xxvii (on Sāringadhara-Paddhati).

3 *op. cit.* p. 1221.

4 Fleet further shows (*op. cit.* p. 175f) that this Mahendrapāla must not be taken, as Peterson and Durgaprasada are inclined to take him, to be identical with the feudatory Mahendrapāla, whose inscription from Dighwa-Dubauli, dated 761-62 A.D., he has edited in *IA* xv. 105, and who is distinct from the pupil of Rājaśekhara.

5 For other details about Rājaśekhara see Sten Konow's edition of *Karpūra-maṇī* (Harvard Orient. Series 4, 1901). 175f, which gives a full bibliography.—It is difficult to summarise the diverse and somewhat diffuse contents of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*; but a general résumé will be found below in vol. ii. ch. ix (3). A good summary will be found also in Kane, *op. cit.* pp. 199-201.

6 See F. W. Thomas, introd. to *Kavīndra-vacana*, where most of these citations are collected together.

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DHANANJAYA AND DHANIKA

(1)

The date of Dhanañjaya may be taken as approximately settled at the last quarter of the 10th century A. D. The author informs us (iv. 80) that he was son of Viṣṇu and that he flourished in the circle of distinguished literary men surrounding king Muñja, who himself seems to have been a man of taste and learning, as well as a patron of letters. We should not, with Peterson¹, confound this Muñja, better known as Muñja-vākpatirāja, with Vākpatirāja (or Bappai-rāja), the author of *Gaudavaho*, who lived in the first half of the 8th century under king Yaśovarman of Kanauj and is referred to by Kahlāṇa (iv. 144) and Rājaśekhara. Our Muñja appears to be the seventh ruler of the Patamāra dynasty of Mālava, who, as his own inscriptions record², came to the throne in 974 A.D., succeeding his father Harṣadeva Siyaka, and reigned till about 995 A.D., when he was defeated, imprisoned and executed, as the Cālukya inscriptions attest³, by Cālukya

1 introd. to *Subhā*,⁴ p. 115.

2 *Arch. Survey. Western Ind.* iii. 100 = *IA* vi. 48-51; *IA* xiv. 159-60. See Bühler, *Das Navasūhasñika-carita* (transl. in *IA* xxvi, pp. 149-172), 1888, p. 116f.

3 *IA* xii. 270, xvi. 18, 23, xxi. 167-68; *EJ* ii. 212 f. All the references (regarding Muñja's date) are collected together in Haas's introd. to his ed. of the *Dala-rūpaka* (q. v.).

Tailapa II. Besides being known as Vākpatirāja¹, owing perhaps to the fact that he was himself a poet, he had several other *birudas*, such as Amoghavarṣa, Pr̥thvī-vallabha, and Śrī-vallabha; and one of his inscriptions calls him Utpalarāja²; a fact, overlooked by the editors of the Kāvyamālā Series (Gucchaka i, p. 131), made them confound him with Utpala, the Śaiva philosopher of Kashmir, who was Abhinavagupta's *parama-guru*. This ruler is mentioned by Śaṅbhū³, as well as by Padmagupta⁴, as 'a friend of poets' (*kavi-bāndhava* or *kavi-mitra*) ; and Bhoja, his nephew and successor, appears to have inherited these traits of his character.

(2)

The *Daśa-rūpaka* of Dhanañjaya, in its treatment of Dramaturgy, is apparently based on the time-honoured authority of Bharata ; but as Bharata's huge compendium, both from the practical as well as theoretical point of view, is discursive and cumbersome with its load of histrionic and other matters, Dhanañjaya attempts to sift the mass of details, and, limiting himself only to Dramaturgy, restates the general principles in the form of a practical, condensed and systematic manual. These features of the new contribution ap-

1 Dhanika quotes (on iv. 54-55) one of Muñja's verses twice, citing him in the first instance as Muñja and in the other case as Vākpatirāja-deva ; while Dhanapāla in his *Tilaka-mañjarī* uses both the names with respect to the same person. One of Muñja's descendants, Arjunavarman, who ruled in the beginning of the 13th century, reproduces one of Muñja's stanzas, with the remark that it was composed by one of his ancestors "Muñja, whose other name was Vākpatirāja" (Comm. on *Amaru-Sataka*, ed. Kāvyamālā 1916, p. 23). This verse is attributed to Muñja also by Jahlāṇa p. 199.

2 Kṣemendra quotes verses from Muñja in his three works (*Aucit. vic.* under *sl.* 16; *Kavi-kaṇṭhā* under ii. 1; *Suvṛtta-til.* under ii. 6) referring to him as Utpalarāja. See also Śāringadhara (126 *vākpatirājasya*; 1017 *utpalarājasya*), Vallabhadeva (3414 *Śrīharṣadevāt-maja-vākpatirājasya*), and Jahlāṇa pp. 63 and 199 (*Śrī-muñjasya*).

3 *Rājendra-karṇa-pūra*, *sl.* 17, 36.

4 *Navasūhasāṅka*° i. 7, 8; ii. 93.

parently obtained for it such reputation and currency that in course of time it seems to have superseded not only all other treatises on the subject but also the basic work of Bharata himself. Viśvanātha, for instance, refers now and then to Bharata and gives one or two (mostly conventional) quotations from *Nāyaka-sāstra* ; but in the main he bases his treatment of dramaturgic topics on Dhārañjaya ; while Vidyāāatha admits, in the *nāyaka-prakarana* of his own work, his indebtedness to the latter, with the remark *eśā prakriyā daśarūpoktarīty anusāreṇa* (p. 131).

The *Daśa-rupaka*, consisting of four chapters called *Prakāśas*, deals almost entirely with the topics of dramaturgy, but the fourth and last *Prakāśa* contains a treatment of the theory of *Rasa*. The first *Prakāśa* distinguishes *Nṛtya*, defines the five *Artha-prakṛtis* and the *Saṃdhis* (with their *Āṅgas*), and concludes with definitions of *Viśkambhaka*, *Praveśaka* and other dramatic devices. The second *Prakāśa* is devoted to the topic of *Nāyaka* and *Nāyikā*, their characteristics, their adjuncts, and considers the four dramatic *Vṛttis* and their *Āṅgas*. The third *Prakāśa* is concerned with the Prologue and other requisites of the ten kinds of *Rūpaka*. In the fourth *Prakāśa* we have an exposition of its peculiar theory of *Rasa* in which, not the relation of *Vyañgya-vyañjaka* but that of *Bhāvya-bhāvaka* is posited, after *Bhāṭṭa Nāyaka*, between *Rasa* and *Kāvya*.

(3)

Dhanika, also described as son of Viśṇu, and author of the *Avaloka* commentary on Dhārañjaya's work, was probably one of Dhārañjaya's numerous illustrious contemporaries ; for he may be assigned to the same period. Dhanika quotes from Padmagupta (also known as *Parimala*)¹, who wrote about 995 A.D., as well as from Muñja, and is quoted in his turn by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatī-kāṇṭhābhāraṇa* in the first half of the

1 on ii. 37b = *Navasāhasrāṇī* vi. 42.

11th century. He is also described in one of the MSS¹ as holding the office of *mahāsādhyapāla* under king Utpalarāja, who is apparently our Muñja-vākpati, the patron of Dhanañjaya. The suggestion that the author and the commentator of *Daśa-rūpaka* are one and the same person, chiefly on the ground of the apparent similarity of names and identity of patronymic, as well as the inadvertant attribution of a verse of Dhanañjaya's to Dhanika in some later works like the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (ad vi. 64a= *Daśa-rūpaka* iii. 29), need not be seriously considered.² Jacobi, however, supports this suggestion³ by pointing out that there is no separate *maṅgalā-carana* to the commentary. This hypothesis, however, cannot altogether get rid of the fact that Dhanañjaya and Dhanika are indeed distinguished by some later writers. For instance, Vidyānātha, in his numerous references to the *Daśa-rūpaka*, cites the Kārikā-verses and never from the commentary,⁴ although his commentator, Kumārasvāmin, falls in one place⁵ (p. 29) into the error of attributing one of Dhanañjaya's

1 Wilson, *Select Specimens*, 3rd ed. I, xx, xxi, endorsed by Hall p. 3 notes. It is curious to note that Dhanika (on iv. 23, ed. Parab) quotes *nidrārdha*⁶ which occurs in the *Caura-pañcasikā* (ed. Solf no. 36) attributed to Bihlaṇa, but this anonymous quotation (which also occurs in Kuntaka) does not of itself place Dhanika later than the middle of the 11th century, the date of Bihlaṇa; for the authenticity of the verse is not beyond question, as it is attributed to Kalaśaka in *Subhāṣ*⁷ 1280 and Jahlaṇa p. 152, and Bihlaṇa's authorship is open to question. It is not safe, therefore, to base any chorono-logical conclusion on this quotation. Haas has not noticed the verse at all.

2 Haas (Pref. to ed. *Daśa-rūpaka* xxxiv) is inaccurate in stating that there is in the commentary "a number of indications of a difference of authorship," and in support of this he cites ii. 20b-21a, iii. 32b, iv 43c. Jacobi elaborately shows (*GgA*, 1913, pp. 304f) that Haas has entirely misunderstood these passages.

3 *Op. cit.* p. 303. Also Lévi in *JA*, 1886, p. 221.

4 p. 46, 101, 102, 104, 105, 114, 124, 131, 219, 221, 228.

5 In other passages the citation appears to be correct, pp. 47,

verses (ii. 23b) to Dhanika. It may also be urged that a *maṅgala*-verse to the *Avaloka*, occurring in one of the MSS, is rejected by Hall as spurious, chiefly on the ground that its style is "too pedestrian for so ornate a stylist as Dhanika" (p. 4 note). This 'pedestrian' stanza is apparently the same as that which occurs at the outset of Aufrecht's Bodleian MS, noticed by him in his *Bod. Cat.* 203a. On the other hand, the absence of the *maṅgala*-verse need not in itself be taken as decisive; for while Mammaṭa has no separate *maṅgala*-verse to his *Vṛtti*, we find them in Vāmana and Ruyyaka. Sāṅgadhara in his anthology attributes to Dhanika several verses (3417 and 3973) which the latter gives as his own in his commentary (oo iv. 3a and ii. 10a). If, therefore, we suppose, as it is more likely, that the author and the commentator were not identical, the Dhanika may be taken as a brother of Dhanañjaya (a supposition which explains the apparent similarity of names and identity of patronymic), who collaborated in the production of the work¹ by writing the commentary.

From the *Avaloka* we learn that its author composed poems in Sanskrit and in Prakrit, and also wrote a treatise, entitled *Kāvya-nirṇaya* (oo iv. 35; seven verses quoted) which alluded to the *Dhvanyāloka* and apparently dealt with the general topics of Poetics.

For other less known commentaries on *Dasa-rūpaka*, see Bibliography given below.²

128, 130, 221, 233, 235, 259. Raṅganātha on *Vikramor** (about 1656 A.D.; ed. N. S. P. 1914 p. 31) falls into the same mistake. Mallinātha on *Kumāra** i. 4 and *Sisū** vii. 11 quotes *Dasa-rūpaka* correctly (ii. 36b and ii. 24a).

1 This supposition does not militate against the passage (on iv. 33), referred to by Jacobi, in which the commentator intimately identifies himself with the author saying *asmākhi.....nigidhyate*, meaning that the prohibition is made both by his author and himself.

2 For later dramaturgic works, e.g. *Vasantarājīya* of Kumāragiri, see under Minor Writers below ch. x.

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Dhanika

Editions. Printed in Hall's and Parab's editions, with the text. *Dhanika's Kāvya-nirṇaya* is probably lost.

Other Commentaries on *Dhanañjaya* and *Dhanika*

(1) Comm. by Nṛsiṁhabhaṭṭa. MS in Govt. Orient. MSS Library, Madras (see *BSOS*, iv, 1926, p. 280). It is really a *Laghu-ṭīkā* on *Dhanika's* Comm. (*Dasarūpasya yā vyākhyā Dhanikena samāhitā tasya Bhaṭṭa-Nṛsiṁhena laghu-ṭīkā vidhīyate*). It is interesting to note from this verse that *Dhanika* is mentioned as a commentator on *Daśa-rūpaka*, thus reecording the tradition that the commentator *Dhanika* was different from *Dhanañjaya*, author of the *Daśa-rūpaka*. *Bhaṭṭa Nṛsiṁha* also commented on *Bhoja's Sarasvati-kāṇḍhabharana*.

(2) *Ṭīkā* by Devapāṇi (cited by Raṅganātha on *Vikramorvaśiya* ed. N. S. P. 1904, pp. 6, 31; cf *AFL* 444 and *ABod* 135b). No MSS discovered. This is the author who is wrongly called Pāṇi by Wilson (*Select Specimens*) and Aufrecht. Being anterior to Raṅganātha, his date should be earlier than 1656 A.D. Raṅganātha also refers to a *Sāhasāṅkīya-ṭīkā* in the same context (p. 31).

(3) 'Paddhati' by Kuravirāma (MS in Hultzsch 554; only three pages) is not a commentary on the *Daśa-rūpaka*, as Hultzsch's entry would imply. It is an independent work on Dramaturgy consisting of 110 verses. See *Madras Trm* II, A, 820 (c). Kuravirāma is a modern but fertile South Indian commentator who lived at the court of Zemindars of Kārvetiṇagaram in North Arcot District, and wrote comms. also on two well known poems, *Campū-bhāraṭa* of Anantabhaṭṭa and *Viśvaguṇādorśa* of Veṅkaṭa. He mentions in his comm. on the last-named poem a commentary by himself on Appayya's *Kuvalay*, as well on Dhanañjaya. See Hultzsch i, p. xi.

(4) Comm. by Bahurūpa Miśra, for an account of which see V. Ragbavan in *JOR*, Madras, viii, pp. 321-34. As Bahurūpa quotes from Bhoja's *Śringāra-prakāśa* and Śāradātanaya's *Bhāva-prakāśana* he must be later than 1250 A.D.

KUNTAKA

(1)

Kuntaka is better known in Alāmkāra literature under the descriptive designation of the *Vakrokti-jīvita-kāra*¹ from the peculiar name of his work *Vakrokti-jīvita*, which itself is so called because of its central theory that *vakrokti* is the 'soul' or essence of poetry. The work had been known only through quotations and references until it was edited from two imperfect MSS by the present writer.

Kuntaka's date² is fixed approximately by his quotation from the dramatist Rājaśekbara, on the one hand, and by

1 Ruyyaka, ed. Kāvymālā p. 8. with Jayaratha (also pp. 12, 150 etc.) and Samudrabandha thereon (p. 4); Viśvanātha ed. Durgaprasad p. 14; *Kāma-dhenu* on Vāmana I 1, 1, ed. Benares p. 6, etc.

2 This question has been dealt with in detail in the introd. to S. K. De's *editio princeps* of the *Vakrokti-jīvita*, and is only briefly referred to here.

Mahimabhaṭṭa's citation of Kuntaka and his work, on the other. Mahimabhaṭṭa flourished, as we shall see, towards the end of the 11th century. We may, therefore, place Kuntaka between the middle of the 10th and the middle of the 11th. As this date falls in with the known dates of Abhinavagupta (whose latest date is 1015 A.D.), we may take Kuntaka as a contemporary of this commentator on Ānandavardhana. Although Abhinava refers to various views about *vakrokti* held before his time, it is remarkable that he never alludes to the *Vakrokti-jīvita-kāra* who, as his title *rājānaka* indicates, was probably a Kashmirian, and whose work, if written before Abhinava's time, ought not to have been, from its important nature and content, thus entirely ignored by a rival theorist.

(2)

The first two and a part of the third chapter of the work, which have been published, give a general outline of Kuntaka's main theory; but it is not known how many chapters his original treatise comprised. The fourth chapter in the Madras MS, however, which breaks off without completing the work, may be presumed to have formed its natural conclusion, inasmuch as it deals with the last variety of *vakratā* enumerated by the author. The running prose *Vṛtti*, accompanying the *Kārikā-slokas*, and forming an integral part of the work itself, appears to have been composed by Kuntaka himself; for not only the commentator expressly identifies himself with the author, but the citations of later writers¹ indicate that the *Kārikās* should be taken *en bloc* with the *Vṛtti*. Besides quotations from Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Anaṅgaharṣa (author of the *Tāpasa-vatsarāja*), Hāla, Bāṇa, Māgha, Bhāravi, Bhallāṭa, Amaru, Mayūra, Śrīharṣa, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, Rājaśekhara, Kuntaka mentions by name Sarvasena, Mañjīra, Māyurāja, and the *Udātta-rāghava*,

¹ Comm. to *Vyakti-viveka* p. 16; *Kāma-dhenu* on Vāmana p. 6, etc.

and quotes from Bhāmaha, Ṛndraṭa and the Dhvanikāra (=Ānandavardhana). The work stands unique for its exposition of the theory of *vakrokti*, which is apparently developed on the lines indicated by Bhāmaha,¹ as well as for its analysis of a poetic figure on its basis, which is implicitly accepted by all writers from Ruyyaka to Jagannātha.²

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KSEMENDRA

(1)

The industrious Kashmirian polygrapher Kṣemendra, with the surname Vyāsadāsa, is notable in Sanskrit Poetics for his two interesting treatises, *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā* and *Kavī-kaṇṭhābharana*. He refers to another work of his,³ devoted to the treatment of poetic figures, entitled *Kavī-karṇikā*.

Kṣemendra himself gives us an indication of his date. The concluding verses of his two works, as well as of his *Suvṛttā-tilaka* (ed. Kāvymālā Guechaka 2, 1886), state that he wrote in the reign of king Ananta of Kashmir, while the colophon to his *Samaya-māṭyā* tells us that it was finished

1 For an exposition see S. K. De's Introd. to the 2nd ed. of Kuntaka's work. Generally speaking, Kuntaka's *Vakrokti* signifies a mode of expression, differing from and transcending the ordinary mode of speech, and resulting in a characteristic charmingness (*vaicitrya* or *vicchitti*), and depends on the imaginative activity of the poet (*kavi-pratibhā-nirvartitavā*).

2 See Jacobi, *Ueber Begriff und Wesen der poetischen Figuren* in *GN* 1903.

3 In *Aucit. vic. II* 2.

in the reign of the same king in 1050 A. D. His *Daśāvatārā-carita*, on the other hand, is dated by himself in 1066 A. D., in the reign of Kalasa, son and successor of Ananta. Ananta reigned from 1028 to 1063 A. D. crowning his son Kalasa in 1063. Bühler¹ is right, therefore, in fixing the period of Kṣemendra's literary activity in the second and third quarters of the 11th century.²

(2)

Peterson proposed³, against the opinion of Bühler, who appears to have left the question open, the identification of Kṣemendra with Kṣemarāja, the Śaiva philosopher of Kashmir, who was a pupil of Abhinavagupta, and who wrote, among numerous other works, a commentary on the *Siva-sūtra* and on Abhinavagupta's *Paramārtha-sāra*. Stein supports this identification, but Peterson himself appears to admit later on⁴ that his own theory is doubtful. In his *Aucitya-vicāra*, Kṣemendra pays homage to Acyuta or Viṣṇu; but we know that he was, like his father, a Śaiva in his youth but was converted afterwards into Vaiṣṇavism, as he himself indicates, by Somācārya. This fact, as well as chronology, does not stand in the way of the proposed identification, but there

1 *Kashmir Rep.* p. 46.

2 Dhanika, who lived towards the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century, appears to quote (on i. 61) two verses which occur in some MSS of Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī* (ii. 216. 217), and this fact apparently militates against this conclusion of Kṣemendra's date; but we know that the *Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī* was composed about 1037 A.D., and as the four lines in question occur in one of the MSS only, it is generally admitted now, for this and other reasons, that they are later interpolations. Kṣemendra (*Aucit. vic. ad sl. 11. 16, 20*) quotes Parimala (otherwise known as Padmagupta) who was a contemporary of Dhanañjaya and Dhanika.

3 i (*Detailed Report*), 1883, p. 11, 85 and Bühler in *IA* xiii, 1884, p. 29. Bühler really proposed the identification of Kṣemarāja, author of *Sāmba-pañcāśikā*, with Kṣemendra who wrote *Spanda-saṃdoha*, but distinguished both from the poet Kṣemendra Vyāsadāsa (see *Kashmir Rep.* p. 81 and fn). 4 iv p. xxiii.

is no direct evidence to support it. Kṣemendra describes himself as son of Prakāśendra and grandson of Sindhu¹, and the name of his preceptor is given as Gaṅgaka.² He was also father of Somendra, and preceptor of Udayasimha and *rājaputra* Lakṣaṇāditya³. We know nothing, on the other hand, of Kṣemarāja's genealogy or personal history. But we are told at the end of the *Bṛhatkathā-maṇjarī* that Kṣemendra learnt *sāhitya* from Ahbinavagupta, while Kṣemarāja at the end of his *Svacchandoddyota*⁴ (as well as in the colophon to his *Stava-cintāmaṇi*) is described as *śiṣya* of the same great philosopher. It is worth noting, however, that while Kṣemendra's surname *Vyāsadāsa*⁵ is given in all his works (with the exception of his *Kalā-vilāsa*), it does not occur in any of Kṣemarāja's philosophical treatises. Kṣemendra has taken care to let us know a great deal about himself, but Kṣemarāja always hides his light under a bushel and is apparently free from this trace of natural vanity. The question, therefore, cannot be taken as definitely settled, and can be satisfactorily solved when, as Bübler long ago pointed out⁶, the name of Kṣemarāja's father is found.⁷

A list of Kṣemendra's numerous works is given below.

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a. *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā*

Editions. (1) *Kāvyamālā* Guṇchaka I, 1886. (2) With comm.: *Sabṛdayatoṣṇī* of *Svetācārya-nārāyaṇa*. Madras 1906. Our

1 Concluding verse of the *Daśāvadra*.

2 *Aucit. vic.* under sl. 39. He quotes also Bṛhaṭṭa Tauta. Among other citations we find Bṛhaṭṭa Bhallāṭa, Gauḍa-kumbhakāra and Kunteśvara-dautya of Kālidāsa.

3 *Kavi-kanṭhā*⁸ under v. i (pp. 138, 139). Of his pupil Udayasimha Kṣemendra quotes *Lalitābhudhāna-mahākāvya*

4 Bübler *op. cit.* App. II p. clxix (extract).

5 Three stanzas are attributed to *Vyāsadāsa* in *Subhāṣī*⁹ (460, 1658, 3039). 6 IA xiii, loc. cit.

7 For a brief résumé of Kṣemendra's two works, see below vol. ii, ch. ix (i); on his didactic and satiric works see S. K. De, *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.*, Calcutta 1947, pp. 404-10.

references are to the former. Also ed. Chowkhamba Sansk. Series, Benares 1933. For an account of the work, see Peterson in *JBRAS* xvi pp. 167-180, where all the quotations in the work are collected together and discussed.

b, Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa

Editions. (1) *Kāvyamālā* Gucchaka iv, 1887, 1899 (2) Chowkhamba Sansk. Series, Benares 1933. A monograph on the work with analysis and German translation by J. Schönberg, Wien 1884 (in *Sb. der Wiener Akad.*).

There is no trace of Kṣemendra's *Kavi-karṇikā*.

The Works of Kṣemendra. A list of the works of Kṣemendra, published and unpublished, is given here. Those which are quoted in *Aucitya-vicāra*, *Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* and *Suyṛta-tilaka* are marked respectively with the signs (A), (K) and (S).

1. *Amṛta-taraṇga* (or *ṭuraṇga*) (K).
2. *Aucitya-vicāra*.
3. *Avasara-sāra* (A).
4. *Kanaka-jānakī* (K).
5. *Kalā-vilāsa* (ed *Kāvyamālā* Gucchaka i).
6. *Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*.
7. *Kavi-karṇikā* (A).
8. *Kṣemendra-prakāśa* (mentioned in *ABod* 38b).
9. *Caturvarga-saṃgraha* (A, K, and ed. *Kāvyamālā* Gucchaka 5).
10. *Cāru-caryā* (ed. *Kāvyamālā* Gucchaka 2).
11. *Citrabhārata-nāṭaka* (A and K).
12. *Darpa-dalana* (ed. *Kāvyamāla* Gucchaka 6, 1891).
13. *Daśāvatāracarita-kāvya* (ed. Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, NSP, 1891).
14. *Deśopadeśa* (K; ed. M. Kaul, Srinagar 1923).
15. *Dāna-pārijāta*.
16. *Narma-mālā* (ed. M. Kaul, Srinagar 1923).
17. *Nīti-kalpataru* (may be the same as *Nīti-latā* quoted in A).
18. *Padya-kādambarī* (K).
19. *Pavana-pañcāśikā* (S).
20. *Bṛhat-kathā-mañjarī* (ed. Sivadatta and Parab, NSP 1901).
21. *Bauddhāvadāna-kālpalatā* (A; with its Tibetan version, ed. Sarat Chandra Das, 2 vols. Bibl. Ind. 1888-1918).
22. *Bhārata-mañjarī* (ed. Sivadatta and Parab, NSP 1898).
23. *Muktāvali-kāvya* (A and K).
24. *Munimata-mīmāṃsā* (A).
25. *Rājāvali* (mentioned in *Kahlaṇa* i. 13).
26. *Rāmāyaṇa-mañjarī* (ed. Bhavadatta and Parab, NSP 1903).
- 27.

Lalitaratna-mālā. 28. *Loka-prakāśa* (Text in transliteration, *Ind. Stud.* xviii, 1898, pp. 298-412; J. Bloch with trans. notes etc. P. Geuthner, Paris 1914) (A). 29. Lāvaṇyavatī-kāvya (A and K). 30. Vātsyāyana-sūtra-sāra (A and quoted in the *Pañca-sāyaka*). 31. Vioaya-valli (A). 32. Vētāla-pañca-viñśati (from the *Bṛhatkathā-mañjari*, ed. H. Uhle, München 1924). 33. Vyāsāstaka mentioned in Bühler's *Kashmir Report* (1877) no. 154; see p. 45-46. 34. Śaśivāṇī-mahākāvya (K). 35. Samaya-māṭṭkā (ed. Durgaprasad and Parah, NSP 1888). 36. Suvṛttā-tilaka (ed. Kāvyamālā Gucchaka 2; also ed. Chowkhamba Skt. Series 1933). 37. Sevya-sevakopadeśa (ed. Kāvyamālā Gucchaka 2). The *Hastijanaprakāśa* mentioned by Schönberg and Peterson is by Kṣemendra, son of Yadu Śatman (see Kāvyamālā p. 115 fn and Aufrecht i. 765). The *Navacūtya-vicāra* in Schönberg is probably the same work as *Aucūtya-vicāra*. The *Kalā-vilāsa* has been translated into German by R. Schmidt in *WZKM* xxviii, 1914, p. 406-35; the *Darpa-dalana* by the same in *ZDMG* lxix, 1915, pp. 1-51 (also ed. and transl. by B. A. Hirszbant, St. Petersberg 1892); *Samaya-māṭṭkā*, trs. by J. J. Meyer, Leipzig 1903. Parts of *Bṛhatkatha-mañjari* has been translated by Sylvain Lévi (1st Lamhhaka with text in Roman) in *JA* vi, 1885, pp. 397-479; by Leo v. Mankowski (*Pañcatantra*, with text in Roman), Leipzig 1892.

BHOJA

(1)

The earliest writer on Poetics who quotes Bhoja seems to be Hemacandra¹ who flourished, as we shall see, in the first half of the 12th century: while Vardhamāna, who however did not write till 1140 A.D., mentions Bhoja in the second verse of his *Gaṇa ratna*, the Vṛtti on which explains this Bhoja as the author of the *Sarasvatī-kāṇṭhābhāraṇa*. The latest writer quoted by Bhoja appears to be Rājaśekhara².

1 p. 295 Comm., besides anonymous quotations.

2 From *Karpūra-maṇī*, *Bāla-bhā*, and *Viddhaśūla*. See Stein

whose latest date is the beginning of the 10th century, although some verses from the *Caura-pañcāśikā* (no. 12, ed. Bohlen), attributed to Bihlaṇa, occur in the *Sarasvatī-k'* (ad i. 152)¹. Bhoja appears also to refer in one verse (ad i. 71, p. 22) to Muñja, apparently Muñja-vākpatirāja of Mālava. Jacob² is misleading in putting down the name of Nami-sādhu (who did not write his commentary on Rudraṇa till 1069 A.D.) in the list of authors quoted by Bhoja; for the verses in question, though found in Nami, are not Nami's own but really quoted by him from previous authors³. Bhoja also quotes about sixteen times several verses occurring in *Daśa-rūpaka* and its commentary⁴, which belong to the time of Muñja, i.e. the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century. The internal evidence of the text, therefore, places the author of the *Sarasvatī-k'* in the period between the

Konow's ed. of *Karpūra-maṇj'* pp. 198 f., for the quotations; also Jacob *JRAS*, 1897, p. 304f.

1 We have not based any chronological inference on this, because Bihlaṇa's authorship of the work is not beyond question, and Solf tries to demonstrate the existence of a poet called Cora or Caura, whose date is not known.

2 *op. cit.* p. 304.

3 For instance, the verse *ayam padmāsanāśina'* (Bhoja ad i. 51, p. 15) is found, no doubt, in Nami on xi. 24, but it is really a quotation, along with several other verses in the same context, from Bhāmaha ii. 55. Similarly the two verses *sa marutā* and *sa plavīśū*, quoted by Bhāmalia himself (ii. 41, 58) from some previous authors (one of whose names is given as Rāmaśarmā) occur in Bhoja unconditionally (ad i. 121 pp. 43, 44), but they are also quoted by Nami in the same context. There is no reason to suppose that Bhoja took these verses from Nami's Comm. instead of going directly to Bhāmaha, from whom he quotes several other verses directly (e.g. *ākrośan nāhṛayan*, Bhoja ad iii. 8, p. 144 = Bhāmaha ii. 94; Bhāmaha ii. 92 = Bhoja ad iv. 51, p. 226-7 = *Subhūṣ'* 1645 *bhāmahasya*). Similar remarks apply to the other supposed quotations given by Jacob, whose mistake is probably due to the fact that Bhāmaha's text was not available to him.

4 One verse under *Daśa-rūpaka* iv. 66 (*lakṣmī-payodharotsaṅga-*) which Dhanika quotes as his own (*yathā mamaira*) is quoted by Bhoja as example of Anyokti (S. K. iv).

second and the fourth quarters of the fifth century; and as this date fits in easily with the known date of the ninth Paramāra ruler Bhoja of Dhārā, one of the well-known princes of the 11th century, noted for his patronage of letters, the two may be taken to have been reasonably identified. Our Bhoja is frequently cited in later Alampāra literature as Bhojarāja, and sometimes simply as *rājan*¹ which designation, like that of *muni* applied to Bharata, seems to mark him out *par excellence* in this literature.

(2)

Kahlaṇa states (vii. 259)² that king Bhoja of Dhārā was the true friend of poets; and it is possible that he had himself literary predilections. He was son and successor of Sindhu-rāja and nephew of Muñja-vākpatirāja who was also, as we have seen, a great patron of letters. The date of Bhoja is well known from his own and other inscriptions³. Alheruni⁴ mentions him as still reigning in 1030 A.D., while the date Śaka 964 = 1042 A.D. is given by the *Rājamṛgāñka* which is attributed to Bhoja. We know also that he fought with Cālukya Jayasimha III between 1011 and 1019 A.D., and with the latter's successor Somesvara (1042-1066 A.D.) who, according to Bihlaṇa, took Dhārā by storm and forced Bhoja to flee. Bihlaṇa himself speaks of Bhoja as of a contemporary 'whom he did not visit though he might have done so'⁵. In

1 e.g. Vidyādhara pp. 98, 150, 192, 287, 304, and Mallinātha pp. 287, 304 etc.

2 *sa ca bhoja-narendras ca dānotkarsena vīrputau/sūrī tasmin kṣane*
Julyam dvāvāsiūmī kavi-bāndhavau.

3 IA vi, p. 53f (Ujjain Plate, 1021-22 A.D.); EI i, p. 230-33; EI ix, p. 182 (Banswara Plate, 1020 A.D.); EI xviii, p. 320 (Betma Plate, 1020 A.D.); the Sarasvati Image Inscription in the Br. Museum (Rupam, 1924, p. 18; 1033 A.D.); Tilakwada Copper plate (Proc. of the 1st Orient. Conf. p. 319; 1047 A.D.) etc.

4 ed. Sachau i. 191. According to Merutunga, Bhoja succeeded Muñja in Saṃvat 1078 = 1022 A.D. See, however, Bhandarkar, Rep. 1882-83, pp. 44-45.

5 Bühler's ed. *Vikramāñka* p. 23fa; also text xviii. 96.

chapters are devoted to the quasi-grammatical question relating to word and its sense as the means of expression, and the theory of *vṛtti*. The ninth and the tenth chapters describe the blemishes and excellences of expression (*doṣa* and *guṇa*) ; while the eleventh and twelfth chapters deal respectively with the Mahākāvya and the drama. The next twenty-four chapters treat exclusively of the Rasas, of which the Śṛṅgāra or love in its various aspects (in relation to the four Puruṣārthas, Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa) is maintained, in the light of his novel theory of one Rasa of Ahamkāra-Abhimāna-Śṛṅgāra, to be the principal and essential ; and the work derives its name from Bhoja's theory that Śṛṅgāra is the only one Rasa admissible¹. As in the *Sarasvatī-kāṇḍīhābhāraṇa*, this work, in the manner of a cyclopaedic compilation, gives a large number of quotations to illustrate the rules and principles laid down. Śāradātanaya's *Bhāva-prakāśana*, which deals with the same subject, constitutes really a summary of the important chapters of Bhoja.

(4)

The *Sarasvatī-kāṇḍīhābhāraṇa*, consisting of five Paricchedas, is not a very original work, but consists chiefly of a patient compilation in an encyclopaedic manner from earlier treatises, especially from Daṇḍin, from whom he takes, according to the calculation of Jacob², no less than 164 illustrations. From the index of citations given by Jacob, we find that Vāmana is quoted 22 times, Rudraṇī 19 times, the *Dhyanyāloka* more than 10 times (six of the *kārikās* being reproduced), while it is curious to note that Bhoja makes a good use

1 Cf Vidyādhara *rājā tu Śṛṅgāram ekam eva Śṛṅgāra-prakāśe rasam* *uraricakāra* p. 98 ; Kumārasvāmin p. 221 *Śṛṅgāra eka eva rasa iti Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa-kāraḥ*. For a brief résumé of the work see below under vol. ii, ch. 6.—Bhoja in four chapters (xviii-xii) deals with what he calls *Dharma-Śṛṅgāra*, *Artha-Śṛṅgāra*, *Kāma-Śṛṅgāra* and *Mokṣa-Śṛṅgāra*. But he devotes 16 chapters (xxii-xxvi) entirely to what may be called *Laukika Śṛṅgāra* in its *Sāmbhoga* and *Vipralambha* aspects.

2 loc. cit.

of Bhaṭṭī's illustrations of the figure *yamaka* and its numerous subspecies. After dealing with general topics of Poetics, the work speaks somewhat symmetrically of 16 *Dosas* respectively of *Pada*, *Vākyā* and *Vākyārtha*, and 24 *Guṇas* respectively of *Śabda* and *Vākyārtha*. In the second and third chapter 24 *Śabdālaṃkāras* and *Arthālaṃkāras* respectively are defined and illustrated. In the fourth chapter 24 *Śabdārthālaṃkāras* are similarly dealt with. It is noteworthy that the *Rītis*, mentioned as six in number, are regarded as *Śabdārthālaṃkāras*. In the fifth chapter we have a treatment of *Rasas*, *Bhāvas*, *Nāyaka-nāyikā*, the five *Samdhis*, and four *Vṛttis*, etc. While the chief value of Bhoja's work consists in its abundant wealth of illustrations and examples, numbering more than 1500, to every rule and prescription, it is nevertheless interesting as embodying, in the main, a tradition of opinion, which is also represented in the *Agni-purāṇa*, but which in many respects stands apart from the orthodox Kashmirian school.

Bhoja is credited with having composed more than 80 works, most of which are voluminous. His work on Grammar (ed. Madras Univ. 1937; also ed. Trivandrum Skt. Series, with *Hṛdayahāriṇī* Comm. of *Nārāyaṇa Dāṇḍanātha*, 1935-48) is also called *Sarasvatī-kāṇṭhābharaṇa*.

(5)

The commentators on Bhoja, as noted below, are numerous, but they are not of much importance. Ratneśvara's commentary has been published several times together with the text, but so far only three chapters of it have been printed.

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Editions. (1) by A. Borooah, Calcutta 1884. (2) by Viresvara Sastri, Benares 1888 (chs. iv and v). (3) by Jivananda Vidyasagar with Comm. of Ratneśvara (on. chs. i-iii), Calcutta 1894. (4) by Kedarnath Durgaprasad and Vasudev L. Panshikar, Nirnaya Sagar Press, with Comm.

of Ratneśvara (on i-iii) and of Jagaddhara (on iv). Bombay 1925, 1934. Our references are to ed. Boorab 1884.

Commentaries (1) *Ratna-darpaṇa* by Miśra Ratneśvara. Ed. with the text by Jivananda, Calcutta 1894; ed. Benares and ed. NSP, as above. The nominal author Rāmasiṁha-deva, mentioned in the introductory stanza 2, is apparently the author's patron. In the colophon, the author's name is given as Miśra Ratneśvara; and in Benares ed. of the text, the commentary is said to have been written at the command of Rāmasiṁha-deva (of Tīrthut?). In the Catalogues, the work is sometimes inaccurately given as by Rāmasiṁha-deva. The author refers to a comm. on the *Kāv. prak.* by himself. Only the first three chapters of this *Ratna-darpaṇa* have been published in the editions noted; and both the Madras and Bodleian MSS contain these chapters only. Ratneśvara appears to have flourished in the 14th century A.D. (2) **Mārjanā* by Harinātha, mentioned by himself in his Comm. on *Dāṇḍin* (*A Bod* 206b). See above p. 70. (3) *Duṣkara-citra-prakāśikā* by Lakṣmiṇātha Bhaṭṭa. He may be identical with Lakṣmiṇātha who, according to Kielhorn *Report* 1880 81 p. 71, wrote his *Piṅgala-pradīpa* in 1601 A.D. Kielhorn's MS of this latter work appears to have been copied in 1660, while Burnell's (*Piṅgalartha-dipikā* pp. 53b, 175b) in 1632 A.D. (4) **Tīkā* by Jagaddhara, son of Ratnadhara and Damayanti. Extract given in *Ulwar Cat.* 1086 and Stein p. 275. The printed portion of the Comm. in the NSP ed. is on the 4th chapter. This work is probably earlier than the 17th century but later than the 14th (see Bhandarkar, Pref. to *Mālaśī mādhava* pp. xviii-xxi). Jagaddhara's genealogy is given thus: Caṇḍeśvara→Vedeśvara (or Vedadhara)→Rāmadhara (Rāmeśvara)→Gadādhara→Vidyādhara→Ratnadhara→Jagaddhara. He wrote several commentaries (Aufrecht i. 195) e.g. on the *Megha-dūta*, *Vāsavadattā*, *Veni-samhāra*, *Mālaśī-mādhava* etc. MS in

Stein (p. 276) is dated Śaka 1521 = 1460 A.D. (5) Comm. by Harikṛṣṇa Vyāsa. *SCB* 34.

b. *Śrīṅgāra-prakāśa*

The only known MS is in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, mentioned in their *Report* quoted above. The work has not yet been published except in parts; see above p. 136.

Of other published works bearing the name of Bhoja, the *Samarāṅgāṇa-sūtradhāra* (ed. T. Ganapati Sastri, 2 vols. GOS, Baroda 1924, 1925) deals chiefly with architecture and iconography; the *Yukti-kalpataru* (ed. Isvara Chandra Sastri, Calcutta 1917) with Nīti-Śāstra; the *Tattava-prakāśa*, ed. T. Ganapati Sastri, with Tātparya-dīpikā comm. of Śrīkumāra, Trivandrum Skt. Series 1920; trs. E. P. Janvier in *IA* liv, 1925, pp. 151-56) with religio-philosophical topics; while the *Rājamārtaṇḍa* commentary on the *Yoga-sūtra* (ed. Bibl. Ind. Calcutta 1883; ed. Chowkhamba Skt. Series, along with the text and five other comm. Benares 1930; ed Jivananda Vidya-sagar, Calcutta 1903; trs. Ganganath Jha, Bombay 1907) is devoted to an exposition of the Yoga philosophy.

MAHIMABHATTA

(1)

Rājānaka Mahiman, Mahimaka or Mahimabhaṭṭa, who is cited generally as the *Vyaktiviveka-kāra*¹ from the name of his work, was, as indicated by his title, probably a Kashmirian writer, who describes himself as son of Śrī-Dhairyā and disciple of *mahākavi* Śyāmala. He informs us at the outset of his work (i. 3) that his principal object is to consider the views of the Dhvanikāra; and, as in the course of his discourse he examines the text of the *Dhvanyāloka*, quoting

1 Viśvanātha, ed. Durgaprasad, NSP., 1915, p. 18, 249; Mallinātha on *Kirāta* iii. 21; Ruyyaka, ed. NSP., p. 12; Keśava Miśra p. 80-81; Jagannātha p. 13 etc. Keśava mentions his name as Mahiman.

from the Kārikā and the Vṛtti with a minuteness which cannot be mistaken, we may infer with certainty that he was later than Ānandavardhana¹. It is also probable that Mahimabhaṭṭā was later than Ānandavardhana's commentator, Abbinavagupta; for in some places he betrays an acquaintance with the latter's work. At p. 19, for instance, Mabimabhaṭṭā quotes directly a long passage from the *Locana* (p. 33), and shows himself alive to the point involved in Abhinava's discussion by criticising it. The passage refers to *Dhvanyāloka* i. 13 where the Dhvanikāra uses the verb *vyañktah* in the dual number with the express purpose, as Abhinava explains, of indicating a duality of sense. Bhaṭṭā Nāyaka appears to have taken exception to this use of the dual number, upon which Abhinava concludes by remarking: *tena yad bhaṭṭa-nāyakena dvi-vacanam dūṣitam tad gaja-nimilikayaiva*. Mahimabhaṭṭā, referring to this discussion, quotes anonymously the remarks of Abhinava (not only the above line but the whole passage), with the statement: *kecid vīmānīnaḥ...yad āhus tad bhrānti-mūlam* (p. 19). The terms of reference apparently indicate, as Narasimha Iyengar rightly points out,² that Mahimabhaṭṭā is here referring clearly to Abhinava as a theorist of a rival system who, if not contemporaneous, could not have flourished long before his own time. It should be noted that Mahimabhaṭṭā quotes and criticises (p. 28) certain views set forth by Kuntaka in his *Vakrokti-jīvita* (i. 7-8) and attempts to show that Vakrokti, like Dhvani, is to be included under Anumāna. He also quotes from Rājaśekhara's *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa* (pp. 40, 50) and *Viddha-fālabhañjikā* (p. 85). This gives us one terminus to Mabimabhaṭṭā's date. On the other hand, Ruyyaka who, as we shall see, flourished in the first half of the 12th century and probably also wrote the anonymous commentary on Mahimabhaṭṭā (printed in the Trivandrum edition of the text), is the

1 Cf. Jayaratha p. 12; *dhvanikārāntarabhbāvī vyañktivirekakāra iti*, the Dhvanikāra being, to Jayaratha, Ānandavardhana himself.

2 *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 65f.

of treatment and freedom from slavish imitation,¹ and his omission of all references to his predecessor need not, therefore, appear strange. The only testimony of Rāmacarapa, an 18th century Bengal commentator on Viśvanātha,² need not be seriously considered; but it is probable that the theory developed by Mahima did not originate in himself. Ānandavardhana refutes at some length some theory of *anumāna* (pp. 201f) which attempted to explain that the suggested sense, posited by the *dhvani*-theory, can be arrived at by the process of logical inference. Mahimabhaṭṭa himself gives *Antara-*
ślokas or *Antarāyās* (besides *Samgraba*-*ślokas* summarising a discussion), which add to the discussion and are probably adduced from external sources, indicating previous exposition of similar topics by other writers. Thus, Mahimabhaṭṭa probably worked out systematically some such thesis (anticipated, it may be, by Ānandavardhana), as a direct rejoinder to Ānanda's classical exposition; but there is no evidence to connect him with the theory accredited to Śāṅkuka by Ahhinavagupta and others.

The *Vyakti-viveka*, consisting of three *Vimarśas*, is essentially a vigorous piece of polemic writing, which does not propose to set forth any new theory or system, but whose only object is to demolish the theory of *Dhvani* by showing that the so-called function of *Vyañjanā* posited by Ānandavardhana is nothing more than the already recognised process of *Anumāna* or logical inference. In the first *Vimarśa* he states and amplifies his own position by criticizing the definition of *Dhvani*. In the second *Vimarśa* he considers the question of *Aucitya*, relating to *Śabda* and *Artha*. In the third *Vimarśa* about forty examples are cited from the *Dhvanyā-loka* and shown to be really cases of *Anumāna* and not of *Vyañjanā*.³

1 He says, for instance, that he has written his work without looking into *Candrikā* and *Darpaṇa*, which apparently had the same object in view as the demolition of the *dhvani*-theory (i. 4, 5).

2 ed. Durgaprasad p. 248, ed. Röer p. 121 note: *śāṅkuka-*
matānuyādyinām vyakti-viveka-kārūḍinām matam dūṣayati.

3 Mahimabhaṭṭa's views will be considered in detail below in vol. ii.

(3)

From the *Vyakti-viveka* itself (p. 108) we learn that Mahimabhaṭṭa also wrote a work entitled *Tattvokti-koṣa*, where he is said to have discussed what he calls *pratibhā-tattva*¹, in connexion with the poetic conception of an idea.

Mahimabhaṭṭa's work which recognised the new concept of *dhvani*, but tried to explain it by the established process of *anumāna* (and not by the separate function of *vyañjanā* explained by Ānandavardhana), never found any recognition in the hands of later theorists, most of whom became partisans of the latter. Even his commentator does not appear to possess much sympathy for his somewhat extreme view,² and Mahimabhaṭṭa is rather unique in having no followers in later literature.

The commentator referred to has been identified with some reason³ with Ruyyaka, who has another commentary on Mammaṭa to his credit, as well as several independent works on *Alamkāra*. We shall deal with him hereafter as an independent writer on *Alamkāra*.

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1 Cf Jacobi *Sb. der Preuss. Akad.* xxiv. 225 fn.

2 Mahimabhaṭṭa's views are vigorously criticised by Ruyyaka (*Alam-*
sarvasva, pp. 12f), and Viśvanātha (*Sāhitya-darpana*, p. 248f).

3 For the arguments summarised see Kane, *HSP*, p. 245.

CHAPTER VI

MAMMATA AND ALLATA

(1)

A great deal of uncertainty exists with regard to the exact date of Mammaṭa whose name,¹ as well as the title *rājānaka*, indicates that he was probably a Kashmirian. The story relied upon by Hall² and Weber³ that Mammaṭa was the maternal uncle of the author of *Naiṣadha* may be relegated to the region of fantastic fables which often gather round celebrated names. The lower limit of Mammaṭa's date, however, may be fixed with reference to one dated MS⁴ and two commentaries on the *Kāvya prakāśa*, of which the date can be ascertained. The commentary of Māṇikyacandra is expressly dated in Samvat 1216=1159-60 A. D. The exact

1 Aufrecht (i. 432) notes that Mammaṭa's original name was Mahimabhaṭṭa on the mistaken authority of Kesaṭa Miṣra's erroneous citation (p. 80-81). The passage in which Kesaṭa cites Mahimabhaṭṭa clearly refers not to Mammaṭa but to Mahimabhaṭṭa, author of the *Vyakti-viveka*, mentioned in the same context. The verse *anāucityād rte*, however, which is thus quoted and attributed to Mahiman by Kesaṭa, occurs originally in the *Vṛtti* of the *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 145) from which apparently it is also cited in the *Vyakti-viveka* (pp. 31, 114) with a *sa evāha*, along with many other verses similarly quoted from the same text. Kesaṭa might have taken the verse directly from *Vyakti-viveka*'s citation, without knowing the original source, and wrongly attributed it to Mahiman himself. It does not occur at all in the *Kāvya prak.* Aufrecht's suggestion, therefore, that Mammaṭa is a corruption of the name Mahimabhaṭṭa, like his other supposition that the name Rudrabhaṭṭa yields Rudraṭa, is unwarranted. Cf Peterson ii p. 19.

2 *Introd. to Vāsavadattā* p. 55.

3 *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.* (Eng. trans, 2nd ed.), p. 232 fn.

4 A Jesalmere Jaina Bhandar MS of *Kav. prak.* appears to have been copied in Samvat 1215 Āśvina 14 (=1158 A.D. Oct. 8) at Anahilapātaka while Kumārapālā was still ruling. It is noteworthy that the

the story, related by a very late commentator Bhīmasena,¹ that Mammaāa was the son of Jayyaāa and had two brothers Kayyaāa and Uvvaāa, of whom Uvvaāa (or Uvaāa) is taken to be the well known commentator on Vedic works, some of which, as he himself tells us, were composed in Avanti while Bhoja was still reigning (*bhoje rājyam prasāsatī*). It is suggested on this ground that Uvvaāa was probably the medium of the quotation referred to above relating to his royal patron ; or, assuming it to have been composed by Mammaāa himself, it might have obtained for its author an introduction into the munificent court of Bhoja². But this theory is untenable ; for Uvvaāa tells us that his father's name was Vajraāa and not Jayyaāa ; and it is not clear that the stanza in question, given anonymously as an instance of the figure *udātta* (which consists of a description of the wealth and prosperity of an exalted personage) was composed by Mammaāa himself, who certainly borrows similar illustrative verses from various sources. All that this anonymous verse may be taken to establish is that its allusion to king Bhoja indicates that Mammaāa was probably not earlier than Bhoja.

We may, therefore, place Mammaāa between Ruyyaka on the one hand and Bhoja on the other, if we may assume, on the authority of the commentators, the identity of this Bhoja with the Paramāra Bhoja of Dhārā, the reputed author of the *Sārasvatī-kō*. In other words, Mammaāa probably belongs to the period between the middle of the 11th and the first quarter of the 12th century. Allowing two generations to intervene between him and Ruyyaka, we may assign Mammaāa's literary activity roughly to the last quarter of the 11th century. Mammaāa mentions Ahhinavagupta who was still living in 1015 A.D. (see above), and quotes anonymously (under x, 131,

1 Introd. to ed. *Kāv-prak.* in B.S.S (3rd. ed. 1917) pp. 6-7 : also extract in Peterson i, p. 94.

2 Ganganatha Jha in his introd. to his trans. of *Kāv. prak.* pp. vi-vii.

the work, although his first erroneous impression¹, corrected afterwards by himself², was that the Kārikā-text was composed by Mammāṭa, while the running prose Vṛtti was added by some other hand. There is enough evidence now to show that Mammāṭa composed nearly the whole work (Kārikā and Vṛtti), and only a small portion of the last chapter, left incomplete by him, was completed by another author, whose name is given by Ānanda as Alāṭa or Alaka. That the fact of joint-authorship is skilfully concealed is supposed to be alluded to in the last verse, given in some of the MSS³, which apparently says that "this way of the learned, though different yet appearing identical, is not strange, for here the only cause is a properly constructed (plan of) combination." This may be explained, no doubt, as meaning that the author here claims the credit of having skilfully removed, in his systematic work, all conflict of opinions held by different authors on Poetics; but most commentators agree in finding here a hint implying that the work left incomplete by Mammāṭa was completed by some other person, and the traces of joint-authorship are ingeniously obliterated. Māṇikyacandra Sūri, one of the earliest commentators, comments on this verse: *atha cāyanī grantho'nyenārabdho'pareṇa ca samarthita iti dvi-khaṇḍo'pi saṃghaṭanā-vaśād akhaṇḍāyate.* Ruyyaka remarks in his *Samketa* commentary: *esa grantho grantha-kṛtānena katham apy asamāptatvād apareṇa ca pūritāvaśeṣatvād dvi-khaṇḍo'py akhaṇḍatayā yad avabhāsate tatra saṃghaṭana-iva hetuḥ.* In this view Ruyyaka is followed by Jayanta Bbajña, Somesvara, Narahari Sarasvatīrtha, Kamalākara, Ānanda, Jajñeśvara and other early as well as late commentators on Mammāṭa. Rājānaka Ānanda, however, is more

1 *Rep.* i p. 21 f.

2 *Rep.* ii p. 13 f. Cf Bühler in *IA* xiii p. 30.

3 *ity esa mārgo viduṣāṇi vibhinnō/ pyabhinna-rūpah pratibhāsate yat/ na tad vicitrant yad amatra samyag/ viñirmitā saṃghatana-iva hetuḥ.*

explicit and quotes a traditional verse¹ in his *Nidarśana* commentary to show that Mammaṭa composed the work up to the treatment of the figure *parikara* (x. 32), while the rest, consisting of a small portion of the concluding chapter, was completed by Alaka, Alaṭa or Allaṭa².

This statement about the joint-authorship of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* receives confirmation from an independent source. Commenting on *Amaru-śataka* (ed. Kāvyamālā 18, 1916, ſl. 30), Arjunavarman, who flourished in the first quarter of the 13th century, quotes from the *Kāvya-prakāśa* under vii. 14 (the verse *prasāde vartasva*³ cited therein) with the remark: *yathodāhṛitaṇi doṣa-nirṇaye mammaṭālakābhyaṁ*. In the same chapter on Doṣa in the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, Amaru 72 is quoted as instancing the fault technically known as *jugupsā-ślīla* (vulgarity causing disgust), because the word *vāyu* in the verse is supposed to connote vulgar associations. Arjunavarman defends Amaru from this fastidious criticism with the pointed remark: *kiṇi tu hlädaikamayī-vara-labda-prasādau kāvyaaprakāśa-kārau prāyeṇa doṣa-dṛṣṭi, yenaivaṇīvidheśvapi paramārtha-saḥdayānanda-padeṣu sarasa-kavi-saṇḍarbheṣu doṣam eva sākṣat akurutām*. Both these passages, which mention the dual authorship of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, refer in particular to ch. vii where the *doṣas* or faults of composition are discussed. Unless the remarks be taken to imply a general

1 *kṛtaḥ Śrī-mammaṭācārya-varyaiḥ parikarāradhiḥ/ prabandhaḥ pūrītaḥ ūṣo vidhāyālaṭa- (°laka or °llaṭa-) sūriṇū/*.

2 This is perhaps the reason why in some MSS of the work the colophon puts down the names of Mammaṭa and Allaṭa (or Alaka) as the authors, e.g. Bodleian MS (Hultzsch Collection 172), which is a Kashmirian MS in Śāradā characters, reads: *iti kāvyaaprakāśābhidhānaṇi kāvya-lakṣaṇaṇi samāptam, kṛtiḥ Śrī-rājānaka-mammaṭākālakayoḥ*. Also Stein, *Jāṇīmu Cat.* MS no. 1145 (cf. introd. p. xiii f), 1173. See also colophon of an early MS mentioned above p. 145-46, fn. 4. The dual authorship of the *Kāv. prak.* is accepted by V. S. Sukthankar in *ZDMG*, xvi, p. 477-90.

3 This verse is ascribed to Candra in Śāringadhara 3565.—On this question, see Kane in *IA*, 1911, p. 208.

reference to the fact of joint-authorship without particularly meaning collaboration of any special chapter, one may be led to the conclusion the Allāta (here mentioned as Alaka) had a hand not only in the 10th, as the tradition makes it out, but also in the 7th chapter.¹

(3)

Of the three forms of the name, Alaka, Alāta and Allāta, the last, which is given in Stein's Jammu MS., seems to be the most authentic. The *ta* is a well-known suffix to Kashmirian names, and Stein says that "this form of the name is the only one known to the tradition of Kashmirian Pundits, to whom the double authorship of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* is otherwise perfectly familiar."² But Alaka is as good a Kashmirian form of the name. This Allāta or Alaka is supposed to be the same as Rājānaka Alaka who wrote a commentary on Ruyyaka, and is quoted by Ratnakarṇṭha as such.³ If this identification, which was suggested by Peterson but disfavoured by Stein, is correct, then we must also ascribe to him the *Viṣama-poddhyota* commentary⁴ on Ratnākara's *Hara-vijaya*, where Alaka is described as son of Rājānaka Jayānaka. It appears strange, however, that Allāta the continuator of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* should also be the commentator of Ruyyaka, who in his turn commented on the same work. This will make the two writers commentators on each other's text; and if this were so, we may naturally expect a reference to this fact

1. H. R. Divekar in *JRAS*, 1927, holds that Mammata composed only the Kārikās up to the figure Parikara and that the remaining Kārikās and the whole of the Vṛtti were composed by Alaka. But his arguments are hardly convincing.

2. See *Jammu Cat.* pp. xxiii f. Stein notes that the form Allāta of the name is "found also in the fine birch-bark codex of *Kāvya-prakāśa-saṃketa* written by Pandit Rājānaka Ratnakarṇṭha in the Śaka year 1570 (A.D. 1648)."

3. Peterson ii. p. 17f.

4. i pp. 13, 17. Cf. Bühler, *Kashmir Rep.* p. 45. The work, extending over 50 cantos, has been printed in *Kāvya-mālā* 22.

declared by Hemacandra (Comm. p. 109 = *Kāvya-prak.* v. 1-2b) in the first quarter of the 12th century, as well as accepted by a succession of authors and commentators like Jayaratha, Vidyādhara, Mallinātha, Kumārasvāmin and Appayya. Vaidyanātha, commenting on **Pradīpa* (i. 1), alludes to this tradition and rejects it expressly¹; and in this view most of Mammaāa's other commentators agree. Apart from this, the evidence of the text itself goes directly against such a hypothesis. The Kārikās iv. 4-5 are expressly supported in the Vṛtti by a dictum of Bharata (vi. p. 87, ed. Grosset), and this implies a distinction between the author of the Kārikā and that of the *Nāṭya-sāstra*.² The Kārikā x. 8b, again, says *mālā tu pūrvavat*, implying from the context that the figure *mālā-rūpaka* follows the rule laid down for the figure *mālopamā*, which, however, is not taught in any of the previous Kārikās, but explained in the Vṛtti. This apparently indicates that the Kārikā and the Vṛtti form one block which should be attributed to one and the same author.³

The source of this tradition is probably the unquestioned reverence paid to the sage Bharata, but it may also be due to the fact that Mammaāa himself has made a considerable use of Bharata's Kārikās. Thus Bharata vi. 15, 17-21 = Mammaāa iv. 6-11. Mammaāa, however, has also made a similar use of Kārikās and illustrative verses of many of his predecessors. Thus, the Kārikā in Mammaāa vii. 10 *kāṇvā-*

1 **Prabhā* ed. Kāvyamālā p. 2.

2 Cf Vaidyanātha on i. 1; *granthakṛd iti mammaāabhoṭṭākhyasya kārikākartur nirdesāḥ.....bharata-samhītāyāḥ kārikānām darsanāt sa eva granthakṛd iti na yuktam; caturthe—“kāraṇāy athā kāryāṇi sahakāriṇi” (iv. 4) ityādi kārikārthe “tad uktāṇi bharatena” iti bharata-sammati-pradarśanasyāsaṅgatityāpattely.*

3 To the same effect Vaidyanātha commenting on this passage, ed. Kāvyamālā 1912, p. 329: *etad eva sātrāṇi sūtrāṇi kṛtāḥ ekatve jñāpakaṁ, mālopamāyāḥ sūtrāvānuktiyā vṛttāreva kāthānāt.* Also cf other agreeing opinions quoted in Jhalakikara's comm. ed. B.S.S. 1917, p. 599. See also S. K. De, *Mālā tu pūrvavat* in *ABORI*, vi. 1925 (reprinted in *Some Problems of Skt. Poetics*, Calcutta 1959, p. 131f).

tañisādi-pade) appears as a *samgraha śloka* in Vāmana's *vṛtti* on ii. 2, 19; while the definition of the figure *ākṣepa* in Mammaṭa x. 20 is taken from Bhāmaha ii. 67a and 68a, or Udbhaṭa ii. 2a and 3a as found quoted in Abhinava's *Locana* p. 36. Again, Mammaṭa iv. 1 and 3 are clearly paraphrases from the *Dhvanyāloka* ii. 1 and 3. Mammaṭa also makes a large use of Rudraṭa's illustrations.¹

The *Kāvya-prakāśa*, consisting of ten *Ullāsas*, traverses the whole field of Sanskrit Poetics (with the exception of dramaturgy) in only 143 *Kārikās* and about 620 illustrations derived from various sources. As it combines the merit of fulness with that of conciseness, it became one of the classic works of Sanskrit Poetics and Rhetoric which has always maintained a great authority and popularity throughout India. It sums up and explains in the succinct form of a brilliant text-book all the previous speculations on the subject, becoming in its turn the starting point of endless exegetic works and text-books. As such it occupies a unique position in the history of Sanskrit *Alaṃkāra* literature.²

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Editions. The work has been very often published, in part or as a whole, with or without commentaries. Only important ed. are mentioned here. *Text* only or *text with modern comm.*—(a) ed. Nathuram, Education Press Calcutta 1829 (perhaps the *editio princeps*). (b) ed. Mahesh Chandra Nyayaratna, with his own comm. *Tātparya-vivaraṇa*, Calcutta 1866. (c) ed. Vamanacharya Jhalakikar with his own *Bāla-bodhinī* comm. Bombay

1 This has been shown by Sukthankar in *ZDMG*, lxvi, p. 477f, referred to above.

2 For a discussion of the various topics covered by the work see S. K. De, *Some Problems*, pp. 108-130.

Skt. Series 1889, 1901, 1917. (d) with a comm. by Hari-shankar Sarma Maitbila, ed. D. R. Sastri, Chowkhamba Skt. Series, Benares 1926. (e) with Budha-manorañjanī comm. of Mallāri Lakṣmaṇa Sastri, Madras 1891. *Text with old comm.* (a) With Ādarśa comm. of Maheśvara Nyāyālambakāra, ed. Jivananda Vidyasagar Calcutta 1876 (the same, ed. Calcutta Skt. Ser. 1936). (b) With the comm. of Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, ed. Papa Sastri, Benares 1866. (c) With *Pradīpa* of Govinda Thakkura and *Prabhā* of Vaidyanātha Tatsat, ed. Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1891, 1912. (d) With *Pradīpa* and *Uddyota* of Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa (ch. i. ii. vii and x), ed. D. T. Chandorkar, Poona 1896, 1898, 1915. (e) With *Pradīpa* in *Pandit* x-xiii, 1888-91. (f) With *Pradīpa* and *Uddyota* (complete), ed. V. S. Abhyankar, Anandaśrama Press 1911. (g) With *Pradīpa*, *Uddyota*, *Prabhā*, *Samketa* (of Rucaka) and *Bāla-cittānurañjanī* of Narahari Sarasvītīrtba (ch. i, ii, iii, and x), ed. S. S. Sukthankar, Bombay 1933, 1941. (h) With *Sāhitya-kaumudi* of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa, ed. Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1897. (i) With the *Samketa* of Māṇikyacandra, ed. V. S. Abhyankar, Anandaśrama Press, Poona 1921; ed. R. Shama Sastry, Mysore 1922. (j) With the *Dīpīka* of Caṇḍīdāsa, ed. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, Benares 1933. (k) With *Sampradāya-prakāśini* of Śrīvidyā-cakravartin and *Sāhitya-cūḍāmaṇi* of Lauhitya Bhaṭṭa Gopāla, ed. H. Harihara Sastri, Trivandrum Skt. Series, in 2 vols., 1926, 1930. (l) With *Sudhā-sāgara* of Bhīmasena Dīkṣita, ed. Narayan Sastri Khiste, Chowkhamba Skt. Series, Benares 1927. (m) With *Samketa* of Rucaka, ed. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya in *Calcutta Oriental Journal* ii, 1935; (n) With *Viveka* of Śridhara, ed. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, Sanskrit College, Calcutta 1959, pt. i (cb. i-iv).

Translations. (a) into English by Ganganāth Jha in *Pandit* xviii-xxi, 1896-99; reprinted and separately published, Benares 1899, 1918; 2nd ed., India Press, Allahabad

1925. (b) into English by Pandurang P. Joshi (ch. i. ii. and x). Bombay 1913.

Our references are to the pages or by Kārikās of BSS ed. of Jhalakikar 1917.

The commentaries are discussed and enumerated in detail below.

b. *Sabda-vyāpāra-paricaya*

Edition. By M. R. Telang, N. S. P. Bombay 1916. The work is also called *Sabda-vyāpāra-vicāra* in a BORI MS noticed in *Cat.* xii, p. 343-44.

THE COMMENTATORS ON MAMMATA

(1)

There is hardly any other technical work in Sanskrit which has been so much commented upon as the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, and no less than seventy different commentaries and glosses will be found noticed in the various reports, catalogues and journals relating to Sanskrit MSS. They count as their authors not only independent and notable writers on Poetics like Ruyyaka and Viśvanātha, but also men having other literary interests, like the Naiyāyika Jagadīśa and Narasiṁha Ṭhakkura, the grammarian Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa, the Mīmāṁsaka Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, the Vaiṣṇava Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa, as well as the Tāntrika Gokulanātha. Very few of these commentaries have yet been printed. We mention here the more important and better known of these writers, noting their dates when known and supplying whatever information we can gather about them.

Rājānaka Ruyyaka or Rucaka

His commentary is called *Saṅketa*. He is identical with Ruyyaka (q. v.), author of the *Alaṅkāra-sarvasva*; middle of the 12th century.

Ed. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya in *Calcutta Oriental Journal*

ii, 1935 ; also partly (on i, ii, iii and x) ed. S. S. Sukthankar, Bombay 1933, 1941.

Māṇikyacandra

His commentary is also called *Śaṅketa*. It is dated in Samvat 1216=1159-60 A.D.² Māṇikyacandra was a Jaina author of Gujarat, who belonged to the Koṭikagaṇa, Vajra-sākhā, Rājagaccha. The concluding verses of his commentary trace his spiritual genealogy to Śilabbhadra, after whom came in succession Bharateśvara, Vairasvāmin (Vīra⁴), Nemicandra and Sāgarendu. Our author states that he was a pupil of Nemicandra, as well as of his successor Sāgarendu, who is identified by Peterson⁵ with the Sāgarendu who wrote out in the Samvat 1252 (=1196 A.D.) at Paṭṭana the first copy of the *Amamasvāmi-carita*⁶. Our Māṇikyacandra seems to be identical with Māṇikyacandra, author of *Pārśvanātha-carita*, which is said to have been completed on the Dewali of Samvat 1276 (=1220 A.D.) in Devakūpa (Divbandar) by the sea (v. 36). In it the author gives a spiritual genealogy, traced up to Pradyumna Śūri and corresponding exactly to that given in the *Śaṅketa*. Māṇikya also appears to have written a *Naldyāya* or *Kubera-purāṇa*⁷. Māṇikyacandra, mentioned in Merutunga's *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* as having flourished under Jayasimha of Gujarat, seems to be a different person.⁸

Edition with the text. (i) By Vasudeva Abhyankar, Anandasrama Press, Poona 1921 ; (ii) by R. Sharma Sastry, Mysore 1922.

1 Peterson iii, extr. p. 322, where the verse giving the date is incomplete, but it is given in full in Jhalakikara's introd. to *Kāv. prak.* p. 22.

2 iv, p. cxxviii.

3 iii, App. p. 98.

4 See extract in Peterson iii, App. p. 157-63 ; also vi, p. xci. The verse *ṣaf-tarkī-lalanā-vilāsa*, describing his preceptor Nemicandra, occurs in *Pārśvanātha-carita* also, as in his *Śaṅketa*. See extracts in Peterson iii, pp. 160 and 321.

5 Peterson iii, App. p. 357.

6 For a discussion of Māṇikyacandra's date, see R. C. Parikh's ed. of Someśvara's comm. pp. 12-13.

Narahari ealled Sarasvatī-tīrtha

His commentary is called *Bāla-cittāmūrañjanī*. He also refers to two works, *Smṛti-darpana* and *Tarka-ratna* (with its *Dīpikā* commentary), written by himself. Aufrecht notes that Narahari is also the author of a commentary on the *Megha-dūta*, of which there is a copy in the Cambridge University Library; and Stein notes (p.67) a *Kumārasaṃbhava-fikā* by Sarasvatītīrtha. His commentary on *Mammaṭa* states that he was born in Samvat 1298=1241-42 A.D., in Tribhuvanagiri in the Andhra country. He traces his own genealogy to Rāmeśvara of Vatsa-gotra, and describes himself as son of Mallinātha and Nāgammā and grandson of Narasiṃha, son of Rāmeśvara. He had a brother named Nārāyaṇa. When he became an aseetic, he took the name of Sarasvatītīrtha and composed his commentary at Benares¹.

Edition. A part only (on i, ii, iii and x) in S. S. Sukthankar's edition of *Kāvya prak.* mentioned above, Bombay 1933, 1941; extract from MSS in Peterson i, 74 and *IOC* iii, pp. 325f.

Jayanta Bhaṭṭa

His commentary is called *°Dīpikā* or *Jayantī*. He gives its date as Samvat 1350=1294 A.D. He calls himself son of Bharadvāja who was the family-priest (*purohita*) to the chief minister of Śārīgadeva of Gujarat, the third Vāghelā sovereign who ruled at Patṭana during 1277-1297². Jayanta is quoted by Paramānanda Cakravartin and Ratnakāṇṭha (q.v.), and the latter states that his own commentary was based on the *Jayantī*. Our Jayanta Bhaṭṭa must be distinguished from Bhaṭṭa Jayanta or Jayantaka, father of Abhinanda the author of the *Kādambarī-kathā-sāra* (ed. Kāvyamālā 11, 1888), who is an earlier author quoted by Abhinavagupta (p. 142) and who lived probably in the 9th century.

Extract in Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, App. 326.

1 Peterson i, pp. 25f, 74.

2 Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84 pp. 17-18; Peterson ii, pp. 17, 20.

Someśvara

His commentary is called *Kāvyādarśa*¹ (also *Samiketa*). He describes himself as son of Bhaṭṭa Devaka of Bharadvāja-gotra. Jhalakikara thinks that he was a native of Kanauj from his decided partiality for that country. But his reference to the Pratyabhijñā School of Kashmir might indicate that he was Kashmirian. Peterson² and following him Aufrecht³, identify him with Someśvara, author of *Kirti-kaumudī* and *Surathotsava*, and place him in the first half of the 13th century. But this is doubtful, because this Someśvara is known as son of Kumāra. R. C. Parikh would assign the commentary to a period between 1150 and 1160 A.D. Our Someśvara cites Bhāmaha, Rudraṭa, Mukula, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Bhaṭṭa Tauta, Kuntaka (quoted pp. 135, 152, 302), Vakrokti-jīvita-kāra (p. 36), Ācārya Bhartṛmitra (p. 16), Candrikā-kāra (p. 55) and Yāyāvariya (p. 224). He is cited in his turn by a very late commentator Kamalākara⁴.

Ed. R. C. Parikh in 2 vols. (with the text). Rajasthan Pracya Vidya Pratisthan, Jodhpur 1959.

Vācaspati Miśra

Nothing is known of him or his commentary, but he is cited by Caṇḍīdāsa (as *prācīna* p. 131), by Viśvanātha on Mammaāa, and by Bhūmasena. He is to be distinguished from Vācaspati Miśra, author of the *Bhāmatī*, who is probably older than Mammaāa; for in the list he gives of his own works at the end of the *Bhāmatī*, he does not refer to any commentary on Mammaāa. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya (JOI Baroda, iii pp. 359-63) states that Vācaspati Miśra belonged to Mithila and lived near about 1200 A.D. But our Vācaspati

1 The two entries *Kāryaprakāśa-fīkā* and *Kāvyādarśa* in Aufrecht 1737b should be one, as both refer to this comm.

2 v. pp. lxxiv.

3 i. 102a, 737b.

4 In the Bhau Daji collection (see Cat. of BRAS p. 45) a MS of Someśvara's comm. states that it was copied from another MS dated in Samvat 1283. Hence the comm. appears to be older than 1227 A.D.

is probably not the Maithili legislist who wrote *Ācāra-cintāmaṇi*, *Vivāda-cintāmaṇi* and other works (see Aufrecht i. 559-60).

Śrīdhara

With the title *Sāṃdhī-vigrahika*, cited by Caṇḍīdāsa (pp. 29, 59, 62, 117), and by Viśvanātha on *Mammaṭa*. Śrīdhara's commentary is called "Viveka. A MS the *Viveka* was copied in Mithila in 1405 A. D. (Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS* vi, p. celxxi). Śrīdhara's date would be about first quarter of the 13th century A. D. As in the colophon to this MS the author is described as *Tarkācārya Thakkura*, he probably belonged to Mithila.

Edition. By Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, Part i, ch. i-iv. Sanskrit College, Calcutta 1959.

Caṇḍīdāsa

His commentary, called "Dīpikā, was written at the instance of his friend *Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa*. The India Office MS of his work is written in Bengali characters, and he is cited mostly by Oriya, Maithili and Benares writers (e.g. Govinda in his "Pradīpa" pp. 24, 36, 202, 274, Narasiṃha Thakkura, Kamalākara, Vaidyanātha in his "Udāharanā-candrikā, Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa in his "Prabhā, and Viśveśvara in his *Alaṇkāra-kaustubha* pp. 125, 166). He is not identical with Caṇḍīdāsa, the younger brother of the grand-father of Viśvanātha, author of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*. He appears to have flourished before or about 1300 A.D. He is also cited by Viśvanātha, son of Trimaladeva (q. v.), in a Kashmirian MS dated 1602 A.D. Caṇḍīdāsa mentions a *Dhvani-siddhānta-granṭha* by himself. He also quotes a work

1 Sec H. P. Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS*, vi, p. cclxvi, for some curious information of Caṇḍīdāsa, author of *Dīpikā*. He belonged to Bengal (born in the Mukha-kula). The family lived at Ketugrāma, four miles west of Uddhāraṇapura on the Ganges. According to Sastri, the period of Caṇḍīdāsa's literary activity was in the middle of the 15th century or earlier.—The other Caṇḍīdāsa belonged to Orissa.

called *Sāhitya-hṛdaya-darpana*, which may be Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's lost *Hṛdaya-darpana*.

Edition. By Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, Sarasvati Bhavan Texts, Benares 1933. Extract in *IOC* iii, 1141/491 (p. 320).

Viśvanātha

Author of the commentary *"Darpana*. He is identical with Viśvanātha (q. v.), author of the *Sāhitya-darpana*, which is referred to in this commentary as his own. First half of the 14th century.

Extract in Jhalakikara's introd.

Bhaṭṭa Gopāla

Known as Lauhitya Bhaṭṭa Gopāla Sūri. The name of his commentary is *Sāhitya cūḍāmaṇi*, which is cited several times in *Kāma-dhenu* on Vāmana (ed. Benares, pp. 4, 8, 33). If he is the same as Gopāla Bhaṭṭa cited by Kumārasvāmin (p. 93), he should be earlier than the 15th century. K. P. Trivedi however, thinks that this Gopāla Bhaṭṭa of Kumārasvāmin is the same as wrote a comm. or *Rasa-maṇjari*. He will be identical, thus, with Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, son of Harivamśa Bhaṭṭa Drāvida, who wrote commentaries on Rudra's *Śrīgāratilaka* (p. 95 above) and Bhānudatta's *Rasa-maṇjari* (q. v.).

Edition. By R. Harihara Sastri and K. Sambasiva Sastri, 2 vols. Trivandrum Skt. Series 1926, 1930.

Bhāskara

Wrote *Sāhitya-dīpikā* commentary. He is cited by Śrīvatsalāñchana, Govinda Thakkura (p. 21), Ravi (Peterson iii, p. 20), Narasiṁha Thakkura, Bhīmasena, and Ratnakarṇṭha (Peterson ii, p. 17). Narasiṁha calls him Lāṭa Bhāskara Miśra. He is earlier than the end of the 15th century, being cited by Govinda (*Kāvya-pradīpa* pp. 25, 204, 308, 329). The commentary is also called *Kāvya-lāṭakāra-rahasya nibandha*.

Extract in Mitra 1681.

Paramānanda Cakravartin

His commentary is entitled *Vistārikā*. He refers to Miśra, Dīpikākṛt (Jayanta Bhaṭṭa?) and Viśvanātha ; and he must be later than Vidyānātha, whose *Pratāparudrīya* is cited by him. He is himself cited by Kamalākara, Narasiṃha Thakkura, Vaidyanātha (*Udāharanya can*^o), Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa, Ānanda and Ratnakāṇṭha. The earliest citation is probably by Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa in his *Rasa-pradīpa* (p. 20) in 1583 A.D. Probably a Naiyāyika of Bengal. He mentions his guru Īśāna Nyāyācārya and appears to refer in a punning verse¹ to the *Taittvacintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeśopādhyāya. Jhalakikara thinks that the *cakravarti-lakṣaṇa*, found in the fourteen *gādādhara* *lakṣaṇas*, was formulated by him. Paramānanda, from his citations, cannot be earlier than the second half of the 14th century ; and he probably flourished before the 16th century², at the end of which Gadādhara flourished. He must be distinguished from Śrīvidyā-Cakravartin, apparently a South Indian writer, who commented on Ruyyaka (*q. v.*) as well as on Mammaṭa, and who is also cited under the common designation of Cakravartin. Paramānanda also wrote a commentary on the *Naiṣadha* (IOC vii p. 1438).

Extract in Peterson ii pp. 108-9. H. P. Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS*, vi, no. 4831/2492.

Śrīvidyā-Cakravartin

His commentary, entitled *Saṇipradāya-prakāśīmī* refers to a commentary by himself on Ruyyaka. See under Ruyyaka for futher information on this commentator.

Edition. Trivandrum Skt. Series 1926, 1930, along with the comm. of Bhaṭṭa Gopāla mentioned above.

1 *andhā doṣāndhakāreṣu ke vā na syur vipaścitaḥ/ nāhaṃ tu. dṛṣṭi-
vikalo dhṛtaś cintāmaṇīḥ sadā.*

2 H. P. Sastri (*Catalogue ASB*, vi, p. cclxix) states Paramānanda flourished before Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa (beginning of the 17th century) who cites from his work, as we have noted above.

Govinda Thakkura

His well-known commentary is called **Pradīpa*¹. Govinda also wrote an **Udāharāṇa-dīpikā*, apparently the same as **Sloka-dīpikā*² in Stein (pp. xxviii 60, 269), cited by Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa. This is supplementary to the larger exegetical work, being a commentary on the illustrative verses of the text. The **Pradīpa* has been commented on by Vaidyanātha Tatsat (*Prabhā and *Udāharāṇa-candrikā*) and Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa (**Uddyota*). Govinda was a native of Mithila, born in the family of Ravikara, eldest son of Keśava and Sonodevī, elder brother of poet Śri-harṣa who is not, however, as Peterson supposes, the author of the *Naiṣadha*³. In addition to this information about himself, Govinda tells us that he learnt *kāvya* and *sāhitya* from his elder step-brother Rucikara. His exact date is not known, but Govinda refers to Viśvanātha as *arvācīna*, quoting the latter's criticism of Mammaṭa's definition of poetry, as well as the latter's own definition of the same, without actually naming him or his *Sāhitya-darpana*. Govinda, therefore, is probably later than the middle of the 14th century. On the other hand, he is earlier than the last quarter of the 16th century, being quoted in Prabhākara's *Rasa-pradīpa* which was composed in 1583 A.D. Narasiṃha Thakkura, who flourished later, but not much later, than 1612 A.D. (having himself quoted Kamalākara), is supposed, on the authority of the family genealogy, to be fifth in descent from

1 The full name of the commentary is *Kāyyaprakāśa-pradīpa*, simplified generally as *Kāvya-pradīpa*; so Peterson's speculation on the name (i, 27) is idle trifling.

2 The second verse of this work refers to his *Kāvya-pradīpa*.

3 His brother's verse is cited in ch. x (p. 355) as *mad-bhratulī* Śriharṣasya, but the *Naiṣadha* is cited by name in the same chapter (p. 351) with *iti naiṣadha-darśanāt*. He laments, in one of the concluding verses, the death of this brother Śri-harṣa, in which however he does not mention him, as he could have done, as the poet of the *Naiṣadha*.

Govinda, This will roughly place Govinda towards the end of the 15th century¹.

Edition: (1) In *Pandit* vols. x-xiii, 1888-89, by Rama Sastri Bhagavatacharya. (2) With comm. of Vaidyanātha, called [°]*Prabhā*, in *Kāvyamālā* 24, NSP, Bombay 1891, 1912 (our references are to the ed. of 1912). (3) With [°]*Uddyota* in *Anandasrama Series* 1911. (4) With [°]*Uddyota* (ch. i, ii, vii, x) by Chandorkar, Poona 1889.

Jayarāma Nyāya-pañcānana

His commentary is called [°]*Tilaka* or *Jayarāmī*. The commentary called *Rahasya-dīpikā* by Jayarāma, entered in some catalogues, appears to be an alternative name. He seems to be identical with the author of the *Nyāya-siddhānta-mālā*, the *Padārtha-mañjimālā*, and of commentaries on the *Nyāya-kusumāñjali* and on the *Tattvacintāmaṇi-dīdhiti*, which works indicate that he was a Naiyāyika. He is described as pupil of Rāmacandra (or Rāmabhadra) Bhāttācārya Sārvabhauma and guru of Janārdana Vyāsa. He is cited by Śrīvatsalāñchana and Bhīmasena, but the only writer who appears to quote him extensively is Viśveśvara (as *Nyāyapañcānana*) in his *Alam. kaus.* pp. 11, 23, 106, 127, 161, 162, 172, 263, 327. Jayarāma was certainly later than Raghunātha Śiromāṇi (beginning of the 16th century), on whose *Tattvacintāmaṇi-dīdhiti* he commented, but earlier than the beginning of the 18th century, the date of Bhīmasena. A more precise dating is possible because the date of Jayarāma's *Nyāya-siddhānta-mālā* is given as Saṃvat 1750 (=1694 A.D.). He is said to have been patronised by Rājā Rāmakṛṣṇa of Krishnagar (Bengal). See S. C. Vidyabhusan, *Indian Logic*, Calcutta 1921, pp.477f.

Extract in Peterson ii, p. 107 and Mitra 1447.

1 See introd. to N. S. P. ed of the *Prādīpa*; also the *Pandit* xiii, p. 74f.

Śrīvatsalāñchana¹ Bhāṭṭācārya and Subuddhi Miśra

Śrīvatsa's commentary is called *Sāra bodhini*. It is mentioned by Hall² and attributed to "Maheśvara, otherwise called Śrīvatsalāñchana." Maheśvara or Māheśvara appears to be another name of Subuddhi Miśra who, Aufrecht notes,³ wrote a commentary on Vāmana called *Sāhitya-sarvasva*; but Subuddhi also appears to be cited as a commentator on Mammaṭa by Narasimha Ṭhakkura, Vaidyanātha (*Udāharanācan*), Bhīmasena and Ratnakāṇṭha. The two are probably different persons, as Bhīmasena and Ratnakāṇṭha cite separately both Śrīvatsa and Subuddhi Miśra. Śrīvatsa is also the author of an independent work called *Kāvya-parikṣā*⁴, which deals in five Ullāsas with the general characteristics of poetry and follows in the main the teachings of Mammaṭa. This work may not be identical with *Tattva-parikṣā* (or more fully *Śabdārtha-Tattva-parikṣā*) by Subuddhi Miśra (perhaps the name of his commentary on Mammaṭa, cited by Ratnakāṇṭha and entered⁵ by Kielhorn in *Central Prov. Cat.* p. 100).

1 Also called Śrīvatsa-śarmā, Śrīvatsa-varman or simply Vatsavarman.

2 *Introd. Vāsavadattā* p. 54.

3 Aufrecht's description (*ABod* 208a; *IOC*, iii, 1130/566, p. 321) of Subuddhi-miśra as Subuddhimiśra-maheśvara, as well as Hall's statement, makes one think that the term is not *maheśvara* but *māheśvara*, which is often, as in the cases of Abhinavagupta and Vidyādhara, applied as an appellation of a Saiva writer. This is thus a surname of both writers, which might have led to their doubtful identification.

4 Aufrecht i. 778b, ii. 19b; *IOC*, iii, p. 342 (MS dated 1550 A.D.). The five chapters of this work correspond in the following way to those of Mammaṭa. (i) *Śabdārtha-nirṇaya*=M 1-3 (ii) *Kāvya-bheda*=M 4-5 (iii) *doṣa-nirṇaya*=M 7 (iv) *Gupta-nirūpaya*=M 8-9 (v) *Alampkāra*=M 10. With a few exceptions it gives the Kāṇikās as well as the illustrations of Mammaṭa with appropriate observations on them. It is thus in effect a commentary on portions of Mammaṭa's work. It has been printed by the Mithila Institute, Darbhanga 1956.

5 See Peterson ii, p. 17 where both Subuddhi's comm. and *Tattva-parikṣā* are mentioned.

It is mentioned as a Comm. on *Kav. pr.* in H. P. Sastri *Cat. ASB MSS*, vi, no. 4839/3515, pp. 417-18. Two other works, *Kāvyāmrta*¹ and *Rāmodaya-nāṭaka*, are also ascribed to Śrīvatsa. A work called *Śiddhānta-ratna-mālā* (a refutation of the Dvaita view of Vedānta) is noticed in *Madras Cat.* Trm I, B, 362, and is said to have been composed by Śrīvatsalāñchana Śarman, son of Viṣṇudhvajācārya. As Śrīvatsa cites Vidyānātha, he cannot be earlier than the 14th century ; on the other hand, he is earlier than the 17th century, having been quoted by Kamalākara (1612 A.D.) and Jagannātha (p. 39). It appears also that the *Sāra-bodhinī* in many places expands or condenses Paramānanda's *Vistārikā*. The colophon to the BORI MS of *Sāra-bodhinī* (no. 107, *Cat.* xii p. 115) informs us that Śrīvatsalāñchana Bhaṭṭācārya's father was Śrīviṣṇu Bhaṭṭācārya Cakravartin.

MSS. Extract in *Madras Catalogue* xxii, 12827; also *BORI MS Cat.* xii, no. 54, pp. 56-57 (extract) of *Kāvya-parīkṣā*.

Paṇḍitarāja

This commentator, cited by Ratnakāṇṭha, is probably identical with Raghunandana Rāya, disciple of the legist Maheśa Thakkura (See Jha's transl. of *Kāv. prak.* introd. p. ix). He should not be confounded with Jagannātha Panditarrāja.

Stein pp. 60, 269, extract given MS no. 1164 (Aufrecht i. 19a). Stein's MS of this work goes up to *Ullāsa* ii only and quotes no authorities except the Miśras and Pratyabhijñākāra. Jha's MS appears to have been copied in 1637 A.D.

Ravi and Ratnapāṇi

Ravi is the author of the *Madhumatī* commentary, the last verse of which tells us that he had a beloved daughter named Madhumatī, after whom the commentary was baptised. He also informs us that he was son of Gaurī and Manodhara.

1 Autrecht 1 103a, ii 20a.

alias Ratnapāṇi, and grandson of Acyuta, who was a minister of Śivasimha or Śivasiddha of Mithila (about the middle of the 15th century, *IOC* iv p. 875f). Ratnapāṇi or Manodhara also wrote a commentary on Mammaāa, called *Kāvya-darpana*¹, which is cited by his son and on which the latter's commentary itself seems to have been based. The father and the son are cited by Bbīmasena, while Kamalākara and Narasimha cite the *Madbumatikāra*.

Extract in Peterson iii, p 332f; *Madras Cat.* xxii, nos. 12823-23.

Maheśvara

With the title *Nyāyālambikāra*. His commentary is called **Ādarśa*, or **Bhāvārtha-cintāmaṇi*. He is a Bengal writer, who also composed a commentary on the *Dāyabhāga*. As he is cited by Vaidyānātha he should be placed before the middle of the 17th century, and it is probable that he flourished about the commencement of that century.

Edition. By Jivananda Vidyasagar, Calcutta 1876; also ed. Calcutta Skt. Series 1936.

Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa

He is better known as a legist, and wrote a large number of works on Smṛti and Mīmāṃsā. He was a Mahratta Brahman of Benares, son of Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa and Umā, younger brother of Dinakara Bhaṭṭa, and grandson of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and great-grandson of Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭa². Ananta Bhaṭṭa, who wrote the *Kāṇva-kalpadruma* at the request of Gariba-

1 See Peterson iii, App. p. 332 where extract is given (esp. ll. 5). A MS of this work, called *Kāvya-darpana* or *Kāvya-prakāśa-darpana* is noticed in Mitra 3169, and the author's name given as Manodhara.

2 For Kamalākara's place in the Bhaṭṭa family of Benares, see the pedigree given in V. N. Mandlik's ed. of *Vyaṣahāra-mayūkha* p. lxxvi. See also Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1883-84, pp. 50-1. He is also the author of numerous works on Mīmāṃsā and Smṛti, some of which he mentions at the end of his comm. (see Aufrecht i. 80). It is said that his descendants still live in Benares.

dāsa, minister of Rājā Rājasimha, was his son. Kamalākara's date is known from the fact that he dates his well known *Nirṇaya-sindhu* in Saṃvat 1668=1612 A.D. He also wrote a poem called *Rāma-kaituka* in 4 cantos.

Edition. By Papa Sastri, Benares 1866. This comm. is described with extract in *IOC* iii, no. 1143/361, p. 327.

Rājānaka Ānanda

His commentary is called [°]*Nidarśana* or *Śitikanṭha-vibodhana*¹. Hall (*Vāsavadattā* p. 16) is mistaken in attributing this work to Śitikanṭha and taking it as dedicated to Ānanda. The colophon, as well as the first verse², of this commentary accounts probably for Hall's mistake ; but the author himself explains that the commentary is so named from the fact that an attempt is made in it to interpret Mammaṭa's text as having, besides its *ālaṃkārika* meaning, a mystical sense relating to Śitikanṭha or Śiva. Mammaṭa himself might have been a Kashmirian Śaiva ; but this leaves no doubt that Ānanda was one, although it is doubtful whether the text lends itself to such an interpretation. The date is given in the colophon as 1665 A.D., although Hall thinks that this is the date in which the MS of the work was copied. Stein remarks: "Ānanda, who composed his commentary in 1665 A.D. is still well remembered in the tradition of Kashmirian Pandits as the contemporary and friend of Rājānaka Ratnakanṭha"³".

1 The colophon, as quoted by Bühler (*Kashmir Rep.* p. 69 fn), says: *iti śrīmad-rājānākānvaya-tilakena rājānākānandakena viracitāṇi kārya-prakāśa-nidarśanam*. But elsewhere in the Jammu MS of Stein, it says: *iti śrī-kārya-darśane Śitikanṭha-vibodhane kāryoddeśa-darśanam prathamam*, col. to ch. i. It seems that the real name of the comm. is [°]*Nidarśana* as Peterson thinks, *Śitikanṭha-vibodhana* being an alternative or descriptive name arising from the second meaning relating to Śitikanṭha or Śiva which the commentary finds in the text.

2 *prāṇamya śāradāṇi kārya-prakāśo bodha-siddhaye padārtha-vivṛti-dvārā Śitikanṭhasya darśyate*. Jhalakikara reads: *sva-śiṣyebhyāḥ pradarśyate*, but remarks: *atra Śitikanṭhasya darśyate iti pāṭha vivaraṇa-kārair aṅgikṛtaḥ*,

3 *Jammu Cat.*, p. xxvii fn. The date is given in Kali era 4766.

one of whose knowno dates is 1648 A.D. Ānanda, therefore, may be assigned to the second and third quarters of the 17th century. Ānanda also appears to have written a commentary on the *Naiṣadha*.

Extract in Peterson (i. 74); also in Stein, *Jammu Catalogue* p. xxvii.

Rājānaka Ratnakāṇṭha

His commentary is called *Sāra-samuccaya* which, as its title indicates and the author confesses, was composed by a compilation from "the principal commentaries of Jayanta and others." He cites, therefore, some of the well-known commentaries before his time,¹ among which we find the *Sāhitya-dīpikā* (of Bhāskara), *Sāra-bodhī* (of Śrīvatsa), the commentaries of Subuddhi Miśra and Pañditarāja, the *Visīrīkā* (of Paramānanda), the *Pradīpa* (of Govinda), and two other works *Tattva-parīkṣā* and *Rasa-ratna-dīpikā*. This is the same Ratnakāṇṭha as copied the codex archetypus of the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, mentioned by Stein (introd. p. vii f) and also transcribed MSS of the *Śāṅketa* of Ruyyaka in 1648, of Rāyamukūja's commentary on *Amara* in 1655, and of Trilocaoadāsa's *Kātantra-pañjikā* in 1673 A.D. He is identical with Ratnakāṇṭha, who was the son of Śāṅkarakanṭha and grandson of Aoanta-kavi of the Dhaumyāyana family and who wrote a *Stuti-kusumāñjali-śikā* (called *Śiṣya-hitā*) in 1681 A.D., and a *Yudhiṣṭhīra-vijaya-kāvya-śikā* in 1672 A.D. (Aufrecht i. 489h; Stein, *loc. cit.*). These dates range from 1648 to 1681 A.D., during which apparently the literary activity of Ratnakāṇṭha falls.

Extract in Peterson, *Report* ii. p. 129 (also ii, 16f), which gives a list of authors quoted; BDRI MS no. 113 (*Cat. xii*, p. 121).

Narasimha Thakkura

His commentary is called *Narasimha-maṇīṣā*. He belonged to the same family as Govinda Thakkura and was fifth in

1 The list of authors cited by him is given in Peterson, *Report* ii p. 17f.

descent from him. The latest writer he cites seems to be the Madhumatī-kāra (Ravi) and Kamalākara, and he is cited in his turn by Bhīmasena with the title *nyāya-vidyā-vāgiśa*. Between 1620-1700 A.D.

MSS. Aufrecht i. 101b, ii. 19b.

Vaidyanātha Tatsat

He wrote two commentaries: (1) the *°Prabhā* on the *°Pradīpa* of Govinda and (2) the *°Udāharāṇa-candrikā* on the illustrative verses of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. The date of the latter work is given in the concluding verse as Saṃvat 1740=1684 A.D.¹ He also wrote *Alaṅkāra-candrikā* commentary on Appayya's *Kavalayāmānda* (q. v.). He is different from Vaidyanātha, the Maithili grammarian, son of Mahādeva and Veṇī and pupil of Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa; for our Vaidyanātha is known as son of Rāmacandra (or Rāmabuddha) Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Viṭṭhala Bhaṭṭa of the Tatsat family, and is referred to by Nāgojī himself. Our Vaidyanātha cites Caṇḍīdāsa; Subuddhi Miśra, the Dīpikākṛt (Govinda's *Udāharāṇa-dīpikā*), Cakravartin and Maheśa, and is cited by Bhīmasena. He is probably not the same as Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa who wrote commentaries on the *Candrāloka* of Jayadeva and the *Paribhāṣendu-śekhara* of Nāgojī (ed. Anandasrama, Poona 1913).

Edition. *Prabhā*, ed. with *Pradīpa* by Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, NSP, Bombay 1891, 1912 (our references are to the ed. of 1912).

Udāharāṇa-candrikā. Extract in Peterson Report ii, p. 108. in SCC vii, 54, in IOC iii, 1151/943b.

Bhīmasena Dīkṣita

His commentary is called *Sudhā-sāgara* or *Sudhodadhi*². It is dated in Saṃvat 1779=1723 A.D.³ He was a Kanauj

1 The date is given in the IOC MSS Cat. iii, p. 322, no. 1151.

2 The form *Sukhodadhi* given in Peterson's extract (i, p. 94) should be *Sudhodadhi*.

3 Peterson Report i, p. 94.

Brahman who describes himself as son of Śivānanda and grandson of Muralīdhara; his genealogy being given thus: Gaṅgādāsa—Vīreśvara—Muralīdhara—Śivānanda—Bbīmasena. He is also the author of two independent works, called *Alaṅkāra-sāroddhāra* and *Kuvalayānanda-khaṇḍana*¹, the latter apparently directed against Appayya's work of the same name, and both referred to in his commentary on *Mamīṭa*. The last work was composed at Jodhpur while Ajitasimha (1680-1725 A.D.) was still reigning. Bbīmasena also wrote a commentary on the *Ratnāvalī*². He cites a large number of commentators, such as Caṇḍīdāsa, Bhāskara, Acyuta, Ratnāpūṇi, Ravi, Jayarāma Pañcānana, Vācasapati Miśra, Cakravartin, Ruci Miśra, Murāri Miśra, Pakṣadhara Upādhyāya, Devanātha Tarkapañcānana, Śrīvatsalāñchana, Govinda and Narasimha Ṭhakkura, Maheśa or Maheśvara, and Vaidyanātha.

Edition. By Narayan Sastri Khiste in *Chowkhamba Sansk. Ser.* Benares 1927. Extract in Peterson i, p. 94 and in Jhalakikara's ed. of *Kāv. prak.*

Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa

Known simply as *Vidyābhūṣaṇa*. His work, dignified with the name of "a *vytti* on Bharata's *sūtra*" (so he calls *Mamīṭa*'s *Kārikās*³), is named the *Sāhitya-kaumudi*, on which he himself writes a *śippaṇa*, called *Kṛṣṇānandī*. It has the same arrangement and subject-matter as those of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, but it adds an eleventh chapter on some extra *Alaṅkāras* of *Śabda* and *Artha*. A work called *Kāvya-kustubha* in 9 *Prabhās* is noticed and attributed to one *Vidyābhūṣaṇa* (in Stein pp. 59, 268) who appears to be a

1 The work is also called *Alaṅkāra-sāra-sthūli*, a MS of which is noticed in Mitra 4084 (Aufrecht ii. 23a). A very incorrect and at places illegible MS of this work exists in the BORI (Cat. xii, no. 156, pp. 179-80, which gives a list of its citations). See also H. P. Sastri, Cat. ASB MSS, vi, no. 4895/3147, p. 456.

2 Aufrecht i. 492.

3 See above pp. 152f.

Vaiṣṇava and probably the same as our author (see pref. to *Kāvya-mālā* ed. of the *Sāhitya-kaumudī* and Aufrecht i. 101a, ii. 19b, 193b, iii. 22b); for this work see below under Minor Writers. Baladeva was a pupil of Rādhādāmodara-dāsa (concluding verse of *Sah. k.* and its commentary) and Gopāladāsa (*alias* Rasikānanda, commentary on *śl. 1*), and the Guru of Uddhava-dāsa. He was a Vaiṣṇava and follower of Caitanya, and wrote various Vaiṣṇava works. Though belonging to Orissa he was a champion of the later phase of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, and attempted a rapproachement between Madhvaism and Caitanyaism; see on this S. K. De, *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, Calcutta 1942, pp. 11-12. Apart from his commentary mentioned above, his most notable works are *Govinda-bhāṣya* on the *Vedānta-sūtra* and *Prameya-ratnāvalī*. He is said to have been a contemporary of Jayasimha of Jaypur, who flourished in the beginning of the 18th century. Aufrecht notes that his commentary on the *Utkalikā-vallarī* was written in 1765 A.D. A pun in the first verse of his *Sāhitya-kaumudī* refers, as he himself explains in the *tippaṇī*, to Gajapati Pratāparudra of Utkala or Orissa.

Edition. With *Kṛṣṇānandinī*, ed. Sivadatta and K. P. Parab, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1897. The *Bharata-sūtra-vṛtti* in Peterson ii, 10 is the same work as this.

Nāgojī or Nāgeśa Bhāṣṭa

He wrote two commentaries called *Laghu-* and *Bṛhat-*
Uddyota on *Pradīpa*. Also author of a *°Udāharāṇa-dīpikā*
or *°pradīpa* on the illustrations in the text (Stein, pp. xxvii, 268). He belongs to the first quarter of the 18th century. He also wrote a commentary on Jagannātha (*q.v.*), from whom he was removed by two generations, and other works. See below under Jagannātha.

Edition. *°Uddyota*, ed. with *°Pradīpa* in Anandasrama Series 1911; ed. with text and *°Pradīpa* (ch. i, ii, vii and x by Chandorkar, Poona 1889, 1915.

**Udāharanā-dīpikā*, Aufrecht ii. 19b (extract in Stein pp. 268-69, called **Pradīpa*).

(2)

We give below the names of the some of the less known commentators on Mammaṭa (alphabetically):

- (1) Kalādhara. Wrote **Kārikāvali*, which appears to be a synopsis of the Kārikās. *KBod* 501.
- (2) Kalyāṇa Upādhyāya. Name of comm. unknown, mentioned by Jha in his introd. to his trans. of *Kāv. prak.* p. ix.
- (3) Kṛṣṇa Dvivedin. Comm. *Madhura-rasā*. Aufrecht i. 101b.
- (4) Kṛṣṇa Ṣarman. *Rasa-prakāśa*. HPS iii no. 58 (extract; ends with the 5th chapter); *Cat. ASB MSS*, vi, no. 4842/6581, pp. 419-20 (a fragment of only 20 leaves, containing the first and second chapters).
- (5) Kṛṣṇamitrācārya, son of Rāmanātha and grandson of Devīdatta: a Naiyāyika, for whose works see Aufrecht i. 121b. **Tīkā*. Aufrecht i. 101b.
- (6) Gadādhara Cakravartin Bhaṭṭācārya. **Tīkā*. Mitra 1527; *SCC* vii 13. Gadādhara is well known for his commentary on Raghunātha Śiromāṇi's *Tattvacintāmaṇi-dīdhīti*, one of the standard works on Navya Nyāya of Bengal. He was a pupil of Harīrāma Tarkālaṃkāra and flourished at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century.
- (7) Guṇaratna Gaṇi. Comm. *Sāra-dīpikā* (*BORI Cat. MSS* xii, p. 112). The MS is dated Saṃvat 1890.
- (8) Gokulanātha Upādhyāya, the Maithili Smārta. **Tīkā*, mentioned in Jha *op. cit.* p. ix. See chapter on Minor Writers below.
- (9) Gopīnātha. Comm. *Sumano-manoharā*. Aufrecht i. 101b. He also wrote a comm. on Viśvanātha's *Sāhitya-darpana* (q.v.). End of the 17th century.
- (10) Jagadiṣa Tarka-pañcānana Bhaṭṭācārya. Comm.

°*Rahasya-prakāśa*. Aufrecht i. 101b (Mitra 1651). MS written by his pupil in Śaka 1579=1657 A.D. He is different from Jagadiśa Tarkālambikāra, the famous Naiyāyika who was a pupil of Bhavānanda and (Rāmabhadra) Sārvabhauma of Navadvipa (Bengal).

(11) Janārdana Vibudha, pupil of Ananta. Comm. °*Śloka dīpikā*. Aufrecht i. 101b, ii. 19b (Stein 61, incomplete). He also wrote commentaries on the *Raghu* and *Vṛtta-ruinākara*. He should be distinguished from the better known Janārdana Vyāsa, son of Bābuji Vyāsa and grandson of Viṭṭhala Vyāsa and pupil of Jayarāma Nyāya-pañcānana (see above p. 164).

(12) Tiruveṅkaṭa, son of Cinnatinīma and grandson of Tirumāla-guru. A South Indian writer who quotes Bhaṭṭa Gopāla's commentary. *Madras Trm. Cat.* A 318.

(13) Devanātha Tarkapañcānana. Comm. *Kārya-kāṇḍī* written in Saṃvat 1717 (=1661). *BORI MSS Cat.* xii, p. 81. Described as son of Govinda. Cited by Kamaśūkara and Bhīma-sena. Bharata Maṭṭika on Bhaṭṭi x. 73 quotes one Devanātha. Our Devanātha appears to be a logician of Bengal who upheld the views of Mammata against the adverse criticism of Viśvanātha. See *Madras Trm* II, C. 1570 for extracts, and II, A, 819. See Mitra 1447 where mention is made of an *Ekaśaṣṭyālāṇikārā-prakāśa* which quotes Devanātha and Jayarāma as its sources.

(14) Narasiṁha Sūri, son of Timmaji Mantrin and grandson of Raṅgaprabhu. Comm. *Rju-vṛtti* on Kārikās only. Aufrecht ii. 19b; *Madras Trm* B 381.

(15) Nāgarāja Keśava. Comm. *Pada-vṛtti*. Aufrecht i. 101b.

(16) Nārāyaṇa Dikṣita, son of Raṅganātha Dikṣita and brother of Bālakṛṣṇa. Raṅganātha's commentary on the *Vikramorvaśi* was finished in 1656 A. D. Hence the date of our author is the end of the 17th century. **Tikā*. Aufrecht i. 101b (see also 292a; *AFI* p. 155)

(17) Bhānucandra. **Tikā*. Aufrecht i. 101b. Also wrote a commentary on the *Daśa-kumāra*.

(18) Bhavadeva, son of Kṛṣṇadeva of Mithila and pupil of Bhavadeva Ṭhakkura. Comm. *Līlā*. Aufrecht ii. 20a; *Madras Cat.* 12824-25 (extract). Also wrote a commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtra* (IOC 1428). According to the final verse in this commentary the author lived in the reign of Shah Jahan and composed his commentary at Patna in Śaka 1571 = 1649 A. D.

(19) Madhumatiganeśa. Comm. *Kāvya-darpāṇa*, Aufrecht i. 102a.

(20) Yajñeśvara Yajvan. Comm. **Vyākhyā*. *Madras Cat.* 12821 (extract).

(21) Raghudeva. Comm. **Kārikārīha-prakāśikā*. Aufrecht ii. 20a (up to the end nearly of Ullāsa ii).

(22) Ratneśvara. Name of Comm. unknown, but referred to by himself in his comm. on Bhoja (cf *ABod* 209a).

(23) Rāghava. Wrote an *Avacūri Tippaṇī*, mentioned in Jbalakikara p. 36.

(24) Rājānanda. Comm. without a name. *Madras Cat.* 12820 (extract); cf Aufrecht ii. 20a.

(25) Rāmacandra. Wrote a *Kāvyaprakāśa-sāra*, which is apparently a summary exposition of the substance of the text. Aufrecht i. 102b.

(26) Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati, a Bengal commentator who wrote the comm. **Rahasya-prakāśa*. Aufrecht i. 102a. His commentary on Bhavadeva's

Saṃskāra-paddhati was composed in 1623 A.D. (see Aufrecht i. 516a).

(27) Rāmakṛṣṇa. Comm. *Bhāvārtha* or *Kavi-nandinī* (or ^o*nandikā*). Aufrecht i. 102a, ii. 20a: also ii. 16b.

(28) Vijayānanda. Wrote a ^o*Tikā*. *Deccan Coll. Cat.* p. 44. The age of the MS is given as 1683 A.D.

(29) Vidyāsāgara, apparently the title of some commentator. Cited by Śrīvatsalāñchana. One Vidyāsāgara wrote a *Kalā-dīpikā-jīkā* on *Bhaṭṭi*, and is cited by Bharata Mallika (on x. 73), and by Rāmanātha on *Amara-kośa*. S. P. Bhattacharya (introd. to ed. Śrīdhara's comm. p. xxx) is inclined to take this commentator on *Mammaṭa* as Puṇḍarīka Vidyāsāgara who flourished in the early decades of the 15th century. He is said to have written comm. also on *Daṇḍin* and *Vāmana*.

(30) Veṅkaṭācala Sūri. Comm. *Subodhinī*. Aufrecht i. 102a. H. P. Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS*, vi. no. 4837/1, 8736, p. 415.

(31) Śivanārāyaṇa Dāsa Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, son of Durgādāsa. Comm. ^o*Dīpikā*. Weber i, no. 819; Aufrecht i. 102a. He wrote at the beginning of the 17th century. For his other works, see Aufrecht i. 649b.

(32) Śivarāma Tripāṭhin. Comm. *Viṣamapadī*. Kielhorn, *Central Prov. Cat.* p. 107. See below under Minor Writers for the author.

(33) Siddhicandra Gaṇi, *Kāvyaprakāśa-khaṇḍana* in ten Ullāsas, edited by Rasiklal C. Parikh from the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 1953. The writer is a notable Jaina monk and author (b. 1587-88 A.D.) in the time of Akbar and Jahangir and a contemporary of Jagannātha. His method, as he himself tells us, is *anuvāda-pūrvaka khaṇḍana*, i.e. first exposition and then criticism.

although all his criticisms are not justified. Siddhicandra appears also to have written a Bṛhatī Ṭīkā on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. While Hemacandra would accept Mammaṭa's work as the standard, Siddhicandra was perhaps one of the 'Navyas', like Jagannātha, who indicates an attempt to set up a new school of poetic theories. For information about the author and his works see Introd. to ed. mentioned.—MS entitled *Kāvyaprakāśa-khaṇḍana* or *Kāvyāmṛta-taraṇgiṇī* noticed by Mitra 2674 goes up to the 7th Ullāsa; it appears to be a different work.

Besides these, there are numerous commentaries, either anonymous or with the name of the author missing, some which are entered in Aufrecht i. 101b, 778b, ii. 20a, 193b. This illustrates the saying of Maheśvara, one of the commentators: *kāvya-prakāśasya kṛta gṛhe gṛhe/jikā tathāpy esa tathaiva durgamah!*

Jayaratha, who refers to the author as *granthakṛt* with respect to both the Sūtra and Vṛtti portions.¹ The invocatory verse to the Vṛtti in this edition reads in the second line

nijālampkāra-sūtrāṇām vṛttiyā tātparyam ucyate

so that the Sūtra is avowedly referred to as his own by the Vṛttikāra.² Some doubt, however, has been thrown on this view by the discovery of a different reading of this line in some of the South Indian MSS, which introduce a grave variant in the phrase *nijālampkāra-sūtrāṇām* by changing it into *gurvalampkāra-sūtrāṇām*. There is also, at the end of the Vṛtti in these MSS an additional verse³, which gives the name of the Vṛtti (and not of the text which is called *Alampkāra-sūtra*) as *Alampkāra-sarvasva*, and the name of the author of the Vṛtti as Mañkhuka or Mañkbaka, who is described as a *sāṃdhivigrahi* to the king of Kashmir. This forms the reading of the text (based on three MSS), which is published in the Trivandrum Series, as well as of MSS noticed by Burnell,⁴ Winteritz⁵ and in the *Madras Catalogue*⁶. This view is supported by Samudrahantha, a South Indian commentator, who flourished at the end of 13th century and whose text is printed in the Trivandrum edition; for the Vṛtti, the subject of his commentary, is known to him by the name of *Alampkāra sarvasva* and its author as Mañkhaka, while the original work of Ruyyaka is called *Alampkāra-sūtra*.

1 pp. 19, 20, 55, 57, 67, 72, 83, 87 etc.

2 Same reading in *ABod* 210a, where Ruppaka is a mistake or a variant (Bühler *op. cit.* p. 68) for Ruyyaka; Mitra ix p. 117.—All the Jammu MSS have *nijālampkāra*⁷.

3 *iti mañkhuko vitene kāśmīra-kṣitipa-sāṃdhivigrahiḥ/ sukavi-mukhālampkāraḥ tad idam alampkāra-sarvasvam//*

4 Tanjore Cat. p. 54a.

5 Cat. of South Ind. MSS in the RAS, p. 203; cf. Jacob in *JRAS*, 1897, p. 283f.

6 xii, pp. 8606-7. The question is discussed at some length in Harichand Sastri, *op. cit.* p. 105f.

We are thus confronted with two distinct traditions, embodied in these two different views and prevailing in the North and South of India respectively, with regard to the authorship of the *Vṛtti*, there being no dispute as to Ruyyaka's authorship of the *Sūtra*-text itself. So far as we can judge, the North Indian tradition, obtaining in Kashmir, to which place both Ruyyaka and Mañkhaka belonged, seems to be the authentic one ; for the South Indian tradition is not uniform in this respect and does not always distinguish between the author of the *Sūtra* and the *Vṛtti* respectively. Thus, Appayya Dīkṣita, a noted South Indian writer, refers¹ to Ruyyaka or Rucaka as the author of the work as a whole, which is called the *Alaṅkāra-sarvasva*, attributing to him both the *Sūtra* and the *Vṛtti* ; and Appayya is in agreement, in this respect, with Mallinātha², Kumārasvāmin³, and Jagannātha⁴. On the other hand, the testimony of Jayaratha, himself a Kashmirian, cannot be very well superseded by what the much later commentator Samudrabandha says in conformity to a tradition which itself is not unanimous. It is also significant that while Ruyyaka (and even Jayaratha) is quoted and discussed extensively by later writers on Poetics, Mañkhaka is not cited as a writer on the subject except once by Appayya in his *Citra-mīmāṃsā* (p. 10).

(2)

This tradition of Mañkhaka's collaboration with Ruyyaka would not perhaps have arisen, had not Mañkhaka, as the

1 *Citr. nīm.* p. 14, 15, 54, 72, 84, 90, 94, 98 ; *Kuvalay.* p. 41, 89, 92, 96, 184.

2 *Taralā* pp. 21, 186, 187, 232, 237, 249, 261, 262, 266, 331, 332.

3 *Ratnāpana* pp. 393 (= *Alam. sar. vṛtti* p. 58), 425 (= *ibid.* p. 133), 448 (= *ibid.* p. 144) ; p. 341 (= *ibid.*, *sūtra* p. 20) p. 452 (= *ibid.*, p. 156).

4 *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* has numerous references, but see pp. 163 and 200, where both the *Sūtra* and *Vṛtti* are quoted under the citation *Alaṅkāra-sarvasva*. See also pp. 251, 342-43, 352, 482. Also Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śakuntalā* p. 161 (= *Alam. sarv. vṛtti* p. 64), p. 179 (= *ibid.*, p. 75), p. 193 (= *ibid.*, p. 127).

tradition says, been in fact a pupil of Ruyyaka.¹ Rājānaka Mañkhaka or Mañkhuka, son of Viśvāvarta and grandson of Manmatha, is well known as the Kashmirian author of *Śrikanṭha-carita* (ed. Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, NSP. Bomhay 1887) which was written, according to Bühler,² between 1135 and 1145 A.D. Mañkhaka's brother Alāṅkāra (or Latkaka, xxv. 15, 37f) was a minister (v. 62, xxv. 43, 61) under Sussala and Jayasimha of Kashmir (1129-1150 A.D.), and another brother Śāṅgāra held a high office (*brhat-tantrapati*) under Sussala, whom he assisted in his war against Harṣadeva. Mañkhaka tells us how after composing his poem he submitted it, at the house of his brother Alāṅkāra, to an assembly of learned scholars and officials, among whom he describes Ruyyaka as his own preceptor (xxv. 30, 135). This also explains how Ruyyaka's own work contains five verses from Mañkhaka's poem³ cited as illustrations; for it is not unlikely that the Guru should in this way quote his worthy disciple. As the latest date of Mañkhaka's poem is given as 1145 A.D., we may presume that Ruyyaka's *Alāṅkāra-sarvasva*, which quotes it, was composed a little later. Again, Māṇikyaacandra's *Saṃketa* (on Mammaṭa) which was composed in 1159-60 A.D. quotes the *Alāṅkāra-sarvasva*. We can, therefore, fix Ruyyaka's literary career in the second and third quarters of the 12th century⁴.

1 This fact, as well as what Jayaratha says about corruptions and additions to the text of the *Alāṅkāra-sarvasva*, would perhaps explain how the tradition of Mañkhaka's collaboration began.

2 *op. cit.* p. 50f; extract App. pp. cix f. See also *Rāja-taraṅg.* viii. 3354.

3 See Jacob in *JRAS*, 1897, p. 283 for these verses (ii. 49, iv. 79, v. 23, vi. 16, x. 10).

4 Jacob (*op. cit.* p. 283) points out that Ruyyaka (p. 93) quotes *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* iv. 441 (*asamāpta-jigīṣṭa*), which work was not completed till about 1150 A.D. in the reign of Jayasimha. This verse, however, occurs in an anonymous quotation in Abhinava's Comm. on Bharata (ch. vi, vol. i, p. 303). It should be borne in mind that Jayaratha

In this work, composed in the *Sūtra-vṛtti* style Ruyyaka concerns himself only with poetic figures. After dealing with *Punar-uktavadābhāsa*, *Anuprāsa* (*Cheka*-, *Vṛtti*- and *Lāṭa*-), *Yamaka* and *Citra* he goes on to discuss 75 figures of *Artha* beginning with *Upamā*. He gives two altogether new figures *Vikalpa* (p. 159) and *Vicitra* (p. 133-34). His work is mostly drawn upon by later writers like *Viśvanātha*, *Vidyānātha* and *Appayya Dikṣita*. Ruyyaka quotes the *Kāvya-prakāśa* in many places (p. 107 on *Paryāyokta*; p. 102 = *KP* iv, p. 128; p. 183 definition of *Bhāvika*), and the definitions of *Citra*, *Kāvya-liṅga*, *Vyājokti*, *Uttara*, *Milita* and *Samādhi* are given as they occur in *Mammaṭa*'s work.

(3)

The works of Ruyyaka are numerous, of which three only have been printed:

(1) *Kāvya-prakāśa-saṅketa*, a commentary on *Mammaṭa*'s text, referred to as Ruyyaka's by *Jayaratha* p. 102, and by *Ratnakanṭha* (Peterson ii, pp. 17, 19 as *Bṛhat-saṅketa*). For ed. see above p. 156.

(2) *Alaṅkāra-mañjarī*, referred to by himself at p. 15. Not mentioned by *Jayaratha* as Ruyyaka's. P. V. Kane doubts if it is a work by Ruyyaka.

(3) *Sāhitya-mīmāṃṣa*, referred to by himself at p. 61, also by *Jayaratha* p. 126. It is cited without the author's name in *Vidyānātha* p. 11 (Cf *ABod* 210a). *Burnell* mentions an anonymous metrical *Sāhitya-mīmāṃṣā* (p. 58a), with prose *Vṛtti* in eight *Prakaraṇas*. This is apparently the *Sāhitya-mīmāṃṣā* published in the *Trivandrum Skt. Series* in 1934.¹ The MS sources contain large gaps and lacunae, and the name of the author is not given either at the beginning or at the

frequently complains of unauthorised additions and corruption of the text itself (pp. 50, 67, 107, 124, 126 etc), and discusses readings (pp. 21, 37, 49, 172 etc.). *Jayaratha* himself quotes twelve verses (p. 194) from the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, which describe Lalitāditya of Kashmir.

1 See above p. 144.

end. A résumé of this work has been given by P. V. Kane (*HSP*, pp. 269-72), who believes it to be a work of Ruyyaka. It is noteworthy, however, that it speaks not of *Vyañjanā*, but of *Tātparya-vṛtti* as leading to the realisation of *Rasa*, a view which fundamentally differs from that of Ruyyaka who declares distinctly (p. 13): *asti tāvnd vyañgya-niṣṭho vyāpārah*. It shows some influence of the *Śringāra-prakāśa* of Bhoja. V. Raghavan (pp. 99-100) doubts if it is the work of Ruyyaka.

(4) *Alamkārāṇusāriṇī*, cited by Jayaratha as Ruyyaka's (pp. 36, 57, 58 and 60). This work is supposed by Peterson¹, and following him by Aufrecht² and Jacobi³, to be a commentary on Jablaṇa's *Somapāla-vilāṣī*. As Jayaratha's citations indicate, it discussed some of the poetic figures in that composition, but there is nothing in these citations to show that it was in fact a commentary on Jablaṇa's *Somapāla-vilāṣī*. The poet Jablaṇa is described in Mañkhaka's *Śrīkanṭha-carita* (xxv. 75) : and Somapāla, king of Rājapuri (near Kashmir), whose life Jablaṇa appears to have recorded, is known from the *Rāja-tarāṅgiṇī* (viii. 621f) to have made war against Kashmirian Sussala. It is clear that this poet, who must have flourished in the first half of the 12th century, should be distinguished from Bhagadatta Jablaṇadeva, the compiler of the *Sākti-muktāvallī*, who lived in the second half of the 13th century, but to whom Aufrecht (i. 203a) wrongly attributes the *Somapāla-vilāṣī* itself.

(5) A commentary on Mahimahhaṭṭa's *Vyakti-viveka*, referred to by Jayaratha as *Vyaktiviveka-vicāra* (p. 13). This has been identified with the anonymous commentary published with Mahimahhaṭṭa's work in the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series* : for, although the author's name does not appear in the published text of that commentary, which is called simply **Vyākhyāna*.

1 Report ii, p. 17; introd. to *Subhāṣī*, p. 106; *Actes du 6me Congrès*, p. 364. It is so described by Ratnakanṭha in his *comm. on Stuti-kusumāñjali*.

2 *Cat. Cat.* i. 32b.

3 *ZDMG* ixii, 29t : cf. Harichand Sastri, *op. cit.* pp. 105-106.

the an onymous commentator refers in it to his other works, the *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā* (p. 32) and *Harṣacarita-vārttika* (p. 44, 50), which we know to be two works of Ruyyaka referred to by himself in his *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* and mentioned by Jayaratha. He refers in this work also to the *Candrikā* (on the *Dhvanyāloka*), *Kāvya-kautuka* (p. 13), *Hṛdaya-darpaṇa* (pp. 1, 13), and Kuntaka's *Vakrokti-jīvita* (pp. 16, 32, 36, 44).

(6) *Nāṭaka-mīmāṃsā* referred to as his own in the above commentary on *Mahimabhaṭṭa* (p. 32).

(7) *Harṣacarita-vārttika* referred to as his own in *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* p. 61 and in *Vyaktiviveka-vyākhyāna* p. 44, 50.

(8) *Sahṛdaya-lilā*, edited in the *Kāvya-mālā* Gucchaka 5, as well as by Pischel (Kiel 1886, along with Rudra's *Śrīgūra-tilaka*). The work consists of four Ullekhas: (i) *Guṇa*, describing the ten excellences (*Rūpa*, *Varṇa*, *Prabhā* etc.) of a woman (ii) *Alaṃkāra*, speaking of ornaments of gold, pearls etc, unguents, flowers worn by a woman (iii) *Jīvita*, dealing with youth which is the essence of womanly charm, and (iv) *Parikara*, treating of the parapharnelia of beauty.

(9) *Alaṃkāra-vārttika*, cited as Ruyyaka's by Jayaratha p. 71.

(10) *Śrīkaṇṭha-stava* cited as *madīya* in *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* p. 19.

(4)

THE COMMENTATORS ON RUYYAKA

Alaka (or *Alaṭa*?)

This commentator is referred to by Ratnakāṇṭha in his own commentary on *Mammaṭa*¹, the name given being *Rājā-naka Alaka*. We have seen that the identification of *Mammaṭa*'s continuator *Alaka*, *Alaṭa* or *Allaṭa* with this commentator is open to doubt², and nothing more can be said on the subject until his commentary is recovered.

1 Peterson, *Report* ii, p. 17 f. See above p. 169.

2 See above p. 149f.

Jayaratha

His commentary is called *Alamkāra-vimarśinī*. He informs us that his father's name was Śṛṅgāra, and his patron was king Rājarāja. From his commentary "Viveka on the *Tantrābōka* of Abhinavagupta, we learn that the full name of his father was Śṛṅgāraratha, who had two sons named Jayaratha and Jayadratha¹. He also tells us that he was a pupil of Ānkhadharā and Śiva. Jayaratha's pedigree is given at some length in his "Viveka", and we learn that his great-grandfather's brother was Śivaratha², who was a minister of king Ucchala of Kashmir (1101-1111 A.D.). As four generations intervene between the minister of Ucchala and Jayaratha, Bühler thinks that the latter lived in the beginning of the 13th century. Jacobi supports this conclusion and attempts to arrive at greater precision by identifying Jayaratha's (and his father's) patron king Rājarāja with Rājadeva who is mentioned by Jonarāja in 2 *Rāja-tarāngī* v. 79-91, and who lived in 103-1226 A.D.³

The citations in Jayaratha are numerous, and include the names of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Uddhava, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, the Dhvanikāra (=Ānandavardhana), the Vakroktijīvita-kāra, Abhinavagupta, the Vyaktiviveka-kāra, Bhoja and Mammaṭa.

1 The Kashmirian MSS of the *Alamkāra-vimarśinī* examined by Bühler vacillate between these two names as the name of our author; and Peterson's MS of Ratnakāṇṭha's *Sūra-samuccaya* reads Jayadratha (cf. p. 17), which is accepted by Aufrecht, although the published texts of the "Vimarśinī", as well as the "Viveka", have Jayaratha, which Bühler himself considers (*op. cit.* p. 68) to be the correct name of the author of the two commentaries, the other being that of his brother.—Jayaratha wrote a Kāvya in 32 cantos, named *Hara-carita-cintāmaṇi* (ed. ISP, Bombay 1897).

2 v. 22; see the extract given in Bühler *op. cit.* App. pp. clif. His Śivaratha is mentioned in *Rāja-tarāngī* viii. 111.

3 Jacob (JRAS. 1897, p. 283) came to the conclusion that Jayaratha must be placed later than the end of 12th century, for he quotes (p. 64) from the *Prthvirāja-vijaya*, a poem dealing with Prthvirāja of Delhi who fell in 1193 A. D. (cf. Bühler, *op. cit.* p. 62).

and crowned himself as king of Malabar on the banks of the Vegavatī in 1312-13 A.D. ; so that Samudrabaudha may be taken to have flourished towards the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century.

The citations from earlier authors are not so numerous in Samudrabaudha, but he shows his familiarity with Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavar-dhana, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, the Vakrotijīvita-kāra, Mahimabhaṭṭa, Bhoja and Mammāṭa. He also cites Udbhaṭa's *vṛtti*, presumably on Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṃkāra*. He refers to the explanation of other commentators of the *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* (pp. 55, 96, 145, 239) and discusses readings (p. 57).

Śrīvidyā-Cakravartin

A commentary, called "*Samjīvanī* or *Alaṃkāra-samjīvanī*" on Ruyyaka is cited by Mallināṭba¹ and Kumārasvāmin², Appayya³ and Viśveśvara⁴. They apparently refer to the author of this commentary by citing Cakravartin ; for the two verses⁵, cited by them, are attributed to this commentator by Kumārasvāmin, whose other references show that Cakravartin wrote a "*Samjīvanī* commentary on the *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva*. This Cakravartin, who is to be distinguished from Paramā-nanda Cakravartin, appears to be identical with Śrīvidyā-Cakravartin, two MSS of whose commentary on Ruyyaka, called "*Samjīvanī*", are noticed in the *Madras Catalogue*. This commentary refers to and is referred to by the same

1 pp. 31, 57, 221, 237, 324.

2 pp. 54 (Cakravartin as commentator on *Alaṃ. sarvasva*), 319, 377, 383 ("*Samjīvanī* as a comm. on *Alaṃ. sōrv.*), 387, 393, 398, 435, 449-50, 465.

3 *Citr. mīm.*, pp. 7, 74.

4 *Alaṃ. kaust.*, p. 11.

5 as cited above = *Ratnāpana* p. 378.

6 xit, no. 12799-12800, pp. 8609-10. Jacobi wrongly conjectured Alaka to be the author of this "*Samjīvanī* (ZDMG lxii, p. 292).

author's *Sampradāya-prakāśinī Brhatī Tīkā* on Mammaṭa¹, and both the commentaries are mentioned together at the close of the former work thus:

kāvya-prakāśe'laṅkāra-sarvasve ca viśiṣṭitām/
atyādaro jagaty asmin, vyākhyātām ubhayām tataḥ! //

which indicates the popularity of the works of Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka in later times. Śrīvidyā-Cakravartin calls his author Rucaka. He refers to Viśvanātha as *sāṃdhivigrahika*. He is evidently a South Indian writer, belonging to the Śaiva Sampradāya or Śaiva sect². The reference by Mallinātha should place him chronologically earlier than the end of the 14th century. He appears to have flourished in the court of Vīra Vallāla III (Hoysala) in the beginning of the 14th century (V. Raghavan in *ABORI* xiv, 1933, p. 256). A *Rasa-mīmāṃsā*³ is also ascribed to Vidyā-Cakravartin, as well as a *Bharata-saṃgraha* on Dramaturgy and Rasa (*ABORI*, xiv, 1933, p. 257).

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¹ *ibid*, no. 12826-28, p. 8627; Burnell 55a. Ed. Trivandrum Skt. Series 1926; see above p. 162. He also wrote a *Laghu-Tīkā* prior to his writing of the *Brhatī Tīkā* in which this comm. is referred to. Only one of these commentaries has been published in the Trivandrum ed.

² The Sampradāya-mata or Sāṃpradāyikas are quoted by Prabhā-kara Bhaṭṭa in his *Rasa-pradīpa* (before 1583 A. D.) at pp. 11, 13, 32.

³ See V. Raghavan in *ABORI*, xvi, 1934-35, p. 140. It is mentioned by Vidyā-Cakravartin himself in his comm. on Ruyyaka (*rasa-mīmāṃsāyanī vistaraḥ!*), but it is not clear whether it is a separate work.

Commentaries. (1) *Alamkāra-vimariśīni* of Jayaratha, ed. with text in Nir. Sag. Press, as above, 1893. On MSS of *Alamkārodāharanā* see Aufrecht i. 32a, 773a, ii. 6b; *WBod* 1157. (2) **Vṛtti* of Samudrabandha, ed. with text in Trivandrum Sank. Series 1915, as above. (3) **Samjīvanī* of Śrīvidyā-Cakravartin. *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12799-12800; Aufrecht i. 32h. Not yet published.

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Comm. on the *Vyakti-viveka*

Edition. With the text of that work, ed. T. Ganapati Sastri (anonymous but attributed to Ruyyaka), Trivandrum Sansk. Series, 1909.

HEMACANDRA AND THE VĀGBHĀTĀS

(1)

The versatile and voluminous Jaina writer Hemacandra directed his many-sided activity to the field of Sanskrit Poetics as well, and wrote a *Kāvyānuśāsana* with its *Vṛtti* named *Alamkāra-cūḍāmaṇi* and a gloss called *Viveka*, basing it chiefly on Mammaṭa's work, but appropriating his materials from various sources¹. While as a textbook it hardly super-

1 He appropriates, for instance, long passages, without acknowledgment, from Rājaśekhara, Abhinavagupta, the *Vakrokiṇīvita-kāra*, Mammaṭa and others. A passage in *Abhinava-bhāṣṭi* on Bharata ch. iv is copied (Hemacandra pp. 57-66) almost literally with only a general acknowledgment at conclusion: *iti śrīmad abhinavaguptācāryāḥ, etan- matam evāsmābhīr upajīvitam reditavyam* (p. 66). In the *Vṛtti*, again, at p. 83, his remarks on the *sthāyi-bhāṣṭa* (pp. 83-84) are copied from the same source. His extensive appropriation from Rājaśekhara has been already alluded to; see p. 118 above. At p. 316 he calls himself a follower of Bharata's views (*bharata-matīnusāri*). His dependence on earlier works is so close as to amount at times to almost slavish imitation or plagiarism.

sedes the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, it is, like most of Hemacandra's other productions, more or less an industrious compilation, displaying its author's encyclopaedic erudition, but hardly constituting an original contribution to the subject.

About Hemacandra and his time, we know perhaps more than we do with regard to other writers on Poetics, and the biographical and other details will be found collected together in Bühler's erudite little pamphlet on this author¹. Hemacandra was born at Dhunduka or Dhandhukā (in Ahmedabad) on the full-moon night of the month of Kārttika in the Samvat year 1145=1088 A.D. of humble Bania parents, named Caciga and Pāhini. He was originally named Caṅgadeva. He was initiated as a Jaina monk in Samvat 1150=1093 A.D., taking the name of Somānanda. He was a pupil of Devacandra of Vajra-śākhā, author of the *Sthānaka-vṛtti* and the *Śāntinātha-carita*. He became a *sūri* or *ācārya* in Samvat 1166=1109 A.D. changing his name, again, into Hemacandra. He spent the greater part of his life, as the acknowledged head of the Jaina community at Aṇahilla-pattana, under the patronage of Jayasimha Siddharāja (1094-1143 A.D.) and his successor Kumārapāla of Gujarat (1143-1172 A.D.), dying shortly before the latter in Samvat 1229=1172 A.D. at the ripe old age of 84 years. He wrote most of his works at the request of his patrons, of whom he converted Kumārapāla into Jainism in Samvat 1216=1160 A.D.

Hemacandra wrote voluminous works on many branches of Sanskrit learning, such as grammar (*Siddha-hemacandra*, *Śabdānuśāsana*, *Līgānuśāsana*, *Dhātu-pārāyaṇa* and *Uṇādi-sūtra*), prosody (*Chandonuśāsana*), lexicon (*Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*, *Anekārtha-saṃgraha*, *Nighaṇṭu-śeṣa*, and *Deśi-nāma-mālā*), besides works on Jaina Śastra. His stupendous learning justifies his sobriquet Kalikāla-Sarvajñā. His *Kāvya-nuśā-*

1. *Ueber das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemacandra*, Wien 1889; trs. into English by Manilal Patel in the Singhi Jaina Series 1936. See also Jacobi in *Ency. of Religion and Ethics*, vi. 591.

sana in eight *Adhyāyas* has the merit of comprehending all topics of Poetics, including a brief reference to Dramaturgy. In spite of occasional differences Hemacandra borrows freely from Bharata, Ānandavardhana, Ahhinavagupta, Mammaṭa and Rājaśekhara. Its want of any striking originality perhaps stood on the way of its being accepted as an authoritative work. It exercised little influence on later writers and is scarcely ever quoted¹. It is written in the form of *Sūtra* and *Vṛtti*.²

(2)

There are two Vāgbhaṭas in Sanskrit Poetics who must be distinguished from each other, viz. Vāgbhaṭa, author of the *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* (here cited as Vāgbhaṭa I) and Vāgbhaṭa, author of the *Kāvyānuśāsana* and its *Vṛtti*, *Alaṃkāra-tilaka* (here cited as Vāgbhaṭa II). Eggeling³ falls into the error of confounding the two and assigning both the works to the same author. From the *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* iv. 148, we learn that the Jaina name in the Prakrit form of the author is Bāhiṭa and that he was son of Soma*. From the *Kāvyānuśāsana* and its commentary*, on the other hand, we learn that its author was son of Nemikumāra and Mahā-(mahi?-) devī or Vasundharā; while his native town, called Rāhaḍapura from the shrine of a deity of that name, is mentioned*, as well as described in a verse by the author himself⁴.

1 Except, as P. V. Kane notes (*HSP*, p. 278), by *Ratnāpāṭa* pp. 46, 75, 224, 233, 259, 299.

2 For summary of the topics of Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana* see below vol. ii, ch. vii (6).

3 *IOC* iii, pp. 330-1.

4 So also in Jinavardhana, Śiṃhadeva and Kṣemabāṭṣa-gaṇī's comm. on this verse.

5 p. 1 *vṛtti*, and the concluding verse.

6 p. 1 *vṛtti*.

7 *IOC* iii, p. 332. In the Nir. Sag. Press edition of the work, this verse is also given at p. 10, but the words *asmābhīr uktam*, preceding it in the India Office MS, are wanting.

Vāgbhaṭa II also appears to cite Vāgbhaṭa I as one of his authorities¹. Both the Vāgbhaṭas, however, quote from the poet Vāgbhaṭa, author of the *Nemi-nirvāṇa*. Vāgbhaṭa II citing the poem by name frequently for the purpose of illustrating the characteristics of a good poem (e.g. p. 16)². Vāgbhaṭa I may or may not be identical with the poet of the *Nemi-nirvāṇa*; but Vāgbhaṭa II should be distinguished from both³. We must also distinguish the medical writer Vāgbhaṭa, son of Śimhagupta.

Vāgbhaṭa I seems to have been contemporaneous with Hemacandra, and lived under Cālukya Jayasiṁha Siddhārāja of Aṇahilla-pattana⁴, who flourished from 1094 to 1143 A. D. We have references to this king and his capital in iv. 45, 76, 81, 85 and 132, and he is described as son of king Karṇadeva. Both Jinavardhana Sūri and Śimhadeva Gaṇi in their commentaries explain that the prince referred to is Jayasiṁha, son of Karṇadeva, of Aṇahilla-pāṭaka. It also appears from what Śimhadeva Gaṇi on iv. 148 says that Vāgbhaṭa was probably a *mahāmāṭya* of the said prince, a statement which is supported by the description given of our author in Prabhācandra Sūri's *Prabhāvaka-carita*⁵ (p. 205),

1 ii, p. 31: *iti daṇḍi-vāmanā-vāgbhaṭādi-praṇītā daśa kāvya-guṇāḥ, vayāṇi tu mādhvryanjalī-prasāda-lakṣaṇāṇīś trīneva guṇān manyūmahe.*

2 The verses quoted in *Vāgbhaṭālāṇikāra* from the *Nemi-nirvāṇa* are given by Jacob, *op. cit.* p. 309.

3 Winteritz thinks (*Geschichte der Ind. Lit.* ii, p. 338 fn 1; iii, p. 22 fn 1, also iii, p. 642) that Vāgbhaṭa I is the same as the poet of the *Nemi-nirvāṇa*.—Jahlaṇa ascribes the verse *anālocya premṇāḥ* to one Vāgbhaṭa, but it does not occur in any of these Vāgbhaṭas. It occurs, however, in Amaru 80. It is cited anonymously by Vallabhadeva 1170; while in the *Saduktikaryāmṛta* it is attributed to Rājaśekhara, and in *Kavīndra-vacana* 372 to the poetess Vikaṭanitambā.

4 And not Jayasiṁha of Kashmir, as Harichand (p. 49) erroneously gives it.

5 Second half of the 13th century, see Bühler's *Hemacandra* note 1; also *Vāgbhaṭālāṇī* (ed. Kāvyamālā 1916) p. 1-2 fn.

from which we also learn that Vāghhaṭa was living in 1123 A. D. and also in 1157 A.D. Vāghhaṭa's literary activity, therefore, may be assigned roughly to the first half of the 12th century.

The *Vāgbhāṭālambikāra*, consisting of five Paricchedas, covers in 260 verses most of the topics of Poetics, but excludes Dramaturgy. Although it claims a large number of commentaries, it is a small compilation of no superior merit. It speaks of ten Guṇas instead of three of Mammaṭa and Hemacandra, and only two Rītis, namely Vaidarīha and Gauḍīya. Weber's Berlin MS no. 1718 adds a sixth chapter : see also Burnell, *Cat. Tanjore MSS.* p. 576.

Vāghhaṭa II appears to be a later writer. His reference to Vāgbhaṭa I and considerable borrowing from Hemacandra give us one limit to his date. The other terminus¹ is unknown ; for the Jaina authors (excepting Hemacandra) are rarely quoted by later writers on the subject. He may have been earlier than Deveśvara, whose borrowings, however, are not conclusive enough for any chronological inference. Vāgbhaṭa II himself cites two of his own works, viz. *Rśabhadēva-carita* (p. 15, called a *mahākāvya*) and *Chandonuśāsana* (p. 20) ; but of these nothing is known. In two illustrative verses there are references to two princes called Mūlarāja (p. 45) and Vibhākara (p. 44). This Vibhākara is unknown, but Mūlarāja appears to be the same as the founder of the Cālukya dynasty at Añahilla-pattana (=Anhilvād) in Gujarat². A MS of *Kāvyānuśāsana* (Eggeling, *Ind. Office Cat.* no. 1157) is dated in Saṃvat 1515 (=1458-59 A.D.). Vāghhaṭa II probably flourished in the 14th century.

Like Hemacandra's work of the same name, the *Kāvyānu-*

¹ Harichand Sastri (*op. cit.* p. 49) places him in the 13th century, but he does not state the grounds of his opinion.

² Peterson notes (iii, App. p. 124) a reference in the *puṣpikā* of a MS of Hemacandra's *Trīṣṭi-śalāka-puruṣa* to one Nemikumāra, who flourished in Saṃvat 1295, and he queries whether this Nemikumāra was our Vāgbhaṭa's father (iv, p. lxxi).

śāsana of Vāgbhaṭa II is written in the form of Sūtra and a running commentary ; but it is a much smaller work of five Adhyāyas. It covers most topics of Poetics but there is no treatment of dramaturgy. It speaks, however, of three Guṇas and three Rītis after Mammaṭa. The name and definition of poetic figures in these Jaina writers differ in some cases from those of orthodox authors. They do not exceed 40 in number, but Vāgbhaṭa II gives nearly 70 poetic figures.

(3)

No commentaries on Hemacandra and Vāgbhaṭa II is known, but the *Vāgbhaṭālaṇikāra*¹ of Vāgbhaṭa I appears to have been fortunate in this respect. Of the commentators on this work, whose names are noted below, Jinavardhana Sūri and Śimhadeva Gaṇi are better known, and their commentaries have been published. Jinavardhana was pupil of Jinarāja Sūri and was a priest of Kharatara-gaccha from about 1405 to 1419 A.D.². In some catalogues (e.g. Mitra 2814), his name is given as Ādinātha.

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Vāgbhaṭa I

Editions. *Vāgbhaṭālaṇikāra* (1) ed. by A. Borooh, Calcutta

1 The published text of this work contains five chapters, which is also the number in the Bodleian, Stein, Madras and India Office MSS ; but Weber's MS (no. 1718) adds a sixth chapter, which appears to deal with the figure *yamaka*.

2 Klatt in *IA* xi p. 249 ; Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1882-3, p. 25 ; *IOC* iii, no. 1156 and 2656a.

1883. (2) ed. Sivadatta and K. P. Parab (with Simhadeva Gaṇi's comm.), Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1895, 1915 (our references are to the ed. of 1915). (3) by Jivananda Vidyasagar, 3rd ed. Calcutta 1903. (4) by Murtidbara, Venkatesvara Press, Bombay. (5) with an old gloss, by Kṣemaraja Srikrishnadasa, Bombay 1894. (6) *Granthamālā* iii, 1889-90 (with Jinavardhana's comm.).

Commentaries. (1) by Jinavardhana Sūri, who was a priest of Kharatara-gaccha from about 1405 to 1419. Ed. with the text in *Granthamālā* iii, as noted above. Ādinātha in Mitra 2814 (Aufrecht i. 559a) is the same as Jinavardhana. A MS copied in Saṃvat 1610 = 1553-54 A.D. (*Cal. MSS BORI* xii, p. 323).

- (2) By Simhadeva Gaṇi, ed. NSP, Bombay, as noted. In *ALeip* MS no. 824, p. 269, the commentary is called *Cūḍā*. But this name is not found in Jammu MS no. 1231, p. 274.
- (3) By Samayasundara, pupil of Sakalacandra, who was a pupil of Jinacandra. His comm. was composed in Ahmedabad for Harirāma in 1636 A.D. See Peterson iv, p. cxxvi. Also wrote a comm. on *Raghu*.
- (4) By Rājahāṃsa Upādhyāya, pupil of Jinatilaka Sūri who was a pupil of Jinaprabha Sūri of Kharatara-gaccha. The MS noticed by Bhandarkar (*Rep.* 1883-84, pp. 156, 279) was copied in Saṃvat 1486=1430 A.D. See P. K. Gode's note in *Calcutta Orient. Journal* ii, pp. 312-14, in which he gives 2nd half of 14th century (between 1350 and 1400 A.D.) as the probable date of this commentary.
- (5) *Samāsānvaya Tippaṇī* by Kṣemabāṇīsa Gaṇi. Extract in Stein p. 274.
- (6) *Vivarana* of Gaṇeśa, son of Anantabhaṭṭa and disciple of Bhāskara. Aufrecht i. 559a, 794a; *IOC* iii, no. 1155/702b, p. 330. A MS copied in 1713 A.D.
- (7) *Aracūri*. Author's name unknown. Aufrecht ii. J32a, iii. 118b.
- (8) *Jñāna-pramodikā* of Vācanācārya Jñānapramoda-gaṇi.

composed in Samvat 1681 (=1624-25). See P. K. Gode, *Studies in Ind. Literary Hist.* i, p. 76.

Vāgbhaṭa II

Edition. *Kāvyāmnisāsana*, by Sivadatta and K. P. Parab. NSP, Bombay 1894, 1915 with *Alaṇḍikāra-tilaka*.

JAYADEVA

(1)

Jayadeva, author of the popular text-book *Candrāloka*, is otherwise known as Piyüṣavarṣa (i. 2)¹. He himself gives us the names of his parents as Mahādeva and Sumitrā (i. 16). The name Jayadeva, however, is borne by our author in common with many other Sanskrit writers. Of the fifteen or more different persons, mentioned by Aufrecht, as bearing the same name, it seems likely that our author is identical with the poet who wrote the well-known drama called the *Prasanna-rūḍhīava*; for in the prologue to that drama there are two verses (i. 14-15) which inform us that the dramatist was also son of Mahādeva of the Kauṇḍinya-gotra and Sumitrā, a coincidence of names which does not seem to be accidental. Aufrecht, however, identifies² our author with Jayadeva who composed the well-known lyric named *Gīta-govinda*; but apart from all arguments derived from the style and poetic genius of the two writers, which possess few kindred excellences, the fact that the author of the lyric, in one of his

1 Also in a verse given at the end in some MSS, e.g. Peterson ii, p. 109, *Madras Cat.* xxii, p. 8656 : *piyüṣavarṣa-prabhavaṇi caṇḍrālokaṁ manoharam* etc. Also the verse *jayanti yājñika-śrīman-mahādevāṅiga-janmanāḥ* / *sūkti-piyüṣa-varṣasya jayadeva-kaver girāḥ*, commented on in the *Śaradāgama* and the *Rākūgama* comms. These verses are wanting in the Calcutta ed. The *Rākūgama* comm. of Gāgābhāṭṭa expressly states: *Jayadevasyaiva piyüṣavarṣa iti nāmūntaram*.

2 *ZDMG* xxvii, p. 30.

concluding verses,¹ tells us that he was son of Bhojadeva and Rāmādevī (or Vāmādevī or Rādhādevī, according to other readings) stands seriously against the proposed identification. The identity of Jayadeva with the logician Pakṣadhara, also called Jayadeva, is equally doubtful, and Aufrecht mentions the two names separately. The name Pakṣadhara, no doubt, was a mere title given to the logician from the circumstance of his having been able to maintain by subtle reasoning whatever side of a question he undertook to defend : but the argument for his identity with our Jayadeva, relied on by Hall², that Jayadeva in his drama refers (i. 18) to his knowledge of *pramāṇa*, befitting a logician, is hardly convincing and sufficient³.

(2)

The date of Jayadeva yet remains unsettled. There is hardly any doubt, however, that he should be placed earlier than Keśava Miśra, who cites (p. 47) the verse *kadalī kadalī* from the *Prasanna-rāghava* (i. 37). As Keśava flourished in the middle of the 16th century, we may safely assign Jayadeva to a period earlier than that. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the *Saraddāgama* commentary on the *Candrāloka*, was composed by Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa in 1583 A.D.⁴, under the patronage of a Bundella prince, named Virabhadra, of the Vaghela dynasty, who himself wrote a commentary on Vā-

1 xii, p. 171, ed. N. S. P. 1917. It is not commented upon by Kumbha in his *Rasika-priyā* comm., but Śaṅkara, in his *Rasa-mañjari* comm. says: *adunā pitṛ-mātṛ-nāma nibadhnā prāthayate sajanā* (ed. N. S. P. loc. cit). The same in the cophophon in Bühler's MSS (*Kashmir Rep.* p. 46), where read Rāmādevī for Rāmādeva.

2 Introd. to *Śaṅkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya* (Bibl. Ind. Calcutta 1956), pp. 62-63. Keith (*Indian Logic* p. 33f) appears to accept the identification.

3 Jayadeva, author of a manual on Erotics, called *Rati-mañjari* in 60 verses (ed. in Haeberlin and by Pavolini in *Giornale della Soc. Asiatici Italiana*, 1904 pp. 371f) is probably a different and later writer.

4 AF 1 no. 467 (51) p. 158 : ALeip no. 820, p. 268.

śāyana (called *Kandarpa-cūḍāmaṇi*) in Samvat 1633=1577 A.D.¹ We may push this limit to the date of Jayadeva's work back to the beginning of the 14th century, because some verses from the *Prasanna-rāghava* (i. 19 and 33)² are quoted in *Śāraṅgadhara-paddhati* (164 and 3520), compiled in 1363 A.D. ; while Śingabhūpāla, whose date has been fixed at 1330 A.D., cites the drama itself in his *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (pp. 258, 277). This gives us one terminus to the date of Jayadeva in the first quarter of the 14th century³.

The other terminus is given by the inference that Jayadeva is later than Ruyyaka ; for in his *Candrāloka* he directly adopts some of the original definitions of poetic figures given for the first time by Ruyyaka. The figure *Vikalpa*, for instance, which (as both Ruyyaka himself and Jayaratha inform us)⁴ was invented and defined for the first time by Ruyyaka,

1 Peterson ii, pp, 66, 132 ; iv, p. cxvi. Ed. Rama Chandra Sastri, Lahore 1926.

2 Other vases quoted are ii. 22 (=3557), vii. 59 (=3626), vii. 60 (=3631).

3 Paranjpe and Panse in their edition (Poona 1894) of the drama *Prasanna-rāghava* (p. xiii f) seek to identify Jayadeva with the logician Pakṣadhara Jayadeva and assign him to a period between 1500 and 1577 A.D. So also Peterson in introd. to *Subhāṣ* p. 37f. Cf also Eggeling IOC iii, pp. 332f. Winternitz (*Geschichte der Ind. Lit.* iii, p. 26. fn 3) thinks that Jayadeva could not have written long before Appayya. But all these scholars appear to have overlooked this quotation in *Śāraṅgadhara*. No chronological conclusion is inferable from Jayadeva's mention of the poet Cora ; for Bühler's identification of this poet with Bihlaṇa is not free from doubt (see Solf, *Die Kashmir Recension der Pañcāśikā*, Kiel 1886, p. xxif ; also see on the question S. K. De, *Hist. of Skt. Lit.*, Calcutta 1947, pp. 368-69. Nor should stress be laid on the fact that verses from the *Prasanna-rāghava* occur in the *Mahānāṭaka* ; for the date of the latter, as well as its proper text, cannot be taken to have been satisfactorily settled (see Lévi ii, p. 48 ; Sten Konow, *Ind. Drama* pp. 88-9). Jayadeva himself, as a rhetorician, is quoted by very late writers like Appayya, Keśava and Bhīmasena.

4 Cf Jacobi in *ZDMG* lxii, p. 600, note 1. Ruyyaka says expressly

is literally copied by Jayadeva (v. 112). We cannot, therefore, place Jayadeva, who upholds the views peculiar to Ruyyaka as well as Mammata, earlier than the second half of the 12th century.

Jayadeva, therefore, should be assigned to the period between the last quarter of the 12th century and the first quarter of the 14th, a closer approximation than which is not possible at present : but perhaps we may tentatively place him in the first half of the 13th century.

(3)

The *Candrāloka* is a general treatise on Poetics in ten chapters (called *mayūkhas*) and about 350 verses, written in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre. The Calcutta edition of the text, published in 1874¹, enumerates the following divisions: (1) *Vāgvinicāra* (sl. 16). (2) *Doṣa-nirūpaṇa* (sl. 44). (3) *Lakṣaṇa-nirūpaṇa* (sl. 11). (4) *Guṇa-nirūpaṇa*, given as ten in number (sl. 12). (5) *Alaṇḍikāra*-*oirūpaṇa*, consisting of *Śabdālaṇḍikāras* (sl. 10), *Alaṇḍikārānukrāmaṇikā* (sl. 16) and *Arthālaṇḍikāras* (sl. 174). (6) *Rasādi-nirūpaṇa* (sl. 24), incidentally dealing with three *Rūtis* and five *Vṛttis*. (7) *Dhvaoi-nirūpaṇa* (sl. 18). (8) *Guṇibhūta*-*vyañgya* (sl. 10). (9) *Lakṣaṇa-nirūpaṇa* (sl. 15). (10) *Abhidhā-nirūpaṇa* (sl. 4). This arrangement is substantially followed in the Leipzig MS 819 (which contains only five *mayūkhas*) and correspond closely with the arrangement mentioned by Gaṅgādhara in his commentary (p. 9) on Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*, where the chapters are given thus: 1. *Śabda-mayūkha*. 2. *Doṣa-mayūkha*. 3. *Lakṣaṇa-mayūkha*. 4. *Guṇa-*

with regard to this figure : *pūrvair akṣa-viveko'tra darsita ity avagantavyam*, upon which Jayaratha remarks: *anendṣya granthakṛd-upajñātvam eva darsitam* (p. 159). Also the figure *Vicitra* (Ruyyaka p. 133 = Jayadeva v. 82).

1. The Calcutta edition (by Jivananda) of 1906 substantially keeps to this arrangement and numbering of verses in the different chapters. The work contains about 300 verses, but the numbering differs to some extent in the different editions. The author gives his own illustrations.

mayūka. 5. *Alamkāra-mayūkha*. 6. *Rasa-mayūkha*. 7. *Dhvani-mayūkha*. 8. *Guṇībhūtavyaṅgya-mayūkha*. 9. *Lakṣaṇā-mayūkha* and 10. *Tatśakti* (= *Abhidhā*)*-mayūkha*¹.

It will be seen from this that the section on *Arthālamkāra* in chapter v is the most considerable part of the work, which appears to have become, to the exclusion of the rest of the work, a popular manual of poetic figures. It was specially adapted for this purpose by Appayya Dīkṣita's *Kuvalayānanda*, which bodily incorporates the Kārikās of this section (with only slight modification), himself only writing the running prose commentary and adding a few supplementary figures. This work of Appayya's, therefore, may be regarded, in a sense, as a commentary on the *Arthālamkāra*-chapter of the *Candrāloka*. Appayya himself indicates his indebtedness in one of the prefatory verses² by saying that the definition-stanzas of the *Candrāloka* are borrowed in his own work, but there are a few modifications and additions³ of his own. He also explains in the concluding verse how his work came to be called *Kuvalayānanda* (lit. 'delight of lotuses') from the *Candrāloka* (lit. 'the sight or light of the moon'):

*candrāloko vijayatām, śaradāgama-saṅībhavaḥ /
hṛdayaḥ kuvalayānando yat-prasādād abhūd ayam.*

which, apart from the obvious pun involved, praises the *Candrāloka*, the cause of its commentary called *Śaradāgama*, from the contact of both of which the charming *Kuvalayānanda* originated. This *Śaradāgama* commentary obviously

1 The text as commented upon by Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa, Gāgābhaṭṭa and Vaidyanātha (*Madras Cat.* xii, 12876-78) contains ten *mayūkhas*. MSS of the complete text noticed also in Mitra ii p. 177, v p. 103, ix p 184 : Peterson ii 109.

2 *yeśāṁ candrāloke dṛṣyante lakṣya-lakṣaṇa-slokāḥ / prāyas ta eva, teṣāṁ itareśāṁ tvabhinavā viracyante.*

3 The differences of reading in the Kārikās are noted in Halasynatha Sastri's ed. of *Kuvalayānanda* (with the *Rasika-rañjanī* of Gaṅgādhara), Kumbhakonum 1892.

refers to the commentary of the same name on the *Candrāloka*, composed by Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa in 1583 A. D.¹.

But on account of the wholesale appropriation of this chapter of Jayadeva's work, the title *Candrāloka* appears to have been frequently applied to the *Arthālaṃkāra*-section of the work² alone, as well as to Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*³ itself. Thus, the India Office MS 2656, Weber 1721 and Madras MSS 12871-74 constitute in reality the *Arthālaṃkāra*-section of the *Candrāloka*, embodied in the *Kuvalayānanda*, and not the whole text, but they are entitled *Candrāloka*. Appayya's work does not end with the hundred or 108 poetic figures⁴ dealt with by Jayadeva, but it adds a supplementary chapter on a few additional figures. In some texts of the

1 Vaidyanātha, apparently ignorant of the existence of the *Saradāgama* commentary, interprets (ed. N. S. P. 1917 p. 188) the phrase *saradāgama-sambhavah* as referring to some previous original of the *Candrāloka* itself. An instance of similar ignorance on the part of the commentator is given by the story of Āśādhara in his comm. on the *Kuvalay* (p. 86) that Appayya composed the *Candrāloka* itself at the request of the king of Venkaṭagiri, and later on wrote his *Kuvalay* on its basis. Gaṅgādhara, a more reliable commentator on Appayya's work (who tells us that Appayya was the Guru of a brother of his grandfather) interprets the phrase correctly as: *arra candrāloka-nāmā granthah saradāgama-nāmā sīkha-granthena saṃbhara uपatiḥ* (p. 283). The supposition (Sgs ii, pp. 66-9) that Appayya's utilisation of Jayadeva's work was resented by the latter, who is said to have made a veiled reference to this fact in the prologue to the *Prasanna-rāghava* (where the stage-manager alludes to the stealing of his name) is disproved by the fact that Appayya lived long after Jayadeva.

2 Cf. Gaṅgādhara on *Kuvalay* p. 9: *candrāloko'rihālaṃkārātmaṇa eva, na svanya illi keśāṇcid bhramah*.

3 Thus, Regnau (Rhétorique Sanskrite p. 375) speaks of the *Candrāloka* as being composed of 151 *stokas*, dealing with the definition and illustration of poetic figures, which description applies to the *Kuvalay*.

4 This is not the largest number of poetic figures enumerated and defined in works on *Alaṃkāra*. Mammāṭa defines 61, Ruyyaka 75 *Arthālaṃkāras*; but Sobhākaramittra gives 109. Appayya Dīkṣita 115 *Alaṃkāras*, which go on multiplying!

Candrāloka this appears to have been erroneously included. A considerable confusion is also noticeable in the different MSS of Jayadeva's and Appayya's works as to the arrangement of the three opening verses, as well as with regard to the total number of Ślokas contained in the *Arthālaṃkāra*-section. The verse *paraspara-tapah-saṃpat*¹ occurs in most accepted texts of this section of the *Candrāloka*, but it is not intelligible why Jayadeva should add this benedictory verse in a chapter, which occurs in the middle of the book. Gaṅgādhara pointedly remarks that this verse is not Jayadeva's but was composed by Appayya himself as prefatory to his own work².

(4)

THE COMMENTATORS ON JAYADEVA

Of the commentators on the *Candrāloka*, mention has already been made of Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa (alias Padmanābha Miśra) and his commentary, called *Candrāloka prakāśa Śaradāgama*. He is described as son of Miśra Bala-bhadra, and his patron's name is given as Vīrabhadra (or "rudra)-deva, son of Rāmacandra and grandson of Vīrabhānu, king of Ayodhya, of the Vaghela (Vandella)² family. His commentary is dated in 1583 A. D.; while his patron lived in the second half of the 16th century, as we find Vīrabhadra's commentary (called *Kandarpa-cūḍāmaṇi*) on Vātsyāyana is dated in 1577 A.D. Vīrabhadra is said to have murdered Abul Fazl at the instigation of Prince Selim. His Court-pandit

1 Gaṅgādhara *op. cit.* p. 9: "tathā *paraspara-tapahsaṃpat*" iti *candrāloka-nāndī-Śloka* ity api bhrama eva; *pañcamā-mayūrkhe* *śadhi-*
laṃkārān *mirūpya* "upamā yatra sādṛṣya" ityādinā *arthālaṃkāra-prastāve*
nāndyā evābhāvāt. The same remark applies apparently to the second
verse *alaṅkārṣu bālānām* and to v. 174 which alludes to "Veṅkaṭa-
prabhu", for they appear to be Appayya's additions. Cf *IOC* iii, pp.
333-34 for a discussion of this point.

2 The Madras MS reads *vandella*, but the Florentine MS (*AFL* p. 158) has *vāghela*.

Mitra Miśra wrote the *Viramitrodaya*, in which he mentions his patron's name.

There is another commentary called *Ramā*¹ written by Vaidyanātha Pāyagundā, who is probably not identical with Vaidyanātha Tatsat, the commentator on Govinda's *Kāvya-pradīpa* and Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*, although the two writers are taken as identical in most catalogues. The colophon to their commentaries distinctly make out their respective family-names as Pāyagundā and Tatsat; while in one of the introductory verses of the *Ramā* our Vaidyanātha distinctly calls himself Pāyagundā which is a well-known Mahārāṣṭra surname; but he does not give his own genealogy. He appears to have written a commentary called *Gadā* on Nāgoji's *Paribhāṣendu-śekhara*; he must, therefore, be later than the beginning of the 18th century.

There is another less known commentary, called *Rākāgama* or "Sudhā, composed by Gāgābhāṭṭa, alias Viśveśvara, son of Dinakara (or Divākara) Bhaṭṭa, who was a Mīmāṃsaka. Viśveśvara, who also wrote a number of Mīmāṃsā and Smṛti works (Aufrecht i. 587b), was a great-great-grandson of Rāmeśvara, nephew of the well-known Mīmāṃsaka Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, whose date is the first quarter of the 17th century². Viśveśvara, therefore, is a comparatively modern writer who probably flourished in the beginning of the

1 The name of his commentary is often given, through a confusion, as *Harilocana-candrikā* (Aufrecht i. 182a), which itself appears as a mistaken name for the *Alamkāra-candrikā* comm. of Vaidyanātha Tatsat on *Kuvalayānanda*; the mistake arising from the word *harilocana-candrikā* occurring in the benedictory verse to the latter commentary, as well as from this confusion between the commentators on Jayadeva and Appayya respectively. The benedictory verse runs thus: *anucintya mahālakṣmīḥ hari-locana-candrikāṁ kurve kuvalayānanda-sad-alamkāracāndrikām*. See under Appayya Dīkṣita for the commentary. To Vaidyanātha Pāyagundā, however, is ascribed a *Laghu Kuvalayānanda* (BORI MS Cat. xii, no. 287, pp. 342-43).

2 see above p. 167. The genealogy is given thus: Rāmeśvara → Nārāyaṇa → Rāmakṛṣṇa → Dinakara → Viśveśvara.

18th century, and should not be confused with Viśveśvara, author of the *Alaṁkāra-kaustubha* (q. v.).

Two other little known commentaries are mentioned below.

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MSS. *Madras Cat.* xii, 12860 (which contains the verses of the *Candrāloka* with *Kuvalay*), 12871-73. Most of the MS mentioned in other catalogues (see Aufrecht), however, contain the Arthālaṁkāra-section and not the whole text, see above p. 201-2. The *Alaṁkāra-śataka* of Jayadeva in Oppert ii, 2763 is a descriptive name perhaps of this section.

of the *Candrāloka*. The *Alaṃkāra-saṃgraha* in Mitra 1612 is in reality this *Arthālaṃkāra*-section.

Commentaries. (1) *Candrāloka-prakāśa Śaradāgama* by Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa. Ed. as above. See *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12878 for a description. (2) *Rākāgama* or *Sudhā* by Viśveśvara alias Gāgābhaṭṭa. Ed. as above. Gāgābhaṭṭa is known to have officiated at the coronation of Sivaji in 1674 A.D. His *Samaya-naya* was composed for king Sambhāji in 1680-81 A.D. (P. K. Gode in *Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress*, 1939, pp. 1166-71). He belonged to the famous Maratha Bhaṭṭa family of Benares. His father Dīnakara was author of *Dīnakaroddyyota*. (3) *Ramā* by Vaidyanātha Pāyagundā. Ed. as above. *Madras Cat.* xii 12876. (4) Comm. by Vājacandra. Aufrecht i. 182a. (5) *‘Dīpikā*. Name of author unknown. Aufrecht i. 182a. (6) *Sāradātararī* by Viśupākṣa. Hultzsch 1617; *Tanjore Cat.* ix 5221.

VIDYĀDHARA

(1)

The date of Vidyādhara, author of the *Ekāvalī*¹ has been fixed with sufficient approximation by K. P. Trivedi and R. G. Bhandarkar². The latest writer quoted and mentioned by Vidyādhara is Ruyyaka (p. 150); and this gives us one

1 Aufrecht (i. 75) mentions three different works called *Ekāvalī*, which appear to be the same work. The first and the third are undoubtedly identical and refer to our *Ekāvalī*; but the second is described by Burnell 54a (cf Oppert ii. 3605) as composed by Mahāmūheśvara Kavi. This, however, appears to be a title of Vidyādhara himself, and is apparently the source of the confusion of our Vidyādhara with Abhinavagupta who also bore the same title (see Weber i, no. 1723). The colophon in the Madras MS (*Madras Cat.* xii, p. 8611) reads: *iti śrīmato mahāmūheśvarasya kaver vidyādharasya kṛta ekāvalī-nūmny alaṃkāra-sāstre* etc. The first verse quoted in Burnell is the same as found in all the texts of our *Ekāvalī*. The commentary *Taralā* noticed by Weber (*loc. cit.*) is apparently the same as *Taralā* of Mallinātha. The *Keli-rāhusya* on *Erotics* is ascribed to Vidyādhara by Aufrecht, but the colophon gives the author's name as Vaidya Vidyādhara.

2 Introd to the text in B. S. S. ed. and Bhandarkar Rep. 1887-91, p. lxvi f.

terminus to his date at the middle of the 12th century. This conclusion is apparently supported by Vidyādhara's mention (p. 19) of Śrīharṣa, author of the *Naiṣadha*, who lived very probably in the 12th century¹; but Vidyādhara's allusion in the same context to the poet Harihara², who is said by him to have obtained amazing wealth from a prince Arjuna (presumably the ruler of Mālava of that name), puts this terminus a little lower at the first quarter of the 13th century. The *Ekāvalī*, in its turn, is quoted by Śiṅgabhūpāla³, whose date is fixed at 1330 A.D.; while Mallinātha, at the end of the 14th century, commented upon it. The internal evidence of the text, therefore, assigns it to a period between the first quarter of the 13th and the first quarter of the 14th century.

This approximation has been considerably narrowed down to the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century by the identification of king Narasiṁha of Kaliṅga, panegyrised in the illustrative verses of the work⁴, with either of the two Narasiṁhas of Kaliṅga, whose dates fall between 1282 and 1327. The patron of our author is described as one who crushed the pride of Hammīra (pp. 176, 177, 257, 260), who is probably the famous Cauhan prince, the hero of

1 See Bühler in *JBRAS* x p. 31f, xi. p. 279f; K. T. Telang in *IA* ii, p. 71, iii 81f; Bühler, *Rep.* 1874-75, p. 8.

2 See Trivedī's note at p. 348.

3 *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* p. 107= *Ekārī*. i. 2. Cf *ŚgŚ* i, p. 7f. This verse occurs, however, as the third *prāstasti-sloka* in the printed text of Bihāṇa's *Kārya-sundarī* (ed. Kāvyamālā 7, 1895, p. 56).—Śiṅgabhūpāla refers to Vidyādhara and his *Ekāvalī* expressly in the following terms: *utkalādhipateḥ śiṅgūra-rasābhiniāni no narasiṁha-devasya cittam anuvartaniāneva vidyādhareṇa kavinā bāḍhami abhyantarikṛto'si, evam khalu samarthitam ekāvalyām anena* (ed. Triv. Skt. Ser. p. 206). K. P. Trivedi (Introd. p. xxiii) comes to the conclusion that Vidyādhara was patronised by Keśarī-Narasiṁha (1282-1307 A. D.) or by Pratāpa-Narasiṁha (1307-1327).

4 As the author himself says (*Sl.* 7): *karonū narasiṁhasya cātu-slokān udāliharau*. In this respect the work resembles *Pratāpa-rudra-yaśobhūṣaṇa* of Vidyānātha, *Raghunātha-bhūpāliya* of Kṛṣṇa Yajvan, and *Alamkāra-maṇjūṣā* of Devaśāmikara.

Nayacandra Sūri's poem¹, who began his reign about 1283 A.D. and attempted a conquest of Southern countries. All this makes it probable that the *Ekāvalī* was composed towards the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century.

Vidyādhara appears to have written a work on Erotics entitled *Kali-rahasya*².

(2)

Mallinātha

The date of Mallinātha, author of the *Taralā* commentary on the *Ekāvalī*, has been fixed at the end of the 14th century by Bhandarkar and Trivedi³. He must have written his commentary after a certain time had elapsed from the composition of the original text : for from sl. 6 it appears that the *Ekāvalī* was not studied for some time because it had no commentaries. He is identical with Kolācalā Mallinātha Sūri (Pedda Bhaṭṭa) who is the well-known scholiast and commentator on the five standard Mahākāvyas of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Bhaṭṭi, Śrīharṣa and Māgha, in some of which he quotes from the *Ekāvalī* itself.

The *Ekāvalī*, consisting of Kārikā and Vṛtti in eight Umeśas, utilises the works of Mammāṭa and Ruyyaka in its treatment of poetic figures in the last two chapters (vii-viii). After a general discussion of the definition of Kāvya in ch. i it deals in ch. ii with the three Vṛttis, namely, Ahhīdhā, Lakṣaṇā and Vyañjanā. Ch. iii and iv are devoted to Dhvani, and ch. v-vi deal with three Guṇas, three Rītis, and the Doṣas. The illustrative verses are all composed by Vidyādhara himself and consist of panegyrics of the author's patron Narasimha of Utkala.

1 See ed. Kirtane v. 56. also p. 27 ; Bhandarkar *op. cit.* p. lxvii f.

2 Aufrecht i. 537 b.

3 Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1887-91, p. lxix ; Trivedi, introd. to Bhaṭṭi pp. xxiv-xxviii, introd. to *Ekāvalī* p. xxvii f ; Pāṭhak, introd. to *Megha-dūta* pp. 11-12 ; Nandargikar, introd. to *Raghu*, pp. 1-6, esp. pp. 5-6.

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VIDYĀNĀTHA

(1)

The latest writer that *Vidyānātha* cites is *Ruyyaka* (pp. 291, 334), whose lost work *Sāhitya-mīmāṃsā* is also apparently referred to at p. 11. *Vidyānātha*, in his turn, is quoted extensively but anonymously for definitions of poetic figures by *Mallinātha* in the latter's many commentaries on the different *Kāvyas*¹.

This gives us the same broad limits to his date as to that of *Vidyādhara*; and other considerations make it probable that he was contemporaneous with the latter. The *Pratāparudra-yaśo-bhūṣāṇa* of *Vidyānātha* was written, like the *Ekāvalī*, with the obvious object of panegyrising the king whose name it bears on its title. All the illustrative verses in the work eulogise the same king (also called *Virarudra* or *Rudra*), who is described as the son of *Mahādeva* and *Munmuḍi* or *Mummaḍambā* (pp. 12, 13, 16, 17, 133); and a short drama, named *Pratāparudra-kalyāṇa*² after him, is introduced in the third chapter to illustrate the characteristics of a drama, discussed in the work itself. He is described as a *Kākatīya* king³ whose capital was *Ekaśilā-nagara* in the *Trīśīga* or *Andhra* country, and who is said to have vanquished, among other kings, the princes of the *Yādava* family. All these and

1 For the quotations, see Trivedi's introd. to the text p. ix.

2 Separately entered by Aufrecht i. 349a and published in the *Granthamālā* vol. i.

3 so called, as the *Ratnāpāṇa* explains (p. 10, also *Ratnaśāṇa* p. 485) from the goddess *Kākati* he worshipped.

other details have led K. P. Trivedi to identify Vidyānātha's patron with Pratāparudra, the seventh Kākatiya king of Ekaśilā or Warangal, whose inscriptions date between 1298 and 1317 A.D.¹, and who is placed by Sewell between 1295 and 1323 A.D., and by Sesagiri Sastri between 1268 and 1319 A.D.² The Yādava king referred to, therefore, seems to be Rāmacandra, sixth ruler of the Yādavas of Devagiri, whose dates are 1271 to 1309 A.D.³ We may, therefore, assign Vidyānātha approximately to the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century. It has been suggested that the author's real name was Agastya Pāṇḍita, and Vidyānātha was his title.

Vidyānātha's work, like the *Ekāvalī*, consists of Kārikā and Vṛtti with illustrative verses in praise of the author's patron. In nine Prakaraṇas it deals respectively with the topics of Nāyaka, Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Rasa, Doṣa, Guṇa, Śadālambikāra, Arthālambikāra and Miśrālambikāra. In the third Prakaraṇa, as we have already noted, it illustrates the requirements of a Nāṭaka by a model drama. Its treatment is based mainly on Mammaṭa, Ruyyaka, Bharata and Dhanañjaya, but it is more comprehensive than the *Ekāvalī* inasmuch as it includes Dramaturgy.

(2)

Kumārasvāmin

Vidyānātha's commentator Kumārasvāmin describes himself as the son of Kolācala Mallinātha⁴, the well-known

1 Eggeling (IOC iii, p. 338) gives the dates 1268 and 1319.

2 See Trivedi, introd. pp. xvi-xxii. The correct dates appear to be 1298 and 1323 A. D.

3 Bhandarkar, *Early Hist.*, p. 92.

4 Nārāyaṇa, who describes himself as a descendant of Kumārasvāmin, gives the genealogy of his ancestors in his comm. on *Campūrāmāyaṇa* (Madras Catalogue xxi, Kāvya p. 8212) thus: Mallinātha—Kapardin—Mallinātha Peddubhatta—Kumārasvāmin. He speaks of Peddubhatta as a Mahāmahopādhyāya, a commentator on *Naisadha* and as having been bathed in gold by Sarvajña (Śīṅgabhūpāla?).

commentator and author of *Taralā* on the *Ekāvalī*. He may, therefore, be placed in the beginning of the 15th century. The title of his commentary *Ratnāpaya* (wrongly called *Ratnārpaṇa* by Eggeling *op. cit.* p. 338b, following Burnell 36b) signifies, as he himself explains, a market-place where are sold jewels of poetic sentiments, collected together by Vidyūnātha, after they have been fashioned on the grindstone furnished by the merits of the hero.

The quotations in the *Ratnāpaya* are numerous and include, besides other well-known names, the *Śringāra-prakāśa* of Bhoja, the *Ekāvalī*, the *Sāhitya darpaṇa* (p. 245), Cakravartin and his *Saṃjīvamī* commentary on Ruyyaka, Śiṅgabhūpāla and his *Rasārṇava-sndhākara*, the author's own father Mallinātha and brother Peddayārya, Bhaṭṭa Gopāla and Narahari Sūri. There are numerous references to a work on Rasa, called *Bhāva-prakāśa*, which is now known to be a work of Śāradātanaya (*q.v.*). Mention is also made of Vasantarājīya Nāṭya-sāstra, its author Vasantarāja being apparently king Kumāragiri (*q.v.*) of the same name, who was a patron of Kāṭayavema. A Kavikalpadruma-kāra is also cited at p. 170, but this is a work on grammar (*dhātu-pāṭha*) by Vopadeva. We know nothing of the *Nāṭaka-prakāśa* cited at p. 113. On *Alaṅkāra-sudhānidhi* cited on p. 44, see below under Appayya Dīkṣita who also quotes the same work. The *Rasa-nirūpaya* may be by Narahari Sūri, and the *Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi* is probably the work of the same name composed by Vīranārāyaṇa (*q.v.*).¹

There is another incomplete commentary, called *Ratnaśāṇa*, included in the Bombay edition of the text. From the colophon of a MS of this work (*Madras Trm.*, II, C. 1923), it appears to have been composed by Tirumalācārya, son of Rāmānujācārya of Śukavaṭa family and disciple of Vātsya Rāmānujācārya. He is said to have lived in Rāmatīrtha near Koṭipallī in the Godāvarī district.

1 For these authors, see chapter on Minor Writers below.

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CHAPTER VIII

FROM VIŚVANĀTHA TO JAGANNĀTHA

VIŚVANĀTHA

(1)

Viśvanātha never cites Ruyyaka and Mammaṭa by name ; but, like Vidyādhara and Vidyānātha, he draws very considerably upon the works of both. He adopts, for instance, the definitions of the figures *upameyopamā* and *bhrāntimat* directly from Ruyyaka, and admits the two figures *vikalpa* and *vicitra* which, both Ruyyaka and Jayaratha inform us, were inventions of Ruyyaka's.¹ It is quite possible, as P.V. Kane holds, that the censorious glancing on Mammaṭa's text, reprobred by Viśvanātha (*ad* ii. 14, p. 57), refers in particular to Ruyyaka's *Saṅketa* commentary where the latter criticises Mammaṭa on the particular point under discussion. But a surer indication of Viśvanātha's acquaintance with Ruyyaka's works is given by his quotation of the verse *blujaiiga-kuṇḍalī-vyakta*⁰ at p. 445 (*ad* x. 2), which Ruyyaka himself cites (p. 19) as his own from the *Śrīkaṇṭha-stava*. Viśvanātha quotes two other writers who, in all probability, belong to this century, namely, Jayadeva, author of the *Gīta-govinda*,² and

1 For other instances, where Viśvanātha is following or criticising Ruyyaka, see P. V. Kane's ed. of the text in the introd. and notes.

2 The verse *hṛdi viṣa-latā* quoted by Viśvanātha at p. 506 (*ad* x. 39) occurs in the *Gīta-govinda*, ed. N. S. P. iii. 11, p. 58. It is also ascribed to Jayadeva by Śāriṇagadhara (no. 3460) and Vallabhadeva (no. 1314). Jayadeva is quoted in the *Sadukī-karnāmṛta* of Śādhara and therefore must be placed before 1206 A.D. Bühler and Peterson assign (*Kashmir Rep.* p. 64 and *Subhās*^o p. 38) 1116 A.D. as the date of Jayadeva, while Haraprasad Sastri gives the date 1175 A. D. (*Notices*, 2nd. Ser. i, p. xxxviii). Jayadeva, however, is said to have been cited by Cāndkavi, who wrote his epic on Pṛthvīrāja of Delhi towards the end of the 12th century (but see *WZKM.* vii, p. 189; *JBRAS* xi, p. 283). Viśvanātha

Śrīharṣa, author of the *Naiṣadha*.¹ Viśvanātha also quotes a verse *kadalī kadalī* (*ad* iv. 3) from *Prasanna-rāghava* (i. 37) of Jayadeva. Again, the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* iv. 441 is quoted in our text at p. 529, under x. 57a (possibly indirectly through Ruyyaka p. 93); but this work of Kaślaṇa's was not completed till the middle of the 12th century. All this will roughly fix one terminus to the date of Viśvanātha, who cannot thus be placed earlier than the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century.

The other more or less terminal date is given by the date of a MS of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, discovered by Stein at Jammu, which was written in Samvat 1440=1384 A.D.² This certainly negatives the date (viz. the middle of the 15th century) assigned by Weber³, Eggeling⁴ and Harichand Sastri⁵, the last of whom makes the unfortunate mistake of identifying Caṇḍīdāsa, referred to as a relative by Viśvanātha, with Caṇḍīdāsa, the Bengali poet of the 15th century. It may be noted that Kumārasvāmin, at the beginning of the 15th century, names and quotes (pp. 245, 248) the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (iii. 146a, 147 and 150).

All this raises the most likely presumption that Viśvanātha should be assigned to a period ranging roughly from 1200 to 1350 A. D. This approximation can be considerably narrowed down if we can draw any chronological inference from a verse in the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (*ad* iv. 14, p. 232) which refers to a Muhammadan king named Allāvadīna⁶. This

also refers to *Lataka-melaka* (p. 176, *ad* iii. 212) of Saṅkhaḍhara, which also belongs to this century.

1 P. 526, *ad* x. 54 (*hanūmadādyai*)=*Naiṣadha* ix. 122b p. 520, *ad* x. 50 (*dhanyāśi vaidarbhi*)=*ibid* iii. 116. For the date of Śrīharṣa see S. K. De, *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.* pp. 325-26.

2 Jammu Cat. p. 64, no. 349.

3 *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.* p. 231 (Eng. trans. 1904).

4 *IOC* iii, p. 337.

5 *op. cit.* p. 115.

6 *sāṃdhau sarvāśa-harayam vigrāhe prāṇa-nigrahaḥ/ al(l)aśadīna-
nṛpatau na sāṃdhīr na ca vigrāhaḥ.*

Allāvadīna or Alāvadīna¹ may probably be Sultan² Ala-ud-din Khalji, whose army invaded the Deccan and seized Warangal. Even if we suppose that the verse in question was composed in the life-time of that Sultan, who died in 1316 A. D., the *Sāhitya-darpana* may be presumed to have been composed at a date not earlier than 1300 A.D. At any rate, if this historical deduction is permissible, we may assign Viśvanātha to a period between 1300 and 1350 A.D., or roughly in the first half of the 14th century³.

(2)

Viśvanātha describes himself as the son of Mahākavi Candraśekhara (p. 583, concluding verses) who appears, like his son, to have been a poet and scholar⁴, as well as a high official⁵ in the court of some king, probably king of Kaliṅga. Nārāyaṇa, who appears to have written also on some topics of Poetics, is either his grandfather or great-great-grandfather ; for in his commentary on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, Viśvanātha speaks of Nārāyaṇa as *asmat-pitāmaha*, while in his *Sāhitya-darpana* (p. 73, *ad* iii. 4a), the same person is called *asmat-vṛddhāpitāmaha*. Caṇḍīdāsa, who appears to be different from the Bengal author of the *“Dīpikā* commentary on *Mammaṭa*, is also quoted.⁶ He should not be confused with Viśvanātha's relative.

1 We find both these forms of the name in two inscriptions, see *JASB* xliii, p. 108 and Bhavanagar inscription 114 = *Prācīna-lekha-mālā* ii. 28. In Harṣakīrti's *Dātu-pāṭha* this king is referred to as Allāvadi (Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1882-83, p. 43).

2 The sanskritised form of this word *suratrāṇa* occurs at p. 509 (*ad* x. 42).

3 Cf Kane *op. cit.* introd. ; M. Cakravarti in *JASB* lxxii (1903), p. 146, N. S. ii, 1906, p. 157f ; Keith in *JRAS*, 1911, pp. 848f ; Sten Konow, *Ind. Drama*, p. 3. Prabhākara in his *Rasa-pradīpa* (1583 A.D.) quotes *Sāhitya-darpana* at pp. 18, 20, 35.

4 His verses are cited at pp. 58, 116, 170, 174, while his works, called *Puṣpamālā* and *Bhāṣārūḍava*, are referred to at pp. 263 and 316 respectively.

5 Both are described as *sāṃdhivigrahika-mahāpāṭra*.

6 Viśvanātha cites one *Puruṣottama* (p. 440, *ad* ix. 4a). A work

Viśvanātha appears to have written a number of works, besides his well-known *Sāhitya-darpana* ; for in it he himself refers to his own productions, namely :

(1) *Rāghava-vilāsa-kāvya* (ad vi. 325a, p. 355).

(2) *Kuvalayāśva-carita* in Prakrit (ad vi. 326, p. 356).

(3) *Prabhāvati-parinaya* (ad vi. 182b, p. 320), also referred to in his commentary of *Mammaṭa* ch. vii.

(4) *Praśasti-ratnāvali* in 16 languages, a *karambhaka* (ad vi. 337b, p. 358).

(5) *Candrukālā* (ad vi. 183a and 184, p. 320-1), a *nāṭikā*. He also wrote a commentary called *Kāvyaprakāśa-darpana* on *Mammaṭa*'s work ; but this was probably composed after he had written his larger independent work on Poetics ; for in it he himself refers, while commenting on *lakṣaṇā* (ch. ii), to the latter work¹. In the *Sāhitya-darpana* itself he draws very considerably upon *Mammaṭa* ; and although at the beginning of this work, he quotes and criticises at some length *Mammaṭa*'s definition of poetry, he distinctly reproves all irreverent criticism of this venerable writer, who is declared to be his own *upāślyva* (ad ii. 14 p. 57). In this commentary Viśvanātha refers to a *Narasimha-kāvya* by himself.²

It is not clear on what grounds Weber and Eggeling³ state that the *Sāhitya-darpana* was composed "on the banks of the Brahmaputra", i. e. in Eastern Bengal. It appears on the contrary that Viśvanātha was probably a native of Kaliṅga, which we may take at this date to have been co-extensive roughly with Orissa and Ganjam. In his commentary on called *Kavīḍvataṭra* is attributed to one Puruṣottama in Burnell 54a.— On Viśvanātha's genealogy in relation to Nṛśīya, Cāṇḍīśa and Candraśekhara see Sivaprasad Bhattacharya *Viśvanātha Kavīraja and his references* in *JOI*, Baroda, iii (1954) pp. 35f.

1 *esāpi ca soḍasāṇī lakaṇā-bhedānām iha darsītāny udāharanāni mama sāhitya-darpane'vogantaryāni*. Also on figure *anumāna* (ch. x): *sad uktam mathye sāhitya-darpane*.

2 Anantadāsa in his comm. on *Sāhitya-d.* quotes a verse on p. 9 with the words: *yatā mama tāta-pādānām vijaya-narasimhe*.

3 Cf also Macdonell, *Sansk. Lit.* p. 434; *SCC* vii, no. 53, p. 33.

Mammaṭa, he explains certain expression with Orissa equivalents¹; and speaking of his ancestor Nārāyaṇa, he refers to king Narasiṁha-deva of Kaliṅga (presumably Narasiṁha II, about 1279-1306), at whose court Nārāyaṇa vanquished one Dharmadatta², who is also referred to in the *Sāhitya-darpana*³ at pp. 73, 79. It is probably in praise of one of the Narasiṁhas of Kaliṅga that Viśvanātha's lost poem *Narasiṁhavijaya* was written.

(3)

Though not a work of much originality, the *Sāhitya-darpana* gives in ten chapters a comprehensive treatment of all topics of Poetics, including Dramaturgy. The distribution of topics in the different chapters is as follows: (i) Definition of poetry, (ii) Three Vṛttis of word and sense, (iii) Rasa, (iv) Dhvani and Guṇībhūta-vyañgya, (v) Establishment of Vyañjanā-vṛtti, (vi) Dramaturgy, (vii) Doṣa, (viii) Guṇa (three in number), (ix) Rītis enumerated as four, Vaidarbī, Gauḍī, Pāñcālī and Lāṭī, (x) Alamkāras. The treatment of Dramaturgy is based mostly on *Daśa-rūpaka*.

The commentaries on Viśvanātha are not so numerous or important as to deserve any special enumeration. Of the five commentaries mentioned below, that of Rāmacaraṇa Tarkavāgiśa, dated in Śaka 1622=1700 A.D., has been frequently printed with the text.

1 "vai parītyam ruciṇi kuru" iti pāṭhalī, atra ciṅku-padaṇi kāśmīrādi-bhāṣāyām aślīlārtha-bodhakam, utkalādi-bhāṣāyām dhṛta-vāṇḍakadrava iti, on Mammaṭa v, p. 238 (ed. Jhalakikara).

2 Cited also in the *Rasa-pradīpa* of Prabhākara, son of Bhaṭṭa Mādhava (Weber i. 823), in which the *Sāhitya-darpana* is also quoted. Prabhākara's work was composed in 1583 A. D. For Dharmadatta see Sivaprasad Bhattacharya in the article cited above, p. 360-62.

3 yad āhuh śrī-kaliṅga-bhūmaṇḍalākhaṇḍala-mahārājādhīrāja-śrī-narasiṁha-sabhāyām dharmadattam sthagayantah sakala-sahṛdayagoṣṭhī-gariṣṭha-kavī-paṇḍitāśmat-pitāmaha-śrīman-nārāyaṇadāsa-pādāḥ, etc.

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Commentaries. (1) **Locana* by Anantadāsa, son of Viśvanātha, a MS of which is dated 1636 A.D. Aufrecht ii. 171a. An incomplete MS (no. 262, p. 65) in *Jammu Cat.* Ed. as noted above. The commentator is described as son of Viśvanātha himself.

(2) **Tippaṇī* by Mathurānātha Śukla, a voluminous writer, under whose name Aufrecht makes no less than 64 entries. Apparently the same person as Mathurānātha Śukla, a native of Pāṭaliputra in Mālava, who wrote at Benares in 1783 A.D. the *Jyotiḥ-siddhānta-sāra* by order of prince Dalacandra (but see Aufrecht i. 422-23). One Mathurānātha was also author of a comm. on *Kuvalayānanda*, and may have been the same person. Aufrecht i. 715b.

(3) **Vivṛti* by Rāmacarāṇa Tarkavāgiśa, a native of Western Bengal. He was a Chattpadhyay Brahman; his home was at Rāyavāḍī in Burdwan district. He dates his commentary in 1700 A.D. Frequently printed with the text in Bengal editions. Also in N. S. P. ed. 1915, as noted above.

(4) ^o*Prabhā* by Gopinātha. *Madras Trm C* 712. Gopinātha is also the author of the *Sumanomanoharā* comm. on *Mammāta*. See above p. 173. He is probably identical with Gopinātha Kavirāja who composed, among other works, a commentary on the *Raghu-vanīśa* in 1677 A.D. (see Aufrecht i. 163b).

(5) *Vijñā-priyā* by Maheśvara Bhaṭṭa, Ed. as noted above. This Maheśvara appears to be the same as Maheśvara Nyāyālaṃkāra who commented also on the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. Middle of the 17th century. See above p. 167.

KEŚAVA MĪŚRA AND ŠAUDDHODANI

(1)

Keśava himself tells us that he composed his *Alaṅkāra-śekhara* at the request of a ruling chief named Māṇikyacandra, son of Dharmacandra and grandson of Rāmacandra, who is said to have ruled near Dīlhi (Dhilli) and defeated the king of Kābila (Kabul?). Eggeling¹ is obviously wrong in identifying him with Māṇikyacandra of Tirabhukti or Tirhut; while Bühler² did not go further than suggesting that this prince was not a Kashnirian but ruled or lived in Delhi just before the Muhammadan conquest. The patron of our author, however, appears to be Māṇikyacandra of Koṭ-kaṅgra, whose genealogy corresponds to that given by Keśava and whose date of accession, according to Cunningham³, is 1563 A.D. The literary activity of Keśava may, therefore, be fixed in the third quarter of the 16th century.

(2)

The Kārikā-portion of the *Alaṅkāra-śekhara*, called *Sūtra*, is declared to have been based on, if not actually taken from, some lost work of an authority who is cited as *bhagavān* (or

1 *IOC* no. 1197.

2 *Kashmir Rep.* p. 69.

3 *Arch. Survey* v. 152f, at p. 160. (cf. *JASB*, 1907, p. 212).

maharsi p. 50) Sauddhodani¹, Keśava himself apparently assuming the modest rôle of a commentator or interpreter in the running prose *Vṛtti*. The name Sauddhodani, apparently Buddhistic, is otherwise unknown in *Alamkūra*-literature². Whatever may be the original source of his work, Keśava shows himself conversant with the work of most of his predecessors, and quotes, among more recent writers, Rājaśekhara (pp. 32, 67), Bhoja (p. 7), Mahimabhaṭṭa, Mammaṭa, the *Vāgbhaṭṭālamkāra*, Deveśvara and Jayadeva author of *Candrāloka*. He also quotes one Śripāda (pp. 4, 5, 6, 23, 27, 32, 72, 81), who may be his master Sauddhodani himself designated by this honorific term, as well as the author of a *Kavi-kalpalatā* who is described as a follower of this Śripāda³. This *Kavi-kalpalatā-kāra*, however, is neither Deveśvara nor Arisimha and Amaracandra, whose works also bear a similar title. The passage cited by Keśava in this connexion (pp. 48-9, *venyāḥ sarpāsi-bhṛīgālyo*) gives a list of more or less conventional words useful for the purpose of conveying a simile or metaphor. A comparison of an almost similar passage in Deveśvara (p. 157f), who copies it directly from Arisimha and Amaracandra (pp. 135f), will show enough verbal discrepancy to indicate that neither of these sources constitutes the original from which Keśava quotes. A similar discrepancy is also noticeable in another passage of Keśava's (*ratnāni yatra tatrādram* pp. 55-6), which at first sight will seem to have been borrowed from Deveśvara (p. 36f) who, however, copies it almost literally from Arisimha and Amaracandra.

1 Mentioned in exalted terms as: *alamkāra-vidyā-sūtrakāro bhagavān chauddhodanīḥ parama-kārunikāḥ* (p. 2). The *Alamkāra-sūtra* of Sauddhodani is mentioned at pp. 2, 20.

2 This Sauddhodani should not be identified with the Sanddbodani mentioned in the *marigala* verse (where it apparently stands for the name of Buddha) of the *Vidagdha-mukha-maṇḍana* of Dharmadīsa Sūri.

3 *Śripāda-matānusārī kavikalpalatā-kāraḥ* p. 48, ed. Nir. Sag. Pres.
Frequently quoted, pp. 4, 5, 23, 27, 32, 72, 83 etc.

(p. 30f). At the same time, Keśava betrays otherwise an acquaintance with Deveśvara's text, from which he reproduces at least one long passage anonymously (*nr̥pe kīrti-pratāpājñā* p. 57f=Deveśvara p. 26f), which Deveśvara himself probably adapted from Arisimha and Amaracandra (p. 27f); but it is curious that Keśava copies here the text of Deveśvara with its variations, rather than the original text of Arisimha Amara on this point.

Keśava cites one Śrīharṣa (p. 71) who may or may not be the same person mentioned by Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa (q. v.) as Śrīharṣa Miśra, or Harṣa (Śrīharṣa) who wrote a Vārttika on the *Nāṭya-sāstra*. The opinions of a writer called Govardhana are frequently cited by Keśava (pp. 17, 29, 37, 43, 49). There is also a reference to Jayadeva *pāṇḍita-kavi* (p. 17) in the court of an Utkala king. If this person is identical with the poet Jayadeva, who is said to have lived under Lakṣmaṇa-scna of Bengal and who also calls himself Jayadeva *pāṇḍita-kavi* in his *Gīta-govinda* (xii, p. 171)¹, then it is likely that Govardhana, who is quoted immediately before this reference to Jayadeva, may be the poet of that name, who was Jayadeva's contemporary referred to in the beginning of the *Gīta-govinda*.

Keśava, who is described in the colophon as a Nyāyācārya, tells us that he had already composed seven abstruse treatises on the subject before he undertook the composition of his *Alaṅkāra-śekhara*. Two of these are apparently those which are mentioned in the text as his own under the citations *Alaṅkāra-sarvasva* (p. 9) and *Vākyaratna* (p. 12) or *Kāvya-ratna* (p. 72). A *Kāvya-ratna* is mentioned in Oppert ii. 6237.

The *Alaṅkāra-śekhara* written in the form of Kārikā and Vṛtti, consists of eight chapters (called Ratnas) and 22 sections (called Marīcis) with topics distributed as follows: i. Definition

1 The verse *umūlan-madhu-gandha*° of the *Gīta-govinda* (ed. N. S. P. p. 29) is quoted anonymously by Keśava at p. 6, as an instance of the Gaudī Rīti.

of Kāvya, etc. ii. Three Rītis (Vaidarbī, Gauḍī and Māgadhī). Ukti, Mudrā with their varieties. iii. Three Vṛttis (Abhidhā etc). iv-vi. Eight Doṣas of Pada, twelve of Vākyā and eight of Artha. vii-viii. Five Guṇas of Śabda (Sāṃkṣiptatva, Udāttatva, Prasāda, Ukti and Samādhī), four Guṇas of Artha (Bhāvikatva, Suśabdātva, Paryāyokti and Sudharmitā). ix. Cases when Doṣas become Guṇas. x-xii. Eight Alāṃkāras of Śabda and fourteen Alāṃkāras of Artha. Some of the names and definitions are different from those of orthodox writers. xiii-xvii. Devoted mostly to Kavi-śikṣā topics—poetic convention, mode of describing different objects etc., xviii-xix. Certain verbal tricks, Samasyā-pūraṇa etc. xx. Nine Rasas, topics of Nāyaka-nāyikā, Bhāvas etc. xxi-xxii. Rasa-doṣas; and letters favourable to each Rasa. It will be seen that although Keśava Miśra accepts Dhvani and Rasa and the general pattern of orthodox Poetics, he appears yet to follow a different tradition, especially in the treatment of Guṇa, Doṣa and Alāṃkāra. But the difference is not material; for as noted above, he draws largely upon most of his well-known predecessors.

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Editions. (1) ed. Sivadatta and K. P. Parab, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1895. (2) ed. Anantaram Sastri Vetal, Chowkhamba Skt. Ser. Benares 1927. (3) ed. Ganesha Sarma, Benares 1886. Our references are to Nir. Sag. Press ed.

Appayya Dikṣita himself furnishes us with a clue to his date. He tells us at the end of his *Kuvalayānanda* that it was composed at the instance of a South Indian prince

named Veñkaṭa¹. Aufrecht², and following him Eggeling³, identify this patron of Appayya with Veñkaṭa of Vijayanagara (about 1535 A. D.), while Hultzsch⁴ shows that he was Veñkaṭa I of Pennakonda, whose inscriptions range from Śaka 1508 to 1535 (=1586 to 1613 A. D.).⁵ On the other hand, in the colophon to his *Śivādityamāṇi-dīpikā* (Hultzsch 1056), Appayya mentions as his patron a prince Cinnā Bomma, son of Cinnavīra and father of Liṅgama Nāyaka. The inscriptions of this chief of Velur (Vellore in the North Arcot district) are dated in Śaka 1471 and 1488 (=1549 and 1566 A.D.).⁶ In the last verse of the *Kuvalayānanda* reference is made to Pradyotana Bhaṭṭa's commentary *Śaradāgama* (on the *Candrāloka*) which is dated 1583 A.D. The extreme limits, therefore, of Appayya's literary activity are 1549 and 1613 A. D. We may thus assign him to the third and fourth quarters of the 16th century; and as he was alive in the time of Veñkaṭa I, he may have lived into the beginning of the 17th century⁷. This date is confirmed by the fact that we

1 Cf also *Sl* 168 (ed. NSP 1913) which, though occurring also in the text of Jayadeva's *Candrāloka*, is probably one of Appayya's additions.

2 *Cat. Bod.* 213a. But in his *Cat. Cat.* i. 22a and ii. 5a, he assigns the dates, viz. end of the 15th and end of the 16th century respectively. Regnaud's conjecture (*Rhétorique Sansk.* p. 375) that Appayya flourished in reign of Kṛṣṇarāja of Vijayanagara in 1520 A.D. is not correct.

3 *IOC* iii, p. 335.

4 *Rep. of South Ind. Sansk. MSS* ii, p. xiii and *El* iv. 271 (cf *JASB* 1907, p. 211).

5 *South Ind. Inscr.* i, p. 69f and p. 84. Also see H. D. Velankar in *Cat. JBRAS.*, i. no. 141.

6 *IA* xiii p. 155 and *El* iii p. 238 Table.

7 He is said to have lived to the ripe old age of 73 (see introd. to Halasyanatha's ed. of *Kuvalayānanda* p. 15). The usually accepted date is 1552-1624 or 1554-1626 A.D. But the date 1520-1593 is argued in *JOR*, Madras, 1928, pp. 225-237 and 1929, pp. 140-160. See also the Madras Univ. ed. (1929) of *Śivādvaita-nirṇaya* (introd.) and Vanivilas Press ed. of *Yādavābhūyudaya* vol. ii→(introd.), p. ivf. where the date argued is between 1552 and 1624. Veñkaṭa, author of the *Viśvaguṇādarśa* tells us that he hailed from Kūñcī (or Conjeevaram). That Appayya is

find Appayya cited by Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa in the first quarter of the 17th century and attacked by Jagaonātha about the same time.

(2)

We find the author himself using the forms Appa or Apya of his name in his *Kuvalayānanda*, but it is variously spelt as Appaya and Appayya. A champion of Southero Śaivism he was a versatile and prolific writer, and tradition ascribes to him more than one hundred works,¹ of which Aufrecht mentions nearly seventy. A Tamil Brahmac of Bharadvāja gotra, he was the fifth son of Raṅgarāja (or Raṅgarājādhvatri) and had a brother called Apya or Ācchān.

Appayya is notable in Sanskrit Poetics for his three works, viz. the *Kuvalayānanda*, the *Citra-mīmāṃsā* and the *Vṛtti-vārttika*. Of these, the last seems to have been his earliest work, after which comes the *Citra-mīmāṃsā* which is referred to in his *Kuvalayānanda*. None of these works displays much originality ; and we have seen that his *Kavalayānanda* was directly based on Jayadeva's *Candrāloka*, up to the section on the figure *hetu*.² To the "one hundred" Alāṃkāras of Jayadeva Appayya, however, adds fifteen,³ and this perhaps constitutes

later than the 14th century is shown by the fact that he cites the *Ekāvall*, *Pratāparudra*-*yaśobhūṣaṇa* and *Sarpijīrṇi* comm. of Jayaratha.

1 So states Nīlakaṇṭha Dikṣita in his *Nīlakaṇṭha-vijaya* i. 44. The question is complicated by the fact that no less than four Appayya Dikṣitas belonged to the family in three generations. See V. Raghavan in *Proceedings of A.I.O.C.*, Tirupati 1941, pp. 176-80. In the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (ed. V. Raghavan), Madras 1949, pp. 197-200, there are no less than 58 entries after careful sifting. This Catalogue may be consulted for Appayyas II, III, and IV also.

2 See above p. 200.

3 In the text of the *Kuvalayānanda*-kārikā with Āśādhara's commentary, which is translated by Schmidt and published by the N. S. P. 1906, the fourth chapter dealing with *saṃḍālāṅkāras* is an interpolation, or rather mistaken incorporation into the text of Appayya of a chapter from Cirañjīva Bhaṭṭācārya's *Kārya-viśeṣa* (IOC iii, pp. 340-44), as the

the largest number of such figures mentioned in any *Alamkāra* work, and forms the climax in the process of multiplying the poetic figures with endless minute differentiation. The *Citra-mīmāṃsā* is a more independent work; but it was probably left incomplete. In most of the MSS,¹ as well as in the printed texts,² it goes up to the *atiśayokti-prakarana* and breaks off with the curious verse:

apya ardha-citramīmāṃsā na mude kasya māṃsalā]/
anūrur iva gharmāṇīśor ardhendur iva dhūrjaṭeh]/]

which, if authentic, implies that the work was designedly left incomplete. But in some MSS there is an additional verse, which gives a list of the figures to be dealt with (*pratipādyā-alamkāra-sūci*),³ which ends with the mention of *utprekṣā*, and omits *atiśayokti* which ought to come after it. The *Candrikā* commentary of Vaidyanātha supports this tradition with the remark: *utprekṣā-granthānantaram citra-nīmāṃsā na kvāpi drṣyate*; but the commentary of Dharānanda, son of Rāmabala, includes and comments on the section on *atiśayokti* coming thereafter. Appayya's own references to the *Citra-mīmāṃsā* in *Kuvalayānanda* (pp. 78, 86, 133) relate to the treatment of the figures of *śleṣa*, *prastutānikura* and *arthāntaranyāsa*, which are wanting in the present-day text. The printed text of the *Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana* of Jagannātha goes only as far as *apahnuti*. Appayya's third work, the *Vṛtti-vārttika*,

colophon at the end of that chapter itself shows. It is well known that the *Kuvalayānanda* deals only with *Arthālamkāras*.

1 e.g. *IOC* iii p. 336, ends with *atiśayokti* at fol. 72a; *Madras Trm* A 1104: *SgS* ii, p. 82.

2 Ed. V. L. Panshikar, *Kāvyamālā* 38, NSP, 1907. In the text published in the *Pandit* xiii, the work ends with *utprekṣā*, and the *atiśayokti* is wanting.

3 *upamā sahōpameyopamayātīhānanvayaḥ smaraṇaḥ/ rūpaka-pariṇati-saṃśaya - bhrāntimad - ullekha-nihnavotprekṣāḥ/* This verse occurs at the end of the text printed in the *Pandit* and in the India Office MS referred to. The MS *kha* used in the *Kāvyamālā* ed. (see p. 101 fn) ends with *utprekṣā*. In *Madras Cat.* xxii, MS no. 12879 ends with *atiśayokti*, but nos. 12880-81 end with *utprekṣā*.

which is a short dissertation, after a work called *Kāvya-sarāṇi*, on the three functions of word and its sense, is also incomplete as it stands; for it consists only of two chapters on the two functions *abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā*, and the third chapter which should deal with the third function *vyañjanā* is wanting.

Appaya appears to have written another work, called *Lakṣaṇa-ratnāvalī* on the *Lakṣaṇas* of Rūpaka.¹

Appaya Dikṣita, second son of Ācāraṇa Dikṣita who was a brother of our Appaya, wrote an *Alaṅkāra-tilaka*.

(3)

Appaya's works appear to have started some controversies in his time. Thus Jaganoṭha, who flourished immediately after him, not only attacked Appaya in his *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* and stigmatised him as a slavish imitator of Ruyyaka and Jayaratha, but also wrote his *Citramīmāṇisū-khaṇḍana* to demolish Appaya's work of that name. Bhimasena, in his commentary on *Mammatā*, also refers to a *Kuvalayānanda-khaṇḍana* written by himself as an attack on Appaya's other work; and we find Atirātrayajvan, a younger brother of Nilakaṇṭha Dikṣita and descendant of Appaya's, taking up the cudgel to defend the fair fame of his ancestor in his *Citramīmāṇisū-doṣa-dhikkāra*.²

Among more recent writers and works cited by Appaya, we find the names of the *Sūhityacintāmaṇi-kāra*, *Ratnākara*, *Alaṅkāra-sudhānīdhī*³ (*Vṛtti-vārttika* p. 19) and *Kāvya-sarāṇi*.

1 See T. R. Cintamani in *JOR*, Madras, iv, 1930, pp. 242-44 (text of a newly discovered fragment).

2 The authorship of this work is uncertain. Oppert 4802 ascribes it to Cinnā Appaya, younger brother of Nilakaṇṭha Dikṣita; but Hultzsch (ii, p. 126, no. 1281, up to Apahnumi-prakarana) ascribes it to Cinnā Appaya's last brother Atirātrayajvan. See *New Cat. Cat.* i, p. 200.

3 This is probably the work of the same name attributed to Śīyapa, younger brother of Mīḍhava and elder brother of Bhogaṇātha. But the illustrative verses, which are in praise of Śīyapa, appear to have been composed by Bhogaṇātha. As ministers of Harihara I (1336-55 A.D.) and Bukka (1355-77 A.D.), Śīyapa belonged to the 14th century. He is better known as a commentator on Vedic works. An anthology,

the last work (of which nothing is known) being avowedly the model or source of his *Vṛtti-vārttika*. The *Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi*, also cited by Kumārasvāmin, is probably the work of the same name by Vīraṇārāyaṇa (q. v., about 1400 A.D.). The *Alaṅkāra-sudhānidhi* is apparently the same work as cited by Kumārasvāmin at p. 44. If the Ratnākara quoted in the *Vṛtti-vārttika* p. 20 be the same as Ratnākara cited extensively by Jagannātha in his two works, then it refers to the *Alaṅkāra-ratnākara* of Śobhākaramitra, and should be distinguished from *Rasa-ratnākara* cited by Mallinātha on *Meghadūta*. A *Kāvyāloka* is cited by Appayya in his *Citra-mīmāṃsā* (pp. 27, 53)

(4)

THE COMMENTATORS ON APPAYYA

The popularity of the *Kuvalayānanda* as a convenient manual is indicated by the many commentaries on it, the more important ones of which have been published. The *Dīpikā* of the poet Āśādhara, son of Rāmajī and disciple of Dharaṇīdhara, has been edited as well as translated. The *Alaṅkāra-sudhā* and *Śaṭpadānanda* of Nāgeśa or Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa have not yet found an editor, but the *Alaṅkāra-candrikā* of Vaidyanātha Tatsat, son of Rāmacandra (or Rāma Bhaṭṭa) and grandson of Viṭṭhala Bhaṭṭa, has been printed several times in Madras and elsewhere. The more reliable commentary of Gaṅgādharaśāradhvarin or Gaṅgādhara Vājapeyin, son of Devasimha-sumati of Vādhūla-gotra and pupil of Viśvarūpa Yati of Benares, probably preserves the text and the Appayya-traditions better, inasmuch as the commentator tells us that Appayya was the teacher of a brother of his grandfather, and he himself takes great pains to settle the readings of his text. Other less known commentaries are mentioned below.

called *Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi* is ascribed to him (*Proc. A-I.O.C. Baroda* 1935, pp. 121-24).

The *Citra-mīmāṃsā* has been commented upon by Dhārānanda, son of Rāmabala of Vasiṣṭha-gotra and grandson of Ṭhākura, who had, besides the author's father, two other sons named Pūraṇadāsa and Devadāsa. The commentator was disciple of Paramānanda and was born in Bharatapura. He wrote also a commentary on *Mṛcchakaṭika* (Madras Cat. xii. 12625).

No commentary on the *Vṛtti-vārttika* is known.

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Kuvalayānanda

Editions. The work as a popular text-book has been printed frequently at Poona, Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and Benares in Devanāgarī as well as in Grantha, Telugu and Bengali characters, with or without commentaries. The earliest edition appears to be that printed in Puthi form from Pathsala Press, Poona 1842 (2nd ed. 1845). It is not necessary to enumerate here all the editions, but the following publications in Devanāgarī are noteworthy.

Without commentary: (1) by P. R. Subrahmanyā Satman with Eng. trs. and notes, Banerjee Press, Calcutta 1903.

With the Candrikā commentary of Vaidyanātha Tatsat (2) the Poona ed. mentioned above. (3) ed. Jivananda Vidyasagar, Satya Press, Calcutta 1847 etc. (4) ed. Satyavrata Samasrami in *Pratna-karma-nandini*, Satya Press, Calcutta 1874. (5) ed. Kashinath Vasudev Khandekar, Jagadisvara Press, Bombay 1884. (6) printed in oblong Puthi form, Kashi Samskrta Press, Benares 1879, (7) ed. Vasudev L. Panshikar, Nir. Sag Press, Bombay 1907 (2nd ed.). 1913 etc. (8) ed. Govinda Sastri, Venkatesvara Press, Bombay 1911. (9) the Madras eds. are mostly in Grantha (1870, 1881) or Telugu characters (1870, 1895).

With the Rasika-rañjanī comm. of Gaṅgādhara Vājapeyin. (10) ed. R. Halasyanath Sastri, Kumbhakonam 1892.

With the Alāṅkara-dīpikā comm. of Āśādhara, (11) ed. Vasudev L. Panshikar, Nirnay Sag. Press, Bombay 1909;

(12). the same, with text trs. into German by R. Schmidt, Berlin 1907. along with Rāmadeva Cirañjīva's *Kāvya-vilāsa*. See also Bibliography under *Candrāloka* above p. 204f. (Our references are to the NSP ed. of 1913 by V. L. Panshikar, which also contains the *Candrikā* comm.).

Commentaries. (1) *Alamkāra-candrikā* of Vaidyanātha Tatsat. Ed. as above. Published many times with the text. MSS: SCC vii, 1, 29 ; Madras Cat. xxii, no. 12862-67 ; IOC iii, no. 270-72, p. 33. For a list of editions see BORI MSS Cat. xii, pp. 182-83. Mitra in *Bik. Cat.* no 607, p. 213 gives a wrong impression of the work. Vaidyanātha also wrote a commentary on Mammaṭa's *Kav. Prak.* (q.v.) which is dated in 1684 A.D. See above p. 170.

(2) *Alamkāra-dīpikā* by Āśādhara. Printed by NSP and translated, as above. Āśādhara comments only on the Kārikās, but he is not aware of Jayadeva's *Candrāloka*. Āśādhara himself appears to have added what is called an *Uddiṣṭa-prakaraṇa* of about 21 Kārikās with pertinent comm. See BORI MS Cat. xii, no. 153, p. 174. Āśādhara also wrote *Kovidānanda* and *Triveṇikā* (see under Minor Writers below). He should not be confused with Āśādhara who wrote a commentary on Rūdraṭa ; see above p. 93.

(3) *Rasika-rañjanī* by Gaṅgādhara or Gaṅgādhara Vājapeyin. Printed from Kumbhakonam as noted above. MSS: Aufrecht i. 113a (the attribution to Appayya himself is wrong, as corrected later), ii. 22b ; Madras Cat. xxii, 12868-70; also see Tanjore Cat. ix, no. 5205, pp. 4024-27. This commentator describes Appayya as *asmat-pitāmaha-sahodara-deśikendra* ; but according to tradition the commentator lived under the Tanjore prince Śāhajī (1684-1711 A.D.). Originally he was a native of Tiravālaṅgādu in Chingleput district. Also wrote some comms. on philosophical works.

(4) *Alamkāra-sūdhā* by Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa. First quarter of the 18th century. Nāgojī is said to have written also

another commentary on *Kuvalayā* called *Ṣaṭpadānanda*, or in full *Viṣṇupada-vyākhyāna Ṣaṭpadānanda*; see Jammu Cat. nos. 1190 and 1191; SCC viii. 28. As its name indicates, the latter commentary probably deals only with difficult words and passages. The two commentaries are often confused. In this last commentary, Nāgojī refers to his "Marma-prakāśikā" on Jagannātha's work. Extracts of both in Stein pp. 270-271.

(5) *Kāvya-maṇjari* by Nyāyavāgīśa Bhāṭṭācārya. Aufrecht i. 113a. Is he identical with Rāmacandra Nyāya-vāgīśa, son of Vidyānidhi (q.v.) and author of *Kāvya-candrikā*?

(6) Comm. by Mathurānātha. Aufrecht i. 113a. See above p. 217, bibliography under Viśvanātha.

(7) "Tippaṇī by Kuravirāma referred to in the introductory verse of his comm. on the *Viśravaguṇādarśa*; Hultzsch i. extr. p. 57, no. 21. For the author who also wrote on Dramaturgy see above p. 127 (under Dhananjaya). As Veṅkāṭādhvarin, author of the *Viśravaguṇādarśa*, is known to be a grandson of Appayya's. Kuravirāma, who commented on this poem, could not have been earlier than the middle of the 17th century.

(8) *Laghvalaṇḍikā-candrikā* by Devidatta. SCB 830.

(9) *Budha-rañjanī* by Veṅgala Sūri. The colophon to some MSS describes him as *Śrī-rāmabhūpūla-sabhbhūṣaṇa*. Ed. in Telugu characters, Bharati Nilaya Press, Madras 1882. Also included in the Palghat ed. of *Candrāloka*, see under *Candrāloka*, p. 204. This is really a comm. on the *Arthālaṇḍikā*-section of *Candrāloka*, which is co-extensive with the text of Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*.

(10) An anon. comm. in *BORI* MSS Cat. xii, no. 155, p. 177.

Citra-mīmāṃsā

Editions. (1) ed. Rama Sastri Tailanga in the *Pandit* xiii. 1891.

(2) With *Citramīmāṃsā-kbaṇḍana*, ed. Sivadatta, and

V. L. Panshikar. Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1893, 1907 (our references are to the 2nd ed. of 1907).

Commentaries. (1) *Sudhā* by Dharānanda, son of Rāmabala of Vasiṣṭha-gotra. Comments up to Atiśayokti. *Madras Cat.* xii, 12884-86 (extract). Dharānanda also wrote commentaries on the *Ānargha-rāghava* (*Madras Cat.* xxi. Kāvya, no. 12444, p. 8355) and on *Mṛcchakatīka* (*ibid.*, no. 1265, p. 8475). The last-named comm. was composed in 1814 A.D. In it he gives his genealogy and an account of himself, from which we learn that he was son of Rāmabala of Bharatapura, grandson of Thākura and disciple of Paramānanda.

(2) *Gūḍhārīha-prakāśikā* by Bālakṛṣṇa Pāyagundā. Aufrecht ii. 38b. He should be distinguished from Bālakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, author of *Ālamkāra-sāra*. See chapter on Minor Writers below.

(3) *Citrāloka*. SCB 106.

Vṛtti-vārttika

Editions. (1) ed. Rama Sastri Tailanga in the *Pandit* xiii, 1890.

(2) ed. Sivadatta and K. P. Parab, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1893. Our references are to the N.S.P. 2nd ed. of 1910.

Lakṣaṇa-ratnāvalī

Ed. T. R. Chintamani in *JOR* Madras, iv, 1930, pp. 242-44 (a fragment). An incomplete Grantha MS entitled *Lakṣaṇa-ratnāvalī-vyākhyā* without the name of the author is noticed in *Tanjore Cat.* xi, no. 5295, p. 4079 ; but it is probably a different work which appears to deal with Dramaturgy.

JAGANNĀTHA

In his *Bhāminī-vilāsa* Jagannātha tells us¹ that he passed his youth under the patronage of the emperor of Delhi, from

¹ *dillīvallabha-pāṇipallava-tale nītam navīnam vayah*, ed. Grantha-mālā vol. iv, sl 32. This verse is wanting in the N.S.P. ed. 1894. The

whom, we are told elsewhere, he received the title of *Paṇḍitarāja*.¹ This emperor seems to have been Shah Jahan (1628-1658). He also seems to have lived under the protection of Nawab Asaf Khan (d. 1641), brother of Nur Jahan and a nobleman in the court of Shah Jahan, in whose praise he wrote his *Āsapha-vilāsa* and who is also referred to in verses quoted in his *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* (p. 166 *sudhiva vāpi*; 457 *yuktam tu yāte*, referring to Asaf's death). In the latter work, there is also a reference in a verse (p. 521) to Nuradīna which is apparently the Sanskritised form of one of the names of Jahangir (1605-1627), Shah Jahan's father. Shah Jahan came to the throne in 1628 A. D., and was thrown into prison in 1658 A. D. In his *Jagad-ābharaṇa* Jagannātha eulogises king Jagatsīmba of Udaipur (1628-1654) and in his *Prāṇābharaṇa* king Prāṇanārāyaṇa of Kāmarūpa (1633-1666); but they are essentially identical works which have been utilised, with certain change of names and addition of verses, to eulogise two patrons. It seems, therefore, Jagannātha enjoyed the patronage of four rulers, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Jagatsīmba and Prāṇanārāyaṇa at different periods of life. His literary activity, therefore, lay in the second and third quarters of the 17th century; and it extended roughly from about 1620 to 1660 A. D. Nāgeśa Bhajīa commented upon his *Granthamāla* text is published with the comm. of Mahileva Dīkṣita who claims to be a grandson of Jagannātha himself. The phrases *dīlī-narapati* and *dīlīsvāra* occur also in *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* and other works (see Aryendra Sarma, *Paṇḍitarāja-kāvya-saṃgraha*, Osmania Univ. 1958, p. vii for references).

1. See citation from *Āsapha-vilāsa* given in introd. to *Kāvya-māla* ed. of *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* p. 2 fn.; also Nāgeśa on *Rasa-gaṅgā* p. 3. The text of the *Āsapha-vilāsa* appears to contain lacuna and ends abruptly. The poet *Paṇḍita-rāja*, cited in the anthology *Padyāmṛta-sarāṅgi* of Haribhāskara, whose commentary on the *Vṛita-ratnākara* was composed in 1676 A.D. (Bhandarkar, Rep. 1877-91, p. lxii and Rep. 1883-84, p. 60) is probably our author. There is also a commentator on *Māmata* named *Paṇḍitarāja* (q.v.) who is a different author. Aufrecht (ii. 40a), making a confusion between the two, attributes the *Kāvya-prakāśa* to our Jagannātha.

Rasa-gaṅgādhara in the beginning of 18th century, while Jagannātha himself attacks Appayya Dīkṣita who lived in the third quarter of the 16th century.¹

(2)

Jagannātha describes himself as son of Peru² (or Perama³) Bhaṭṭa and Lakṣmī. He was, like Appayya, a South Indian writer, being a native of Tailaṅga⁴ (Telugu country), and belonged to the Veṅgināḍu, Veṅināṭi or Veṅināḍa family of Brahmans⁵. His father was reputed for his learning, having been, as Jagannātha himself tells us,⁶ taught the Vedānta by Jñānendra-bhikṣu, the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika by Mahendra Paṇḍita, the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā by Khaṇḍadeva and the *Mahābhāṣya* by Śeṣa Vīreśvara. Our author learnt these subjects from his father, and also from one of his father's teachers, Śeṣa Vīreśvara. Very little is known of his personal history, although curious tales about his fondness for a Muhammadan woman, named Lavaṅgī, and his death by plunging into the sacred river Ganges have gathered round his name.⁷ Jagannātha was also the author of several

1 On Jagannātha see V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, *Jagaṇṇātha Paṇḍita* (reprinted from *Journal of Annamalai Univ.* iii-iv) and Aryendra Sarma in the work cited above. Ramaswami Sastri gives Jagannātha's date as 1590-1665.

2 *Rasa-gaṅg*^o i. 3.

3 concluding verse to his *Prāṇābharaṇa*.

5 colophon to *Bhāminī-vilāsa*.

4 *Prāṇābharaṇa* sl. 52.

6 *Rasa-gaṅg*^o i. 2.

7 P. K. Gode, in *Studies in Ind. Lit. History* ii, 1954, pp. 452-59, finds the earliest mention of the tradition in a MS dated 1843 A.D. But Acyuta Rāya, whose *Sāhitya-sāra* is dated in 1831 A.D., discusses in his commentary on the *Bhāminī-vilāsa* (ed. NSP, Bombay 1933) the autobiographical significance of the lyrics in that work and of verses like *yavanī navanīta-komalāṅgī* often attributed to Jagannātha. See also L. R. Vaidya in the introd. to his ed. of the *Bhāminī-vilāsa*. For a full discussion of the Lavaṅgī episode see V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-21; P. K. Gode in *Bhāratīya Vidyā* iv, 1942, 57-62 and in *Rājasthāna Bhāratī* (Bikaner) ii, 1948, pp. 45-49. Aryendra Sarma assumes the Lavaṅgī verses (given on p. 190, nos. 582-88) to be genuine.

poetical works,¹ besides writing the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*, the latest yet not the least important work on Poetics, and the *Citrālmāṇīśā-khaṇḍana*. He also wrote a grammatical work, directed against Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's famous commentary *Manoramā*, and called it *Manoramā-kuca-mardana*.

Both the rhetorical works of Jagannātha have been obtained incomplete. The printed editions of the text of the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* go up to the treatment of *uttarālambikāra* and break off with an incomplete verse ; and so do most MSS noticed in the various reports and catalogues. Nāgeśa or Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa's commentary also ends with the same section. In conformity to a pun in the word *gaṅgādhara* in the title, the work was apparently planned to consist of five heads (*ānana*) or chapters, of which we have got only one complete and another incomplete chapter². The topics covered by the

1 Some of these have been published by the N.S.P. For a list, see Introd. to Jagannātha's *Rasa-gaṅgā* (N.S.P. ed.) ; Aufrecht I. 196b ; Kāvyamāla Gucchaka i, p. 79 ; and Aryendra Sarma in the work cited. These are: (1) Amṛta-laharī (Km. Gucchaka ii) (2) Asapha-vilāsa, praise of Asaf Khan (in Aryendra Sarma, *op. cit.*) (3) Karuṇā-laharī (Km. Gucchaka ii) (4) Gaṅgā-laharī or Piyūṣa-laharī (ed. N. S. P. Bombay 1930) (5) Jagadībharana, praise of Jagatsimha of Udaipur (6) Prāṇābharana, praise of Prāṇāśārayana of Kāmarūpa (Km. Gucchaka ii ; 51 verses in different metres) (7) Bhāminī-vilāsa (in four Samullāsas on Anyokti, Śrṅgāra, Karuṇā and Sānti, ed. NSP 1894) (8) Manoramā-kuca-mardana, directed against Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's *Manoramā* (9) Yamunāvarṇana-campū (quoted in *Rasa-g.* pp. 19, 128) (10) Lakṣmī-laharī (Km. Gucchaka ii) (11) Sudhā-laharī (Km. Gucchaka i). Of these nos. 3, 6 and 11 are quoted in the *Rasa-gaṅgā*, e.g. 51 60 = p. 36 ; 51 4 = p. 56 ; 51 1 = p. 20 ; as also *Gaṅgā-laharī* p. 243 (*samṛddham saubhāg-yam*), 491 (*samutpattiḥ*) ; *Bhāminī-vilāsa* p. 402 (*dīganse śrūyanse*), 403 (*pura-sarasi*). The Pañca-laharī (five laharīs) are mentioned at p. 109.

2 It cannot be determined whether the work was completed ; but it was certainly composed before Jagannātha wrote his *Citrālmāṇīśā-khaṇḍana*, the second verse of which refers to the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*. In *Citrālmāṇīśā-khaṇḍana*, however, a reference is made to Uḍīharanālambikāra-prakarana of *Rasa-g.* (*vīsesas tu udīharanālambikāra-prakarane rasa-gaṅgādharād aratayah*, p. 12), but this Prakarana is not found in the extant text of *Rasa-g.*

first Ānana are : definition of Kāvya, its four varieties Uttamottama, Uttama, Madhyama and Adhama ; Rasa and Bhāvas ; Guṇas, whether three or ten. In the second Ānana we have divisions of Dhvani, with a discussion of Abhidhā and Lakṣaṇā, after which comes treatment of Upamā and other poetic figures, enumerated as 70 ; but it is incomplete. The work is written in the form of Sūtra and Vṛtti. The *Citramīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana*, directed against Appayya's work of that name, also goes as far as the *apahnuti*-section and does not deal with *utprekṣā* and *atiśaya* which are found in some MSS of the *Citra-mīmāṃsā*. There is a reference to a matter to be dealt with in the *Nidarśanālāṃkāra-prakaraṇa* (p. 101: *adhikāṇ tu nidarśanālāṃkāra-prakaraṇe cintayiṣyate*) which Jagannātha obviously contemplated writing.

(3)

Of comparatively recent writers, Jagannātha, besides citing Mammaṭa, Ruyyaka and Jayaratha extensively, refers to and quotes Vidyādhara (p. 254), Vidyānātha (p. 162), Viśvanātha (and the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, p. 7) and Appayya, and refers very often to the *navyālī* (pp. 25, 149, 240, 313, 429, 478). The scathing criticism which he levels against Appayya as a slavish imitator of Ruyyaka and Jayaratha was, no doubt, prompted by the zeal of eclipsing the fame of another South Indian writer in the same field. Jagannātha also cites Śrīvatsalāñehana (p. 39), apparently the commentator on Mammaṭa, an unknown Alāṃkāra-bhāṣyakāra (pp. 239, 365 ; also referred to by Jayaratha), and Ratnākara (pp. 202, 207, 209, 211, 221, 225, 281, 313, 480, 492 etc.) which last name is also cited by Appayya. Jagannātha also refers to a work called *Alāṃkāra-ratnākara* (pp. 163, 165). An anonymous *Alāṃkāra-ratnākara* is mentioned in Burnell 54a ; but Bühler¹ describes a work of that name by Śobhākara-mitra, son of Trayīsvaramitra. Peterson informs us² that

1 *Kashmir Rep.* App. ii no. 228, p. cxviii.

2 *Rep.* i p. 12. Bühler (*Report* 1877) mentions a small work called

the Kashmirian poet Yaśaskara extracted some *sūtras* on *Alamkāra*¹ from a work called *Alamkāra-ratnākara* by Śobhākaramitra, and illustrated them in his *Devī-stotra* by composing verses in praise of Devī, as the opening words of the latter work themselves show². The work of Yaśaskara in Stein is for this reason called *Alamkarodāharāṇa-saṃnibaddha Devī-stotra*.³ The *Ratnākara* of Jagannātha undoubtedly refers to this *Alamkāra-ratnākara* of Śobhākaramitra; for the citation from Ratnākara at p. 202 = *sūtra* 11 (as given in Peterson i p. 78).⁴ Jayaratha criticises (pp. 41, 52) the Kashmirian Śobhākara who deviates from Ruyyaka. Jagannātha says (p. 281) that Appayya Dīkṣīta follows *Alamkāra-ratnākara*.

(4)

Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa

The commentator on the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* is Nāgeśa or Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa, whose name we have already mentioned as a commentator on Mammata, Govinda Thakkura, Bhānudatta

Dhvani-gāthā-pañjikā which contains explanations of Prakrit verses, apparently of the *Dhvanyāloka*; but there is no evidence (except the epithet Kāśmirakācārya in the colophon) to show that he was the same as the Kashmirian Ratnākara, author of the poem *Hara-vijaya*. BORI MS no. 182, Cat. xii, p. 207.

1 These are given in Peterson, *op. cit.* App. pp. 77-81.

2 *ratnākārābhyantrato* गृह्णेद्याम्कारात्त्रयी यथाक्रमेण बद्धिवा देव्याद्य गिरिराजापुत्र्याद्य करोमि ताप्सनं शृष्टिगोचराणि. The commentary on this verse explains: श्री-त्रयीवराम्ब्रतामाजा-श्री-शोभाकारामित्र-विरचिते'लाम्कारारत्नाकरे'लाम्कारास्त्रिणि. The colophon to Bühler's MS of the *Alamkāra-ratnākara* reads *trayīvara-mantra-putrasya* as a description of Śobhākaramitra, in which the word *mantra* is obviously a mistake for *mitra*. Stein's Jammu MS 58 reads Śobhākaramitra as the name of the author (cf. also *WBod* 1162).

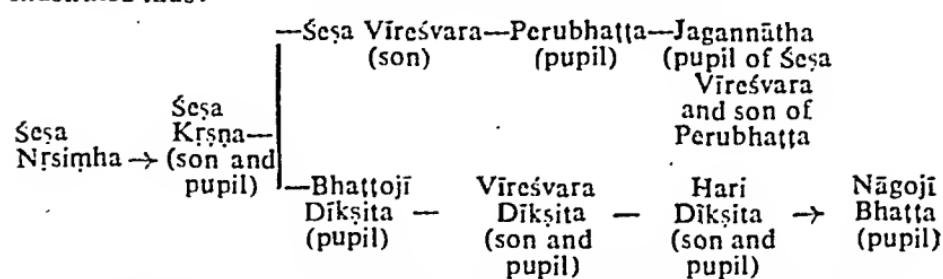
3 The original is also called *Alamkāra-ratnākara* and the author Śobhākareśvara. See also Mitra 1822; Hultzsch's *Eine Sammlung ind. Handschriften* 170.

4 The work has been recovered and edited by C. R. Devadhar, Poona 1942. See under Minor Writers below. Jagannātha refers to *Alamkāra-ratnākara* in as many as eleven different places (see C. R. Devadhar in *Proc. A-I. O.C.*, Lucknow 1955, pp. 60-65).

and Appayya. He was a Mahratta Brahman (with the surname Kāla or Kāle), son of Śiva Bhaṭṭa and Satī. He lived in Benares and was patronised by Rāmasimha of Śrīgavera-pura (near Allahabad). He is one of the latter-day grammarians, who composed a number of works and commentaries on grammar, poetics and philosophy. He was a pupil of Hari Dīkṣita, who was the son of Vireśvara Dīkṣita and great-grandson of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita, the well-known author of the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*. Bhaṭṭojī is known as a pupil of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa,¹ whose son Śeṣa Vireśvara was, as we have noted, a teacher of Jagannātha himself. Nāgojī was, thus, separated from Jagannātha roughly by two generations, and flourished in the beginning of the 18th century. The India office MS of his commentary on Bhāṇudatta's *Rasa-maṇjari* is dated in Māgha Saṃvat 1769=Feb. 1713 A.D.² Nāgojī was the teacher of Vaidyanātha, the Maithili grammarian, and of Gaṅgārāma, the great-grandfather of Maṇirāma (1802 A.D.).³

Nāgojī wrote the following commentaries on various works on Poetics: (1) *Guru-marma-prakāśikā* on Jagannātha's *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*. (2) *Bṛhat* and *Laghu Uddyota* on Govinda's *Pradīpa* on Mammaṭa. (3) *Udāharāṇa-dīpikā* or [°]*Pradīpa* on Mammaṭa. (4) *Alamkāra-sudhā* and *Viṣamapada-vyākhyāna* Śaṭpadānanda on Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*. (5) *Prakāśa* on

1 author of the *Pada-candrikā* and *Prakriyā-prakāśa*, and son and pupil of Śeṣa Narasiṃha or Nṛsiṃha. For the Śeṣa family of Benares see *IA*, 1912, p. 245f.—Nāgojī's relation to Jagannātha is illustrated thus:



2 *IOC* iii, p. 355; cf. Belvalkar's *Systems of Skt. Grammar*, p. 49.

3 Maṇirāma wrote a comm. on Jagannātha's *Bhāminī-vilāsa* in 1802 A.D. See *IOC* vii, p. 1526.

Bhānu-datta's *Rasa-maṇjari*. (6) A commentary on Bhānu-datta's *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*.

The relative chronology of some works of Nāgojī is fixed by P. K. Gode (*Oriental Thought* i. no. 2, 1955, pp. 45-52) between *circa* 1670 and 1750 A.D.

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Commentaries. (1) *Guru-marma-prakāśikā* by Nāgeśa or Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa. Printed in NSP and Benares ed. as noted above. (2) *Viśamapadī*. Anonymous. Aufrecht i. 494b.

Citra-mīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana

Edition. Ed. Sivadatta and K. P. Parab, with *Citra-mīmāṃsā*, NSP, Bombay 1893, 1907.

CHAPTER IX

LATER WRITERS ON RASA AND KAVI-SIKṢĀ

WRITERS ON RASA

(1)

ŚĀRADĀTANAYA

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Śāradātanaya, author of the *Bhāva-prakāśa*, ⁰*prakāśikā* or ⁰*prakāśana*, appears to have been a popular writer on the Rasas and Bhāvas, who is quoted extensively by Kumāra-svāmin,¹ and in the *Kāma-dhenu* on Vāmana,² as well as by commentators like Rāghavabhaṭṭa, Raṅganātha³ and Vāsu-deva.⁴ He is described as son of Bhaṭṭa Gopāla and grandson of Kṛṣṇa, and great-grandson of Lakṣmaṇa of Kāśyapa-gotra who is said to have been a resident of Māṭara-pūjya village in the Merūttara country of the Āryāvarta, and to have written a commentary on the Vedas, called the *Veda-bhūṣaṇa*. Our author was so named, because he was considered to have been born by the grace of Śāradā, worshipped in Benares. He learnt Nāṭya-śāstra from Divākara, and says that he is following Abhinavaguptācārya; but his work in some parts is in reality a condensed epitome chiefly of Bhoja's *Śringāra-prakāśa*, which it cites and practically summarises. This fact will place Śāradātanaya chronologically later than Bhoja; and the citation of the *Bhāva-prakāśa* by Śiṅga-bhūpāla (pp. 20, 139, 169, 202 etc.) will fix its other terminus at 1330 A.D. We may, therefore, assign our author roughly to the period between 1100 and 1300 A.D.

Śāradātanaya cites Agastya (p. 2), Kohala, Māṭrgupta Subandhu and Āñjaneya (p. 251) as authorities on the dramatic

1 pp. 12, 15, 44, 68, 102, 106, 118, 121, 127, 129, 139, 143, 145, 219, 223 etc.

2 e.g. on I. 3. 30.

3 on *Vikramo*⁰, ed. N. S. P. 1885, p. 10.

4 on *Karpūra-maṇī*⁰ cd. N.S.P. 1900, pp. 5, 7, etc.

art. The work consists of two *adhikāras* as follows: 1 and 2. Bhāva. 3. Avāotara-bbāvabbeda-svarūpa. 4. Śrīgārlambana-nāyakādi-svarūpa. 5. Nāyaka-bbedāvastha-rasa-bbāva-vikāra. 6. Śabdārtha-sambandha-bbeda-prakāra. 7. Nātyetivṛttādi-lakṣaṇa. 8. Daśa-rūpaka-lakṣaṇa. 9. Nṛtyabheda-svarūpa-lakṣaṇa. 10. Nātya-prayoga-bbeda-prakāra.

The *Kavi-kalpalatā* cited in this work (pp. 131, 175) is different from works of the same name of Arisimha and Deveśvara; for our author believes that the *Kāvya-prakāśa* borrowed from it. For quotations to Śāradātanaya's work see *Adyar Library Bulletin* xix, 1-2, pp. 47-51.

Ed. Yadugiri Yatiraj of Melkote and K. S. Ramaswami Sastri in Gaekwad's Orient. Series 1930.

(2)

ŚIṄGA-BHOPĀLA

Śiṅga-bhūpāla, whose name is also given as Śiṅga-dharanīśa, Śiṅga-rāja or Śiṅga-mahipati has been identified by Sesagiri Sastri with Śiṅgama Nāyādu, rājā of Venkajagiri who ruled, on the authority of a biographical sketch of the Rājās of Venkajagiri, about 1330 A.D.¹ This date is probable, as Mallinātha (in *Kumāra* i. 25, *iti bhūpālaḥ=Rāsārṇava* i. 181), as well as Kumārasvāmī, quotes our author. The introductory verses of the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*, attributed to this South India prince, show that he belonged to the Recarla dynasty, and ruled over the country lying between the Vindhya and Śrīśaila, of which Rājācalam (Rācakonḍa) was the hereditary capital. He was the son of Aoanta (or Anapota)

1 For details see *SgS* i, pp. 7-11; also introd. to Trivandrum ed. of the *Rasārṇava*. M. T. Narasimha Aiyangar (ed. *Subhāṣita-nīti*, Vanivilasa Press, Srirangam 1908) states that Śiṅgama Nāyādu, our author, was a contemporary of Praudha Devarāja of Vijayanagar (1422-1477 A.D.); but P. R. Bhandarkar in his Note on Śiṅga-bhūpāla (in *Proc. First Orient. Conf.* Poona, ii, 1916, p. 425) doubts the correctness of this date. A. N. Krishna Aiyangar would assign the period between 1340 and 1360 A.D. (*Proc. A-I.O.C.*, Mysore 1937, pp. 264-73).

Payodhimathana-samavakāra (p. 290), *Kandarpa-sarvasva* by himself (p. 151), and *Virānanda* (pp. 159, 160).

The *Rasārṇava* in three *Vilāsas* comprehends, with profuse illustrations, practically all the topics of Dramaturgy and Rasa. The topics, in brief, are as follow: I. *Nātya-lakṣaṇa* and *Rasa-lakṣaṇa*; qualities and classification of the *Nāyaka*; his assistants in love affairs: the qualities and classification of the *Nāyikā*; incidental treatment of three *Ritis* (*Gauḍī*, *Vaidarbī* and *Pāñcālī*), four dramatic *Vṛttis* (*Sāttvatī*, *Kauśikī*, *Ārabhaṭī* and *Bhāratī*), *Pravṛttis* and *Sāttvika Bhāvas*. II. Detailed treatment of 33 *vyabhicāri-* and 8 *sthāyi-bhāvas*; aspects of *Rati*; other *Rasas* besides *Śringāra*; opposition and commixture (*Saṃkara*) of *Rasas*; *Rasābhūṣa*. III. Different kinds of *Rūpaka* and its subject-matter; five *Artha-prakṛtis*; *Patūkā-sthānaka*; five *Avasthās*; five *Saṃdhis* with all their *Aṅgas* treated in detail; *Bhūṣaṇas*; *Nāyaka* as the principal *Rūpaka*; other types of *Rūpaka*; languages to be employed; naming of different characters. The printed text in the *Trivandrum Skt. Series* covers more than 300 pages.

Śiṅga-bhūpāla appears to have written a *Nāyaka-paribhāṣā*¹, which topic is also treated briefly at the end of his *Rasārṇava*. *Śiṅga-bhūpāla* also wrote a work entitled *Saṃgīta-sudhākara* (ed. Kalivara Vedantavagisa and S. P. Ghosh, New Arya Press, Calcutta 1879) which appears to be a commentary on the *Saṃgīta-ratnākara* of *Sūṅgadeva*.

Editions. (1) by Sarasvatisesa Sastri, Venkatagiri 1895. (2) by T. Ganapati Sastri in the *Trivandrum Sansk. Series*, 1916.

(3)

BHĀNUDATTA

*Bhānudatta*² is notable for his two popular works on the subject of *Nāyaka-nāyikā* and the *Rasas*, called the *Rasa-*

1 It is a small work of 289 verses. See *India Office Cat.* vol. ii (Keith and Thomas), no. 5248, p. 346.

2 The form *Bhānukara* of this name is given by *Seṣa Cintāmaṇi's*

Gaṇanātha¹, while the author of the poem describes himself as the son of Gaṇapati or Gaṇanātha². There are also a few verses in the two works of our Bhānudatta which occur in the poem. Thus the *māngala*-verse of the *Rasa-māñjari* (ātmiyam caranam) = *Gīta-gaurīśa* ii. p. 90; akaroh kimu netra³ in *Rasa-māñjari* 51 = *Gīta-gaurīśa* ii. p. 14; prāneśasya prabhavati in *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* iv, p. 40 ed. Granthamālā = *Gīta-gaurīśa* ii. p. 77. As the *Gīta-gaurīśa* is not a mere compilation in which we may expect verses from other writers, the presence of verses in it from the two works of Bhānudatta can be reasonably explained by a presumption of common authorship of the three works.

The *Gīta-gaurīśa* appears to have been modelled on Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda* which, like Kālidāsa's *Megha-dīta*, gave birth to numerous imitations in later times.⁴ Even a cursory examination of these two works will show the close connexion between them; and it is remarkable that not only the general scheme, but even the verses in some chapters of Bhānudatta's poem correspond in metre with those of Jayadeva's. Thus:

Jayadeva

pralaya-payodhi-jale dhṛtavān usti vedam
vihita-vahitra-caritram akhedam
keśava dhṛta-mīna-śarīra, jaya jagadīśa hare

and Bhānudatta

bhramsi jagati sakale pratilavam avivesam

1 In MSS of *Rasa-taraṅgī* noticed in A Leip 835, Weber 1726.

2 kavi-gaṇanātha-sutasya kaveriī vacanam tri-jagatī dhanyam, ii. p. 50; kṛta-hara-vinayo gaṇapati-tanayo nigadati hita-kāraṇam ii. p. 58.

3 e.g. the *Gīta-gaṅgādhara* by Kālījaṇa, the *Gīta-gīrīśa* by Rāma, the *Gīta-digambara* by Vatsāmaṇi (HPS i. 18), the *Gīta-rāghava* by Prabhākara, son of Bhūdhara, dated Samvat 1674 (Bhandarkar Rep. 1882-83 p. 9). A *Gīta-rāghava* by Hariśaṅkara is mentioned in HPS ii, no. 53. See also *Rāma-gīta-govinda* (IOC vii. p. 1480) characterised by Eggeling as "a weak imitation of Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda*" but attributed to Jayadeva. Eggeling quotes from Garcin de Tassy about such passing off of imitations of *Gīta-govinda* for that of Jayadeva. Cf. Pischel, *Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmanasena* p. 23.

*śamayitum iva jana-khedam aśeṣam
purahara krta-māruta-veṣa, jaya bhuvanādhipate.*

Again, Jayadeva

nibhṛta-nikuñja-grham gata�ā niśi rahasi nilīya
 vasantam
 cakita-vilokita-sakala-diśā rati-rabhasa-rasena
 hasantam
 sakhi he keśi-mathananam udāram
 ramaya mayā saha madana-manoratha-bhavitayā
 savikāram

and Bhānudatta

*abhinava-yauvaua-bhūṣitayā dara-taralita-locana-
tāram
kiṇicid-udañcita-vilasitayā calad-avirala-pulaka-
vikāram
sakhi he śaṅkaram udita-vilāsam
saha saṅgamaya mayā natayā rati-kautuka-darśita-
hāsam.*

These two extracts, taken at random, will show how close the imitation is. We may presume reasonably from this that Bhānudatta's work was written some time after Jayadeva's lyric had achieved sufficient literary reputation to be thus imitated. Whether we place Jayadeva in the first or second half of the 12th century, Bhānudatta cannot be put earlier than that century, and this conclusion gives us one terminus to his date.

The other terminus is furnished by the date of one of the commentaries on the *Rasa-mañjarī*, called the *Rasamañjarī-vikāsa* (or -*vilāsa*) by Gopāla (alias Vopadeva), son of Nṛsiṁha, which is expressly dated in 1572 A. D.¹ In the *Sāringadhara-paddhati*, which was

1 Stein, *Jammu Cat.* p. 63, corrected at p. 421, also p. 273. As to the date of this commentary and the era used, see below *Bibliography*.—Kumārasvāmin, at the beginning of the 15th century, quotes (p. 280) the authority of a work called *Rasa-mañjarī* to show that *viraha-*

compiled about 1363 A.D., several verses are cited under the names of Bhānu-paṇḍita and Vaidya Bhānu-paṇḍita (790, 973, 1032, 1271, 3328, 3685), none of which, however, can be traced in the known works of our author. Jahlaṇa, whose anthology (ed. GOS. Baroda 1938) was compiled about the middle of the 13th century, also quotes and ascribes to Bhānu-paṇḍita and Vaidya Bhānu-paṇḍita as many as 36 verses, which are similarly untraceable, but three of which are found under the same citation in the *Paddhati* (790=p. 68, 973=p. 107, and 3328=p. 183). It may, however, be presumed that the author of the *Rasa-maṇjari* was not unknown at this period, and that in the anthologies the epithets *vaidya* and *paṇḍita* were annexed to an earlier or later Bhānu in order to distinguish him from our author, whose namesake he was¹.

A closer approximation of Bhānudatta's date is possible if any inference is permissible from the mention of Nijāma-dharanipāla in the *Rasa-maṇjari*. It is suggested² that the Nizam referred to as ruler of Davagiri by Ananta Paṇḍita's commentary is Ahmad Nizam Shah, who obtained possession of Daulatabad (Devagiri) sometime between 1499 and 1507 A.D. and founded the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Dekkan. P. V. Kane brings in fresh evidence by pointing out (*HSP*, p. 296-

viṣṭralambha is also termed *pranaya-māṇa*. It is not clear whether the reference is to Bhānudatta, for the dictum cannot be traced in his *Rasa-maṇjari*.

1 In the *Sabhyālambakarāṇa* of Govindaji (Bhandarkar Rep. 1887-91, p. lxiii) we have selections from the poems of Bhānukara and Bhānu-paṇḍita, by which obviously a distinction is meant between the two poets.—Har Datta Sarma (*ABORI*, xvii, 1936, pp. 243-58), relying chiefly on the ascription of a large number of Bhānudatta's verses to poet Bhānukara by some late anthologies, suggests their identity, which is very doubtful. See on this question G. V. Devasthali in *NIA*, vii, 1944, pp. 111-17; P. K. Gode in *Ind. Culture* iü, pp. 751-56 and S. K. De, *Some Problems*, p. 147.

2 S. K. De in *Some Problems*, p. 144-45. But Ramnath Jha (*Journal of Patna Univ.* iii, no. 1-2) thinks that the Nizam is the second ruler of the dynasty, and Kṛṣṇa (so interpreted also by Ananta Paṇḍita) is Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya of Vijayanagar (1509-1530).

97) that Bhānudatta married a sister of the Smṛti-writer Misaru Miśra, author of *Vivādacandra*, who flourished in the middle of the 15th century. It would not be unreasonable, therefore, to assign Bhānudatta to a period between 1450 and 1500 A.D.

In the last verse of the *Rasa-mañjarī*, Bhānudatta's native country is given as Videha (*videhabhūḥ*)¹ or Mithila, which agrees with Burnell's description of Bhānudatta as a native of Mithila. As a Maithili writer, it is not surprising that he was acquainted with the Gauḍīya Jayadeva's well-known lyric, and tried to emulate it with a similar work on Śiva and Gaurī. In another work called *Kumāra-bhārgavīya*² attributed to Bhānudatta, the author is called the son of Gaṇapati or Gaṇanātha (obviously the same as our author), and his pedigree is given thus: Ratneśvara→ Sureśvara (author of a *Śārīraka-bhāṣya-vārttika*)→ Viśvanātha→ Ravinātha→ Bhavanātha→ Mahādeva→ Gaṇapati→ Bhānudatta. Gaṇapati appears to have been a poet whose verses are quoted by Bhānudatta himself in his *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*. A poet Gaṇapati is praised, in a verse ascribed to one Rājaśekhara in Jahlāṇa's anthology (p. 45), as the author of a work called *Mahāmoda*. An *Alaṅkāra-tilaka* in five chapters and a *Śrīgāra-dīpikā* are also attributed to our Bhānudatta.

The *Śrīgāra-dīpikā* is not available, but the *Alaṅkāra-tilaka* has been published³. It is written in mixed prose and verse and cover the usual topics of Sanskrit Poetics. The first Pariccheda speaks of Kāvya, of which Rasa is declared

1 In Madras ed. of 1872, as well as in the MSS noticed by Aufrecht (*Bod. Cat.* 213b) and Bhandarkar (*Rep.* 1883-84 p. 12), the reading *vidarbhabhūḥ* is a mislection; for the author represents the river Ganges as flowing through his country, which is true of Videha and not of Vidarbha. Cf. Weber ii no. 1726. The title *miśra*, often appended to Bhānudatta's name, would indicate that he was a Maithili Brahman, and that he was probably *not* a *Vaidya*.

2 The work is in 12 Ucchvāsas in mixed prose and verse. See *IOC* vii p. 1540, where the genealogical verses are quoted in full.

3 By G. V. Devasthali in *JBRAS* (New Series), xxiii-xxv (1947-49).

to be the soul, and deals with its three varieties, Uttama, Madhyama and Adbhama. It then goes on to six Ritis and four Vṛttis (Kaiśikī etc.) The second and third Paricchedas are devoted respectively to Doṣa and Guṇa, in the treatment of which the work closely follows Bhoja. The fourth and fifth Paricchedas deal with Alambikāras of Śabda and Artha respectively, enumerated as 77. A work of the author's called *Citra-candrikā* is cited.

The *Rasa mañjari* is a much smaller work which deals generally, with illustrations, the topics of Nāyaka-Nāyikā, their adjuncts and excellences, the two varieties of Śādgāra, and two stages of Vipralambha-Śādgāra. The *Rasa tarāṅgiṇī*, divided into eight Tarāṅgas, deals more elaborately with Rasas, with a detailed treatment of Śādgāra. The chapter-arrangement of topics is as follows: (i) Sthāyi-bhāva (ii) Vibhāva (iii) Anubhāva (iv) Sāttvika-bhāva (v) Vyabhicāri-bhāva (vi) Śādgāra Rasa (vii) Other Rasas (viii) Three kinds of Drṣṭi in relation to Sthāyi-bhāva, etc.

The commentaries on the two works of Bhāoudatta, as detailed below, are numerous. Of these, the *Naukā* on *Rasa-tarāṅgiṇī* by Gaṅgārūma Jāḍi, and the *Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudi* and **Prakāśa* on *Rasa-mañjari* by Ananta-paṇḍita and Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa respectively have been published.

Bhāudatta also appears to have compiled an anthology called *Rasa-pārijāta* (printed by Matilal Baoarsidas, Lahore 1939).

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Rasa-mañjari

Editions. (1) In *Kāvya-saṅgraha* of Jivānanda Vidyasagar, 2nd. ed. Calcutta 1886. (2) ed. Rama Sastri Tailanga, with *Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudi* of Ananta Paṇḍita and **Prakāśa* of Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa, Benares Skt. Series. 1904. (3) ed. Venkatarama Sastri in Telugu characters, Madras 1909. (4) In *Grantharatna-mālā* vol. 1. Our references are to the Benares ed.

Commentaries. (1) *Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudi* by Ananta Paṇḍita, son of Tryambaka Paṇḍita (Timaji) and grandson of

Bālo Pañdita, and great-grandson of Nilakantha Pañdita. His native place was Puṇyastambha (Puntambem in Ahmednagar) on the Godāvarī. The comm. was written at Benares in Saṃvat 1692=1636 A. D. at the request of Candrabhānu, son of Vīrasenadeva and grandson of Madhukara. The date of composition is specified in the concluding verse which is given in the India Office MS (Eggeling, *IOC* iii, p. 356), but omitted in the printed text. Ed. as above. Ananta also wrote a *Mudrārākṣasa-pūrvapīṭhikā* (Mitra 1654), and a commentary on *Govardhanā-saptaśatī* in 1645 A.D. (ed. N.S.P. Bombay, 1886).

(2) °*Prakāśa* by Nāgojī or Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa, for whom see under Jagannātha. Ed. as above. *IOC*, iii, no. 1222/2602; *BORI Cat.* xii, nos. 223-25, p. 258f.

(3) °*Parimala* by Śeṣa Cintāmaṇi, son of Śeṣa Nṛsiṃha and younger brother of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa. Extract in Mitra 3115, vol. ix p. 194, and Bhandarkar. *Rep.* 1883-84, p. 365. The MS in Mitra appears to have been copied in Saṃvat 1609 (=1552-53 A.D.); but the MS in Bhandarkar bears no date. There are six MSS of this comm. in *BORI Cat.* xii, nos. 217-222; see also *IOC* iii, nos. 1226-27, p. 357. Cintāmaṇi also wrote several other works including one on Prosody called *Chandaḥ-prakāśa* (Aufrecht 189a).

(4) °*Vikāsa* (or °*Vilāsa*) by Gopāla Ācārya, alias Vopadeva of Kauṇḍinya-gotra, son of Nṛsiṃha and grandson of Gopāla of Jabala-grāma in the Mahārāṣṭra country, and pupil of Meṅganātha. He calls his author Bhānukara. The comm. is dated in Saṃvat 1484=1428 A. D. See *Jāṇīmū* *Cat.* no. 1221 (extract). Sridhara Bhandarkar however, points out (*Rep. of Second Tour* 1904-06, p. 36) that the date is 1494 and not 1484 as given by Stein (extr. p. 273), but he thinks that it is Śaka era, in which case the date of the commentary will be 1572 A. D. See P. K. Gode in *ABORI*, xvi (1934-35) pp. 145-47.

(5) *Rasika-rañjanī* by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, son of Harivamśa

Bhaṭṭa Drāviḍa and grandson of Nṛsiṁha Bhaṭṭa. He also wrote a comm. on Rudra's *Sṛṅg. til.* There is also a commentator of the same name on Mammāṭa. They may all be identical. See above pp. 95, 161. MSS: Aufrecht i. 495b, ii. 116a, iii. 106a; *BORI MSS Cat.* xiii. nos. 226-30 (extracts). The commentary by Harivamśa Bhaṭṭa in *Oudh Cat.* xi. 10 is probably a mistake for this comm. of his son. For Gopāla's other works see Aufrecht i. 161.

(6) *Samañjasā* or *Vyaṅgyārtha-kaumudī* by Viśeśvara, son of Lakṣmīdbara, for whom see the chapter on Minor Writers below. MSS: Aufrecht i. 495b, ii. 116a, iii. 106a.

(7) *Āmoda* by Raṅgaśāyin alias Gurujālaśāyin or Gurujāla Raṅgaśāyin, who is said to have studied under Mahādeśika of Vādbūla-gotra and under his own paternal uncle Anantācārya. He is described as son of Dharmācārya of Cīlukamari family. He was a Śrīvaiṣṇava. V. Raghavan points out that Gurujāla is a village in Palnad Taluq in Guntur district; the author's real name was thus Raṅgaśāyin. Cīlukamari is in the East Godavari district; this epithet attached to the names of his father and grandfather shows that this must have been their original home. Raṅgaśāyin frequently criticises *Parimala* which, as noted above, cannot be later than 1553 A. D. He quotes also *Kuvalayānanda* of Appayya, as well as *Praudha-manoramā* of Bhaṭṭoī Dīkṣita, whose literary activity belongs to the last quarter of the 16th century. Raṅgaśāyin, therefore, may be assigned to the 1st half of the 17th century A.D. Besides the *Āmoda* commentary he wrote a *Sṛṅgāra-laharī* which he himself quotes. *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12941-42, (extracts).

(8) *Vyaṅgyārtha-dīpikā* by Ānanda Ṣarman, son of Tryambaka. Aufrecht i. 495a, ii. 116a.

(9) *Bhānu-bhāva-prakāśinī* by Mahādeva. *Tanjore Cat.* ix, no. 5284, p. 4070.

(10) *Rasikāraṇījana* by Vrajarāja Dīkṣita, son of Kāmarāja and father of Jīvarāja. *North Western Pov. Cat.*

1877-86, ii. 120. See below under Jīvarāja's comm. on *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*. Burnell wrongly enters *Rasika-rañjana* as a commentary by "the author of the text." It appears from *Madras Cat.* xx, Kāvya, p. 8008 that Vrajarāja wrote an independent poem, entitled *Rasika-rañjana*, in three Stabakas, describing feminine attractions and charms. Are the two works identical?

(11) *Rasamañjarī-sthūla-tātparyārtha*. *IOC* iii, 1230, 543, p. 358.

Rasa-taraṅgiṇī

Editions. (1) with *Naukā* of Gaṅgārāma Jādi, in Puthi form, Kashi Samskrita Press, Benares 1886 (2) in *Gramharatna-mālā* vol. i. 1887-88 (3) ed. Regnaud in his *Rhétorique Sanskrite*, Paris 1884 (text in Roman transliteration).

Commentaries. (1) °*Naukā* by Gaṅgārāma Jādi or Jādin.

Madras Cat. xxii 12930 (extract)-31. This commentary is dated in Samvat 1799=1742-43 A.D. (P. K. Gode in *ABORI*, xiii, p. 186). Gaṅgārāma is also the author of an independent work called *Rasa-mīmāṇsa* (ed. with the author's Chāyā, Kashi Samskrita Press, Benares 1885), in which he refers to his *Naukā*. He was son of Nārāyaṇa and pupil of Nīlakanṭha, and also wrote two works on logic, one of which is *Tarkāmrīta-caṣaka*; in it he gives the names of his father and preceptor (see Aufreeht i. 140). This is a comm. on the *Tarkāmrīta* of Jagadiśa. On Gaṅgārāma Jādi see G. V. Devasthali in *Journal of Univ. Bombay*, xi, pt. 2, 1942, pp. 84-88.

(2) *Rasika-rañjani* by Veṇīdatta Tarkavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya, son of Vīreśvara and grandson of Lakṣmaṇa. From a corrupt verse giving the date Eggeling (*IOC*, no. 1216) surmises that the commentary was dated in 1553 A. D.; but G. V. Devasthali (*IA* v, 1942, p. 195f) shows that this early date cannot be accepted. In his opinion the work belongs to the beginning of the 18th century, about 1708 A. D. The author belonged to the Ahīehatradhara Kula,

and his genealogy is thus given: Mahīdhara (a Māntrika of Kāśipati and author of *mantra-mahodadhi*)→Kalyāṇa→Lakṣmaṇa→Vīreśvara→Veṇidatta. Veṇidatta also wrote an independent work on Poetics called *Alaṅkāra-candrodaya*. See under Minor Writers below. MSS: Aufrecht i. 494b, ii. 115b, 220a, iii. 106a; IOC iii, no 1216/1703a p. 354 (extract); *Madras Cat.* xxii, no. 12932.

(3) **Setu* or **Setu-bandha* by Jīvarāja, son of Vrajarāja Dikṣita (see bibliography above under *Rasa-mafijuri*). MSS: Aufrecht i. 494b, ii. 220a, iii. 106a. The *Rasa-setu* in Aufrecht i. 494b is probably the same commentary. He was the great-grandson of Sāmarāja Dikṣita (q. v. under Minor Writers), who lived in the latter part of the 17th century. He speaks of Gāṅgārāma's comm. *Naukā* with contempt (introd. verse 9). Extract in *Ulwar Cat.* no. 226.

(4) *Rasodadhi* by Gāneśa. MS dated 1698 A. D. Buhler, *Cat. Gujarat, Kathiawad etc.* 3. 54.

(5) *Rasodadhi* by Mahādeva. Kielhorn, *Central Prov. Cat.* 104.

(6) *Sāhitya-sudhā* or *Kāvya-sudhā* by Nemiśāha, son of Bhīmaśāha, described as *mahārājādhīrāja*. Aufrecht i. 494b, iii. 106a. See *Cat. BORI* M S xii, pp. 234-35. P. K. Gode (*Cal. Orient. Journal.* i, pp. 217-20) would identify the author with Nemi Shab II of Jawhar line of chiefs in Bombay Presidency—about 1650 A D.

(7) *Nūtana-tarī* by Bhagavadbhāṭṭa Aufrecht i. 494b.

(8) Comm. by Ayodhyāprasāda. Aufrecht i. 494b. The author also commented on the *Yūta-ratnākara*.

(9) Comm. by Dinakara. Aufrecht ii. 115b. Possibly this is the comm. ascribed to Nemiśāha, mentioned above, who was Dinakara's patron, as the nominal author.

Alaṅkāra-tilaka

Ed. G. V. Devasthali in *JBRAS*, New Series, xxiii pp. 57-82. xxiv-xxv pp. 92-120 (1947-49). The name of the author is given as Bhānakara in Burnell 54a and Bhau Daji Catalogue. The work is in five paricchedas (Peterson vi. App. p. 29).

Śringāra-dīpikā

Aufrecht i. 661a (= *Oudh Cat.* iii. 12).

(4)

Following upon these, we have innumerable works of a similar nature which take Rasa, especially Śringāra, as its principal theme, and which were composed apparently with the purpose of guiding the poet with rules and illustrations in the composition of erotic pieces so popular and profuse in Sanskrit literature. The most important of these works and their authors will be mentioned in the chapter on Minor Writers below.

Some Vaiṣṇava authors, like Rūpa Gosvāmin, however, attempt to bring Vaiṣṇava ideas to bear upon the general theme of poetic or dramatic Rasa. We shall, for convenience of treatment, take them in a group here.

RŪPA AND JĪVA GOSVĀMIN

Rūpa Gosvāmin, son of Kumāra and grandson of Mukunda, is the author of numerous Vaiṣṇava works, including the *Bhakti-rasāmrta-sindhu* and *Ujjvala-nīlamai*, which give an analysis and exposition of Bhakti-rasa on the analogy of the orthodox Rasa, especially the Śringāra or Erotic. He is well known as a contemporary of Caitanya, the Vaiṣṇava reformer of Bengal, and must have, therefore, flourished towards the end of the 15th and the first half of the 16th century. This date is confirmed by the dates which some of his works bear. His *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* and *Vidagdha-mādhava* were composed respectively in 1495 and 1533 A.D.¹; while his *Lalita-mādhava*, *Bhakti-rasāmrta* and *Utkalikā-vallarī* are dated respectively in 1537, 1541 and 1550 A.D. The most flourishing period of Rūpa's literary activity thus falls between 1533 and 1550 A.D., but it must have begun as early as 1495 A.D.

1 For information about these authors see S. K. De, *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, Calcutta 1942.

The commentary *Lacana-racanī an Ujjvala-nilamaṇī* was composed by his nephew Jīva Gosvāmin, son of his younger brother Vallabha (alias Anupama).¹ His *Mādhava-mahotsava* was composed in 1555 A.D. and his *Gapāla-campū* bears the dates 1589 and 1592 A.D.

Rūpa Gosvāmin also appears to have written a treatise on Dramaturgy called *Nāṭaka-candrikā*, which is quoted in the commentary on the *Vidagdha-mādhava* and in the *Vaiṣṇavatoṣṇī* on the *Bhāgavata*. At the commencement of this work, Rūpa Gosvāmin states that in composing it he consulted the *Bharata-śāstra* and *Rata-sudhākara* (*Rasorṇava-sudhākara* of Śiṅga-bhūpāla), and rejected generally (i. 2) the treatment of the *Śāhitya-darpaṇa* as being opposed to Bharata's views. The topics dealt with in eight sections are: (1) general characteristics of a drama, (2) the hero (nāyaka), (3) the divisions of a Rūpaka (nāndi etc), (4) elements in the action (sāṃḍhi, patākā etc) and their classification, (5) arthopakṣepaka and its divisions (viś-kambhaka etc), (6) division of acts and scenes, (7) distribution of dialects (bhāṣā-vidhāna), (8) styles of dramatic composition (vṛtti) and their employment according to the Rasa intended. The work is not a small one, and the illustrations taken mostly from Vaiṣṇava works are fairly minute and numerous. In his *Ujjvala-nilamaṇī* Rūpa gives illustrative verses from most of his own poetical and dramatic productions, such as *Uddhava-dūta*, *Vidagdha-mādhava*, *Dānakeli-kaumudi* and other works². A *Rasāmṛta-śeṣa* is also attributed to Rūpa.

1 On the question of date see S. K. De, *Padyāśālā* (ed. Dacca Univ. 1934) pp. li-lvi. A list of Rūpa's works will be found on pp. xlvi-l.

2 For a list of his works see also S. K. De, *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement* pp. 113-118; also analysis of *Bhakti-rasāmṛta* and *Ujjvala-nilamaṇī* at pp. 126-167. This work may also be consulted for the novel application of the orthodox Rasa-theory to the doctrine of Bhakti and for an exposition of the erotic mysticism in these Vaiṣṇava works, which expresses religious longings in the language and imagery of earthly passion. The question is, therefore, not discussed here.

VIŚVANĀTHA CAKRAVARTIN

Viśvanātha Cakravartin, who wrote the commentary, called *Ānanda-candrikā* or *Ujjvala-nīlamāṇī-kirāṇa*, lived at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century; for he composed a commentary called *Sārārtha-darśinī* on the *Bhāgavata* in Śaka 1626=1704 A.D., while his *Ānanda-candrikā* is also dated in Śaka 1618=1696 A.D. He also wrote, besides several Vaiṣṇava works, a commentary on the *Ālāñkāra-kaustubha* of Kavikarṇapūra, mentioned below. He mentions a work called *Rasa-taraṇgiṇī* by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa in his commentary on *Ujjvala-nīlamāṇi* (ed. NSP, p. 25).

KAVIKARĀKPŪRA

Paramānanda-dūsa Sena Kavikarṇapūra described as the youngest son of Śivānanda Sena and pupil of Śrīnātha, wrote a work called *Ālāñkāra-kaustubha*. The author was a well-known Vaiṣṇava of Bengal belonging to the Vaidya family, and wrote several Sanskrit Vaiṣṇava works, including a metrical life of Caitanya (*Caitanya-caritāmṛta* ed. Radharaman Press, Murshidabad 1884) and a drama on the same theme (*Caitanya-candrodaya*, ed. Bibl. Ind. 1854). His drama *Caitanya-candrodaya* was composed in Śaka 1494 or 1501=1572 or 1579 A.D.¹, and his *Gaurāṅga-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* was composed in 1576 A.D.² His father Śivānanda was an elder disciple of Caitanyadeva, who used to organise and lead the annual

1 The date is given in the verse: *sāke caturdaśa-śate ravi-vāji-yukte/ gauro harir dharāṇi-maṇḍala āvirāśit/ tasmin catur-navatī-bhāji rādiya-līlā-/ grantho'yaṁ āvirabhiavat katamasya rāktrūt*, which tells us that Gaurahari or Caitanya was born in Śaka 1407, and that the drama, which deals with him, was written in Śaka 1494 or 1501=1572 or 1579 A.D. See discussion about the date in *Vaiṣṇava Faith* mentioned above. Aufrecht is incorrect in stating that it was composed in 1543 A.D. (But see Sten Konow *Ind. Drama* p. 93, section 104). For the author and his works see S. K. De, *Padyārālī* (ed. Dacca Univ. 1934), pp. 188-90 and *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement* pp. 32-34.

2 *HPS* ii p. 50, as well as *AL* 721, reads *sāke vasu-graha-mite* which gives 1576 or 1577 A.D. but *IOC* no. 2510 reads *sāke rasārasa-mite* which would give 1540 A.D.

exodus of Caitanya's followers to Puri from Bengal. Mitra in the introduction to his edition of the drama (p. vi) says that Kavikarṇapūra was born in 1524 A.D. at Kāñcana-pallī (Kāñcī-dāpāḍā) in Nadiya a few years before Caitanya's death. The *Alamkāra-kaustubha* is composed in ten *kīrṇas*, as follow: 1 Kāvya-lakṣaṇa, 2 Śabdārtha, 3 Dbvani, 4 Guṇībhūta-vyañgya, 5 Rasa-bhāva-tadbheda, 6 Guṇa, 7 Śabdālambkāra, 8 Artibālāmkāra, 9 Rūti, 10 Doṣa¹. It is thus a more comprehensive work than Rūpa Gosvāmin's and the Vaiṣṇavite proclivities are not so prominent; but most of the illustrative verses are in praise of Kṛṣṇa and the subject-matter follows the Kāvya-prakāśa in treatment. The commentaries on this work are noticed below.

KAVICANDRA

Kavicandra describes himself² as a physician and as son of Kavikarṇapūra and Kauśalyā, grandson of Vidyāvīśārada, and father of Kavībhūṣaṇa and Kavivallabha belonging to the Datta family of Dīrghāṅka-grāma. He wrote a *Cikitsā-ratnāvali*³ in Śaka 1583 (=1661 A.D.) where the same personal history is given. The date precludes his identification with the poet of the same name quoted in the anthology called *Padyāvali*⁴. He wrote, among other works, a *Kāvya-candrikā* in 15 *prakāśas* dealing with (1) kāvya-lakṣaṇa, (2) śabda-śakti, (3) rasa, (4) bhāva, (5) rasa-bbeda, (6) rasābhāsa, (7) kāvya-bheda, (8) pramāṇa-

1 For a detailed résumé of its contents see Mitra 1662.

2 *IOC*, iii, pp. 344-45; *ABod* pp. 211-12.

3 *IOC*, v, pp. 958-59. Aufrecht (ii. 166) mentions the date with a query, but the date appears to be correct.

4 See ed. S. K. De, Dacca Univ. 1934, nos. 162, 166, 188, 189, 190-191. See also *IOC* vii, p. 1534, at p. 1535. The verses quoted from Kavicandra's work in *ABod* 212a gives the same account of the author, and the colophon says: *iti dīrghāṅka-grāma-nīśā-dattokulodbhava-vaidya-srī-kavicandra-viracitdīpī* etc. It is, therefore, not possible that Paramānanda Sena Kavikarṇapūra, author of the *Caitanya-candrodaya*, is identical with Kavikarṇapūra, father of Kavicandra.

nirūpaṇa, (9) rīti, (10) guṇa, (11) śabdālamkāra, (12) arthā-
lamkāra, (13) doṣa, (14) kavītopāya, and (15) nātya¹. He
quotes, besides older authors, the *Kavi-kalpalatā*, *Sāhitya-
darpaṇa*, *Rāmacandra-campū*, *Ratnāvalī-kāvya*, *Śānti-candrikā*,
Stavāvalī and an author called Puruṣottama, as well as two
of his own works called *Sāra-laharī* and *Dhātu-candrikā*. His
date would be latter half of the 17th century.

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Commentaries. (1) *Locana-rocanī* by Jīva Gosvāmin, the name often confused with that of Sanātana Gosvāmin in the Catalogues. Published with the text, as noted above. (2) *Ānanda-candrikā* (also *°Kirāṇa* which is a summary) by Viśvanātha Cakravartin. Aufrecht i. 62a. Published in NSP ed. of the text, as noted above. The comm. *°Kirāṇa-leśa* in Mitra 580 (also in *SCC* vii. 5; *Kathvate Rep.* 1891-95, 318) is probably this commentary. (3) *Āgama-candrikā* and *Ātma-prabodhikā*. Aufrecht i. 62a. (4) An anonymous *°Tīkā* in *SCC* vii. 3.

Nāṭaka-candrikā

Edition. Rasavihari Samkhyatirtha, with a Bengali trans. (in Bengali characters), Kashimbazar 1907. MSS: Aufrecht i. 284b, ii. 61b, 207b. Extract in *Ulwar Cat.* 1061 and Mitra 3160; *Madras Cat.* xxii. 12900.

Rasāmrta-śeṣa

Aufrecht ii. 220b. Also called *Bhakti-rasāmrta-śeṣa*. Ed.

1 Aufrecht's Bodleian MS contains eight *prakāśas* named after the first eight topics given here; but our enumeration follows the India Office MS. Cf. Regnaud p. 377.

Haridas Das, *Haribolc Kutir*, Navadvipa 1941 in Bengali characters.

Alaṅkāra-kaustubha

Editions. With the commentary of Viśvanātha Cakravartī, Murshidabad 1899, in Bengali characters. Also ed. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, with an anonymous comm. and a gloss, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, vol. i (ch. i-v), 1923 in Devanāgarī characters.

Commentaries. (1) *Sāra-bodhīnī* by Viśvanātha Cakravartī. Aufreibt iii. 7b. Published with the text, as noted above. (2) *Tippaṇī* by Sārvabhauma, pupil of Cakravartī. Dacca Univ. MS nos. 2363, 2394, 3471. (3) **Dīdhītī prakāśikā* by Vṛndāvānacandra Tarkālaṅkāra Cakravartī, son of Rādhācaraṇa Kavindra Cakravartī. *IOC* iii, 1195/240, p. 344. (4) **Tīkā* by Lokanātha Cakravartī. Aufrecht 1. 31b. This is printed anonymously in the Varendra Research Soc. ed. mentioned above as an 'old commentary'.

Kāvya-candrikā

MSS: Aufrecht i. 101a; *KBod* 499. The Bodleian MS appears to contain 16 Prakāśas.

WRITERS ON KAVI-SIKSHĀ

ARISIMHA, AMARACANDRA AND DEVESVARA

(1)

The Śvetāmbara Jainas, Arisimha and Amaracandra, are notable in Sanskrit Poetics for a work on the composition of verses called the *Kavītā-rahasya* or *Kāvya-kalpalatā* and its commentary entitled *Kavīśikṣā-vṛtti*. This work was composed in part by Arisimha and completed by Amaracandra.

I kīmīcī ca tad-racitam dīmalgtam ca kīmītī vyākhyāsyate svarita-kāvya-kṛte'tra sūtram, says the *Vṛtti*.

who also wrote the commentary¹. Arisiṁha, described as son of Lāvaṇyasiṁha or Lavaṇasiṁha, wrote also a poem called *Sukṛta-saṅkīrtana* (ed. Bhavnagar 1917) in honour of his patron Vastupāla (d. 1242 A.D.), the Jaina minister of the Dholkā Rāṇā Viradhavala ; and he also lived in the time of Viradhavala's son Viśaladeva² (1243-66 A.D.). Amaraeandra appears to be a more prolific writer, being also the author of the *Jinendra-carita* (otherwise called *Padmānanda-kāvya*)³, the *Bāla-bhārata*⁴ and a grammatical work called *Syādiśabda-samuccaya* (Aufreeht i. 180).⁵ Rājaśekhara Sūri, the Jaina author of the *Prabandha-kośa* (p. 61, ed. Singhi Jaina Granthamālā), also attributes a *Sūktāvali* and a *Kalā-kalāpa*. In the *Vṛtti* to the *Kāvya-kalpalatā* itself, three other works by Amaraacandra are cited, viz. the *Chandoratnāvalī*, a work on Prosody (p. 6), *Kāvya-kalpalatā-parimala*⁶ (pp. 19, 63), probably an epitome or continuation of the work of that name, and an independent work on Poetics called *Alaṅkāra-prabodha* (p. 117).

Amaraacandra was a pupil of Jinadatta Sūri⁷ of the Vāyaḍa-gaeeha, who is identified with the author of the *Viveka-vilāsa* and who lived about the first half of the 13th century⁸. Amaraeandra appears to have been a pupil or a

1 The colophon calls the *Vṛtti* *kavi-śikṣā-vṛtti*. Bühler thinks, from i. 1 and 2, that the original Kārikā-verses of Arisiṁha were called *Kavītā-rahasya*, while Amaraeandra's *Vṛtti* was entitled *Kāvya-kalpalatā*.

2 See the question discussed in detail in Bühler, *Das Sukṛtasamkīrtana des Arisiṁha*, Wien 1889, pp. 5f, 38 ; also IA, vi 210-12. Amaraeandra is said to have added a postscript or *Sargānta*-*śloka* to the *Sukṛta-saṅkīrtana*. It is a Kāvya in 11 cantos (ed. Jaina Ātmananda Sabhā, Bhavnagar 1917). See IA, xxxi, pp. 477-95.

3 Ed. H. R. Kapadia, GOS, Baroda 1932.

4 Ed. in *Kāvyamālā* 45, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1894 ; also ed. in the *Pandit* iv-vi, (1869-72).

5 Ed. Chandraprabha Press, Benares 1915.

6 Cf. IOC 848, which has a reference to *Kāvya-kalpalatā-mañjari*.

7 See the concluding verse of the *Bāla-bhārata* and the colophon to the *Kāvya-kalpalatā*.

8 See Peterson i, p. 58-59 ; but Peterson's conjecture about Jinadatta

fellow-student of Arisimha¹ and lived, according to the account given in Jaina Rājaśekhara's work², in time of Viradhabala and his minister Vastupāla, as well as in that of Visaladeva, before the latter's accession to the throne of Añhilvād, i.e. about the second quarter or the middle of the 13th century.

The Kāvya *kalpalatā* consists of four Pratūnas, namely, I. Chanda-siddhi, II. Śabda-siddhi, III. Śleṣa-siddhi, and IV. Artha-siddhi. For a full account see Aufrecht, *Bodleian Cat.* no. 497 and *IOC* iii, no 1183/848, pp. 340-41.

(2)

The date of Deveśvara, author of the *Kavi-kalpalatā*, can be approximately settled from the internal evidence supplied by the work itself; for it closely follows, in its treatment of the subject and general arrangement, Arisimha and Amara-candra's work; and it is not difficult to show that he also copies wholesale from the text of his predecessors. He borrows literally most of the rules and definitions, and even repeats the illustrative stanzas. Thus, Deveśvara pp. 157-60 (*venyādh sarpasi*) and pp. 36-7 (*ratnādi yatra*)=Arisimha pp. 135-37 and pp. 30-1; the definition of *adbhuta-vidhi* in Arisimha p. 93=Deveśvara p. 130. This copying is not sporadic but systematic, and is found practically throughout the work, so that it is highly probable that Deveśvara had the text of the Kāvya-*kalpalatā* before him, when he composed

is not right; see also Merulunga's *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, p. 258; Peterson iv, pp. viii, xxxvi and App. 115; Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, pp. 6, 156; Bühler *op. cit.* pp. 25, 48. Jinadatta Sūri's *Viveka-vilāsa* is dated 1220 A.D.

1 Rājaśekhara Sūri says that Amara was a pupil of Arisimha. Cf. Sridhar Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1904-6, pp. 23-24; Bühler *op. cit.* pp. 5-6.: *contra* Bhandarkar.—One of the sketches of Rājaśekhara's *Prabandha-kāśa* deals with Amaracandra.

2 His work is dated in 1348 A.D. See introd. to Amara's *Bōla-bhārata*, ed. Kāvyamālā. Rājaśekhara Sūri was a pupil of Tilaka Sūri of Koṭika Gaṇa (Peterson iv, p. cv).

his own work on the same subject. This gives us one terminus to his date at the middle of the 13th century.

The other terminus is given by the fact that a verse of Deveśvara's (*nāga-viśeṣe* *śeṣe* p. 155) is quoted under his name in the *Paddhati* of Śāriṅgadhara (545, *deveśvarasya*). As this anthology was compiled about 1363 A.D., we get the middle of the 14th century as the other terminus. Allowing half a century to elapse between Deveśvara and Arisimha, on the one hand, and a similar period of time between Deveśvara and the compiler of the *Paddhati*, on the other, we may roughly fix the beginning of the 14th century as his approximate date.

Deveśvara describes himself as son of Vāgbhaṭa, who was a *mahāmāṭya* to some prince of Mālava (?); and in one of the *saṃasyā-ślokas*, there is a panegyric of Hammīra mahīmahendra, who is apparently the Cauhan prince of that name who reigned about 1283-1301 A.D.¹

(3)

Two other Kavi-śikṣā works by Jaina authors are known, namely, by Āeārya Vinayacandra (about 1250 A.D.) and by Jaymaṅgala who wrote in the times of Jayasimha Siddharājī (1094-1143 A.D.). A large part of Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya mīmāṃsā* is concerned with similar topics. There is another work on *Kavi-śikṣa* by Gaṅgādāsa, the well-known author of *Chandomañjarī*. It appears to be an elementary treatise on miscellaneous topics, such as *Chandah-kathana*, *Sāmānyā-*

1 See S. K. De in *JRAS* 1922, pp. 577f on the date of Deveśvara. In the footnote there, omit the words "from the author's own comment on the word." Deveśvara also refers to another work of his, called *Candra-kalāpa* (*maikṛta-caudrakalāpe'mala-matibhiḥ tad budhai jñeyam*, *ŚgŚ* ii, p. 225; also in *Bibl. Ind. ed.*). The variant in the Calcutta edition (1900) reads (p. 42) instead *maikṛta-kavikalpalatī parimalatas*°, while an alternative reading noticed in the *Bibl. Ind. ed.* (p. 52) is *matkṛta-kavi-kalpalatāyāmī amala-matibhiḥ*.

śabda, Rasa, Guna, Śabdālambkāra, Kāvya-dosa and Samasyā-pūraṇa (see *IHQ* xxiv, p. 315-16). The *Kavi-sikṣā* of Jayamangala and *Kavi-kalpalatā* of Rāgbava-caitanya will be noticed below in the chapter on Minor Writers.

All these manuals are directed to the practical object of *Kavi-sikṣā* or instruction of poets in the composition of their works. They have little direct relation to Poetics proper.

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Commentary. **Makaranda* by Śubhavijaya Gaṇi, pupil of Hitavijaya Sūri of Tapā-gaccha who lived in the reign of 'Akabbar Śāhī'. Auffrecht i. 101a, iii. 22b; *KBod* 497. Our author lived in the reign of Salem or Jahangir (*śrīmat-salem-śāhī-rājye*) and wrote the commentary in Saṃvat 1665=1608-9 A.D. at the request of Vijayadeva Sūri (Peterson vi, p. 25f).

Kavi-kalpalatā

Editions. (1) with Comm. by Vecūrāma Sārvabhauma, in the *Hindu Commentator*, vols. 1-3. Benares 1867-70. (2) with Comm. by Ramgopal Kaviratna 1900 (our references are to this edition). (3) together with his own comm. by Saracandra Sastri, Bibl. Indica, Calcutta 1913. (4) in *Pratna-krama-nandī*, Benares nos. 1-31. The work is divided into four Stabakas.

Commentaries. (1) *Bāla-bodhikā* by Sūrya Kavi, also known as Sūrya-dāsa or Sūrya Sūri. His genealogy is given thus: Rāma of Pārthapura (under Rāma, king of Devagiri)→ Viṣṇu→ Nilkanṭha→ Nāganātha→ Nṛsiṃha→ Nāganātha→ Jāñānarāja (author of *Siddhānta-sundara*)→ Sūrya (Weber i, p. 231). He was a versatile author (for his works see

Aufrecht i. 731b, ii. 175b). His *Lilāvatī-tīkā* was composed in 1542, while *Sūrya-prakāśa* on Bhāskara's *Bijaganita* is dated in 1539 A.D. He also wrote an artificial poem called *Rāma-kṛṣṇa-viloma-kāvya* (ed. in Haeberlin's *Kāvya-saṃgraha*, and *Kāvyamālā* Gucehaka xi, p. 147f), which praises in alternate verses Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, and gives the same text to be read forward or backward respectively. He also wrote a *Nṛsiṃha-campū* in five Uechvāsas (IOC vii, p. 1548; see also *ibid*, p. 1478). He belonged to the Bharadvāja-gotra and lived in Pārthapura near the confluence of the Godāvarī and Vidarbha. Aufrecht i. 87a; iii. 19a.

(2) Comm. by Vecārāma. Probably the same work as printed in the Benares ed. Aufrecht ii. 16b; the name is given as Vecārāma Sārvabhauma in Jammu MS no. 3482 (*Jammu Cat.* p. 59). See under Minor Writers below.

(3) anonymous *°Tīkā* in *SCC* vii. 8.

(4) *Padārtha-dyotanikā* by Mahādeva, son of Paṭṭavardhana Mudgala. H. P. Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS*, vi, MSS no. 4,99/10004, 4800/8999, pp. 393-94.

CHAPTER X

MINOR WRITERS ON ALAMKĀRA

(1)

We propose in this chapter to deal with the minor writers on *Alamkāra*, other than the commentators as well as less known authors already mentioned in the preceding chapters, arranging them alphabetically, and giving the names of their works and such details as can be collected about them¹.

1. AKABARA ŚĀHA. *alias* Baḍe Śāheb

Śṛṅgāra-mañjari

(Ed. V. Raghavan, Hyderabad Arch. Dept. 1951)

The author is described as son of Shaba Raja, and Guru of Sultan Abul Hasan Qutb Shah of Golconda (1672-87 A.D.), who was captured by Aurangzeb in 1687 and who died in 1704 A.D. Akbar was born about 1646 and died between 1672 and 1675 A.D. The Sanskrit work mentioned is said to be a translation of a Telugu original by Akbar Shah himself. Possibly at the instance of Akbar some Telugu scholar wrote the original *Śṛṅgāra-mañjari* in Telugu, and a Sanskrit scholar translated it (V. Raghavan, introd. p. 7). The work is based on Bbānudatta's *Rasa-mañjari*, and is concerned mainly with the theme of Nāyaka-Nāyikā, topically dealing with Śṛṅgāra-rasa. Total number of verses 312.

2. ACYUTA ŚARMAN or ACYUTARĀYA MODAKA

Sāhitya-sāra and its commentary *Sarasāmoda*

(Ed. in litho MS form, Bombay 1860; ed. W. L. Pansbikar, NSP, Bombay 1906)

The work is dated in Śaka 1753=1831 A.D. The author describes himself as pupil of Śaṣṭi Nārāyaṇa. He was son of

1. Doubtful names to be found in some catalogues, as well as those about which there is no reliable information, have been omitted in this list; and care has been taken to avoid useless or trifling entries.

SANSKRIT POETICS

rāyaṇa and Annapūrṇā and lived at Pañeavatī near Nasik. He appears to be identical with Aeyutarāya who wrote the *vyaya-prakāśa* commentary on Jagannātha's *Bhāminī-vilāsa*; in it he refers to the *Sāhitya-sāra* as his own (ed. N. S. P. 94, p. 1), citing the verses i. 14-15 from the latter. In his *Sāhitya-sāra*, again, he refers to the *Bhāminī-vilāsa* at p. 7.

The work consists of twelve chapters called *Ratna*s, the metaphor being that these precious doctrines are churned by the author from the ocean of *Alaṁkara-śāstra*. The chapters are accordingly named : 1. Dhanyantari-ratna (the general characteristics of *kāvya*), 2. Airāvata-ratna (function of *śabda* and *artha*), 3. Indirā-ratna (the *vyaṅgya* and its occasions), 4. Dakṣināvarta-kambu-ratna (divisions of *dhvani*, including *rasa-dhvani*), 5. Aśvavara-ratna (other inferior divisions of *dhvani*), 6. Viṣa-ratna (*doṣa*), 7. Guṇa-ratna (*guṇa*), 8. Kaustubha-ratna (*arthālāṇikāras*), 9. Kāmadhenu-ratna (*ubdālāṇikāras*), 10. Rambhā-ratna (*nāyikā*), 11. Candra-ratna (*śyaka*) and 12. Amṛta-ratna (conclusion). Quite a recent writer, who holds some novel views which are neither historically nor theoretically sound. He is identical with Aeyuta, author of the *Bhāgirathī-champū* (written in the 14 A.D.), who is described by Aufrecht (i. 770b) as son of Nārāyaṇa. This work is divided into seven chapters called *morathas*. For the author and his other works, some of which are dated, see *New Cat. Cat.* i, p. 59-60.

3. AJITASENĀCĀRYA or AJITASENA-DEVA YATIŚVARA

a. *Alaṁkāra-cintāmaṇi*

(Ed. by Padmaraja Pandit in the *Kāvyāmbudhi* 1893-94; see *Ind. Office Printed Bks.*, 1938, p. 72)

b. *Śrīgāra-maṇjarī*

(*SgŚ* ii, pp. 83, 231 extract; *Madras Cat.* xxii 12956-57)

The author was a Digambara Jaina priest of Cāmuṇḍa-ya, minister of the Gaṅga king Rācamalla, and flourished in

the latter part of the 10th century. He was a teacher of Nāgavarman, a Kanarese poet, who lived under the protection of Rakkasa Gaṅga, younger brother of Rācamalla. His works were written in the Śāntīśvara temple at Baṅgavādīpura. He wrote the *Alamkāra-cintāmaṇi* in five chapters. Ajitasena also wrote *Cintāmaṇi-prakāśikā* on Yakṣavarman's *Cintāmaṇi*, which is itself a commentary on Śīkaṭāyana's *Sabdānuśāsana*. See Rice p. 308. The Ajitasena who was the author of the Kālidāsa apocrypha *Śruta-bodha* on Metrics is probably a different person.

There is another Ajitasena of the Senagaṇa who wrote the *Śrīgāra-mañjarī* at the instance of a Jaina Ālūpa prince of the lunar race¹, named Rāya or Kāmirāya, son of Viṭṭhala-devi, for his instruction. It consists of three chapters and 128 stanzas, dealing with (1) *pada-doṣa* (viz. alakṣaṇa, śruti-koṣa, vjāghātārtha, anarthaka, aprasiddha, neyārtha, grāmya, and asaṃmata), which ends with a discussion of the Vṛttis, (2) the ten *guṇas* of Vāmana and (3) *arthālamkāras* (viz. upamā, rūpaka, jāti, bhrāntimat, hetu, saṃśaya, prativastupamā, dṛṣṭepa, dṛṣṭānta and tulyayogitā). On the two Ajitasenas see *New Cat. Cat.* i. p. 69 which, however, distinguishes all the known Ajitasenas.

The entry of *Alamkāra-cintāmaṇi* as a work of Śāntarāja in some MS Catalogue is a mistake, for Śāntarāja was the scribe and not the author of the work.

4. ANURATNAMANDANA or RATNAMANDANA GĀṇI

a. *Jalpa-kalpalatā*

(Weber 1722, long extract given ii, pp. 278-80)

This Jaina author was a pupil of Ratnaśekhara Sūri² of Tapā-gaccha, who died in Saṃvat 1517=1460-61 A.D.³

1 Among the Ālūpa princes matriarchy prevailed. Baṅgavādī was the capital perhaps of a branch of the Ālūpas.

2 For Ratnaśekhara, see Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1883-84, pp. 156-7; Peterson iv, p. cii f; IA xi, p. 256.

3 Ratnaśekhara Sūri composed his *Kriyā-ratna-samuccaya* (ed. Jaina Yośovijaya Granthamālā Series) in Saṃvat 1466=1410 A.D.

Anuratna, therefore, belonged roughly to the middle of the 15th century. The work, in three *stabakas*, gives practical instruction on poetical composition (*kavi-śikṣā*).

b. *Mugdha-medhākara Alāñkāra-vṛtti*

(Peterson vi, p. xv, extract given at p. 31; also *BORI Cat.* xii, p. 222-23)

A manual on poetic figures and kindred topics.

5. ANANTA

Sāhitya-kalpavallī (*Madras Trm. Cat.* no. 5483)

The author was of Tirumala family and Śaṭhamarṣaṇagotra and son of Tocamāmbā. He was a protégé of the Orissa king Gajapati Puruṣottama-deva. The work is fully called *Gajapati-Puruṣottamadeva-Sāhityakalpavallī*

6. ANANTĀRYA or ANANTĀCĀRYA (Anantālvan)

Kavi-samaya-kallola (*Madras Cat.* xxii 12808, extract)

This recent South Indian writer of the Śeṣācārya family was son of Śiṅgarācārya. His family was resident at Yādavagiri or Melkote in Mysore. The work cites from Dharmasūri, Narasiṁha's *Nañjarāja-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa*, and *Pratāparudrīya*. He flourished in the court of Kṛṣṇarāja Wodeyar III. His dates are 1822-62 A.D. He refers to a Kāvya by himself, called *Kṛṣṇarāja-yaśo-dīṇḍima*. He was a Viśiṣṭādvaitin and wrote a large number of Vādas which have been published in *Vedanta-vādavaṭī*, Bangalore 1898 etc. (See *New Cat. Cat.* i, p. 143).

7. AMRTĀNANDA YOGIN

Alāñkāra-saṇigraha

(ed. Calcutta 1887 with Engl. trans.; ed. also in the Adyar Library Series, and by the Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati. MS in *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12794, extract)

The work consists of five chapters dealing with (1) *varṇa-gaṇa*, (2) *śabdārtha*, (3) *rusa-bhāva*, (4) *nāyaka-bheda*, and (5)

alāmākāra. The author says that he wrote this work at the request of Manvasamudra, son of Bhakti-bhūmipati, who was a devotee of Siva. It appears from the introductory verse that the author also intended to deal with *guṇa*, *daśa* and *daśa-rūpaka*. He is not identical with the Tāntrika Amṛtānandanātha (pupil of Puṇyānanda) who is said to have corrected (Weber p. 361) the *Tantra-sāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda ; but in the introd. to his *Yogīrī-hṛdaya-dīpikā* (ed. Sarasvati Bhavan Text, no. 7) it is said that this Amṛtānanda could not have done so because Kṛṣṇānanda was much later in date.

8 ARUṄAGIRI KAVI

Godavarma yaśo-bhūṣaṇa

(Printed in *Journal of Travancore Univ. MS Library*, vol. i)

The work is on Arthālāmākāras only. The author is described as belonging to the Kaundinya-gotra, son of Śeṣādri and pupil of Veṅkaṭādri. He was patronised by Godavarma, king of Vadakkumkūr. Circa 1550-1650 A.D.

9. ALLARĀJA or MALLARĀJA

Rasa-ratna-pradīpikā

(Ed. R. N. Dandekar, Bharatiya Vidya Series 8, Bombay 1945 ; the work called is *Rasa-ratna-pradīpikā*)

A work called *Rasa-ratna-dīpikā* is cited by Bhānudatta in his *Rasa-tarāṅgiṇī* (=Allarāja v. 57), and by Ratnakanṭha on Mammaṭa (Peterson ii, p. 17). See above p. 242, fn 4. The work is called *Rasa-ratna-pradīpa* by Allarāja in Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1884-87, no. 533. The author was son of Hammīra, the Cauhan king of Ranathambor who conquered Koṅkaṇa and whose regnal period was 1283-1301 A.D.¹ The work is a manual of six chapters (called *Paricchedas*) which deals in prose and verse exclusively with the topic of *Rasa* and *Bhāva*.

1 The question of Allarāja's date is discussed by the editor of the text. In honour of this Hammīra Nayacandra Sūri wrote his *Hammīra-Mahākāvya* in 1486 (ed. N. J. Kirtane, Bombay 1879).

It borrows *verbatim* extensively from Bharata and the *Daśarūpaka*. There is hardly any originality either in subject-matter or treatment.

10. ĀŚĀDHARA

Kovidānanda (Aufrecht ii. 25a)

Triveṇikā (ed. Batuknath Sarma and J. S. Hoshing, *Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts*, Benares 1925).

We have already mentioned above (p. 228) Āśādhara as the author of the *Ālamkāra-dīpikā* commentary on *Kuvalayānanda*. He was son of Rāmajī and disciple of Dharaṇīdhara, and should be distinguished from the much earlier Jaina Āśādhara, son of Sallakṣaṇa and commentator on Rudraṇa (see p. 93). The *Kovidānanda*, with its commentary called *Kādambīnī*, is concerned (as the author himself states) with *Śabda-vyāpāra-nirṇaya*. His (*Śabda-*) *Triveṇikā* 'having three streams' also deals with the same theme of the three *Vṛttis*, namely, *Abhidhā*, *Lakṣaṇā* and *Vyañjanā* and refers frequently to his *Kovidānanda*. As Āśādhara comments on Appayya's work and quotes Bhaṭṭojī's *Siddhānta-kaumudi* he must be later than the first half of the 17th century. A MS of his *Ālamkāra-dīpikā* is dated in Śaka 1775 (=1850 A.D.), while a MS of his *Kovidānanda* appears to have been copied in Śaka 1783 (=1861 A.D.).¹ In all probability Āśādhara flourished in the middle and latter half of the 18th century.

11. INDRAJIT

Rasika-priyā in 16 *Pravāhas* (Peterson vi, no. 379)

A MS of this work in *BORI MS Cat.* xii, p. 293 is dated Samvat 1729 (=1672-73 A.D.). In two of the BORI MSS the author is called *Mahārāja-kumāra* in the colophon. This is not a Sanskrit but an old Hindi work. The author also wrote a *Bāla-bodha* commentary on the *Vairāgya-śataka*

1 R. G. Bhandarkar, *List of Skt. MSS*, pt. i, Bombay 1893, p. 68.

(Aufrecht iii. 13b). Bühler mentions (*ZDMG*, xlvi, p. 543) a work on Alampkāra called *Rāmacandra-candrikā* by Indrajīla (sic), the date of which is given as 1712 A.D.

12. KACCHAPESVARA DĪKṢITA

Rāmacandra-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa

(*Madras Cat.* xxii, 12950, extract)

The author was son of Vāsudeva and grandson of Kālahastiśvara who was a native of Brahmadeśa, a village in the North Arcot district. He wrote also a commentary on the *Bhāgavata*. His grandfather had two other sons, named Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa, his father being the second son. The work consists of three chapters dealing with the Rasas, viz. (1) *Śringāra*, (2) the other 8 *Rasas*, (3) *Bhāva-nirūpaṇa*. The illustrations are in praise of the valour of Bommarājā (probably of the Karvetnagar zamindary in North Arcot).

13. KANDĀLAYĀRYA

Alampkāra-śirobhūṣaṇa

(Hultzsch i no. 371, extract at p. 75 : *Madras Trm A* 168)

The author was son of Rāmānujārya of the Kauśika-gotra and grandson of Keshavārya of the Rāyalūri family. He tells us that he lived in the court of Veṅkaṭa-bhūpati, son of Soma-bhūpati (and Giryambā), who was son of Nallareddi of Muṣipallī (also called Pākanādu) family and of Miḍilla-gotra. He resided in Nadigadḍa country which lies between the Tungabhadrā and Kṛṣṇā. But see *New Cat. Cat.* i, p. 297a. It seems that he probably lived at the court of either Veṅkaṭa I or II of the third Vijayanagar dynasty¹, and was thus a contemporary of Appayya Dīkṣita. The work is in ten Ullāsas as follow: (i) *Upodghāta* (ii) *Kāvya-Jakṣaṇa* (iii) *Dhvani-prakaraṇa* (iv) *Rasa-prakaraṇa* (v) *Doṣa-praka-*

¹ Hultzsch *ibid.* p. viii. But see *New Cat. Cat.* i, p. 297a.

raṇa (vi) Guṇa-prakaraṇa (vii-ix) Kāvyaviśeṣa-prakaraṇa
(x) Nāyaka-prakaraṇa.

14. KALYĀNA-SUBRAHMANYA SŪRI

Alaṁkāra-kaṇṭubha with commentary

(*SgS* ii, pp. 80, 220 extract; *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12790)

The author was son of Subrahmanyā and grandson of Gopāla of the Perūru or Perur family. The work invokes and sings the praise throughout of Padmanābha, the god of the temple of Anantaśayana (Travancore), and of the Vañjipāla (Bāla-) Rāma Varma Kulaśekhara, king of Travancore (1758-98). It deals with Arthālaṁkāras only, gives the characteristics of those figures that are dealt with in the *Candrāloka*, and illustrates them with examples composed by the author himself in praise of his patron and his deity.¹

15. KĀŚI or KASHIKARA LAKSMANA KAVI

Alaṁkāra-granthā (Burnell 54a).

This work was probably written at the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century, as the examples are all in praise of the Tanjore prince Sāhajī (1684-1711 A.D.). It is also called *Sāharājīya*. See *Tanjore Descriptive Cat.* ix, nos. 5304-05. Also see V. Raghavan's ed. of *Sāhendra-vilāsa*, Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Series (p. 23).

16. KĀŚIŚVARA MĪŚRA

Rasa-mīmāṁsā

This work is mentioned and cited by Viśveśvara Kavīcandra (*q.v.*) in his *Camatkāra-candrikā*, ch. v: *tathā coktam*

1 On this author see K. Kunjunnī Raja, *Contribution of Kerala to Skt. Lit.* (Madras 1958), p. 175. Bāla Rāma Varman appears also to be eulogised in the illustrative verses of *Būlarāma-varma-yaśobhūṣaṇa* of Sadāśiva Dīkṣita which includes (as some Yaśobhuṣaṇa works do) a play in five Acts, called *Vasu-lakṣmī-kalyāṇa*, of which the king is the hero. See *Cat. Trivandrum Palace Lib.* vi, p. 2354.

samad-ācāryaiḥ kāśīśvara-miśraiḥ rasa-mīmāṃsādāyām. As Viśveśvara's teacher his date would be about 1300 A.D. See V. Ragbavan in *ABORI*, xv (1934-35), p. 139-40.

17. KUMĀRAGIRI

Vasanta-rājīya Nāṭya-sāstra

The author is quoted by Kāṭayavema as his patron¹. The work is cited by Kumārasvāmin as *Vasanta-rājīya* p. 178, by Mallinātha on *Śiśu* ii, 8 and by Sarvānanda on *Amara-koṣa*². These citations make it clear that this metrical work on Dramaturgy can not be later than the 14th century. This *Nāṭya-sāstra*, probably an Āndhra work, is also mentioned in a commentary on the Southern recension of the *Sakuntalā* by Kāṭayavema who is described as a minister of king Vasanta-rāja Kumāragiri. This commentary proposes to follow the exposition of Vasantarāja's *Nāṭya-sāstra* (IOC vii, p. 157-76). The author's genealogy is given in a MS of the work³, which states that Vasantarāja Kumāragiri was son of Anapota and grandson of Vema Reddi. Kāṭayavema was son of Kāṭaya-hhūpati by his wife Woddūmbā, who was the daughter of Vema Reddi. The Reddi king Kumāragiri ruled in the Telugu country in the second half of the 14th century⁴. As his work is lost, we know nothing about its scope and extent, but later citations show that it dealt chiefly with Dramaturgy and incidentally with Rasa.

18. KUMBHA or KUMBHAKARNA, Śrīrājādhīrāja

Rasa-ratna-koṣa (Aufrecht i. 495b)

A MS of this work in Devanāgarī characters in the Paris

1 Burnell 173a.

2 *SgS II*, p. 30.

3 In *Madras Trm I A* 295 (6), but the stanzas are missing in Burnell and IOC MSS.

4 For a discussion of genealogy and time of this Reddi king (2nd half of the 14th century) see Introd. to Vānivilasa Press ed. (1906) of *Pārvati-parīṇaya*; N. Venkata Rao, *Vasanta-rājīya* in *Pathak Comm.* Vol., Poona 1934, pp. 401f.

Biblioth. Nationale (no. 243) is described by Regnaud p. 1. It is a treatise on Rasa and kindred topics in eleven chapters dealing with (1) 1-4 *rasas*, (2) 5-6 *nāyaka* and *nāyikā*, (3) *abhinaya*, (4) 8-9 *anubhāva* and *vyabhicāri-bhāvas*, (5) 10 *rasa* and *bhāva*. The treatment and subject-matter correspond to those of the 3rd chapter of the *Sāhitya-darpana*. Bhānudatta's two works on Rasa. The author is probably Kumbha of Mewad (1428-1459 A.D.) who wrote, besides some treatises on *Samgīta*, a commentary entitled *Rasāpriyā* (ed. NSP. 1917) on Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda*, flourished in the first half of the 15th century.

19. KURAVIRĀMA

Daśarāṇipaka-paddhati

See above pp. 127, 229 for information about this author

20. KRŚNA

Sāhitya-taraṅgiṇī (Aufrecht ii 171a)

21. KRŚNA DĪKṢITA or KRŚNA YAJVAN

Raghunātha-bhūpāliya

(Aufrecht i. 446a ; Madras *Trm C* 656d ; Ady II, p. 336)

The work was written in honour of the author's patron whose name it bears in its title, after the manner of the *Itāpa-rudra-yaśobhūṣajī* of Vidyānatha who is referred to as Vidyāpati in the introductory part. Raghunātha, son of Acyuta, distinguished himself as one of the Nāyaka rulers of Tanjore (17th century A.D.) and patron of literature. His minister Rudrāmbā wrote the semi-historical poem, *Raghunātha-bhīyudaya*,² to celebrate in twelve cantos the greatness of

1 The work appears from citations in his *Rasika-priyā* to be a poem of the author's voluminous *Samgīta-rāja* ; see V. Raghavan in *ABO* xiv, 1933, pp. 258-62. Kumbha also wrote a comm. on the *Samgīta-rāṇakara* of Sārṅgadeva.

2 Ed. T. R. Chintamani, Madras Univ. 1934.

lover. Kṛṣṇa Dīkṣita's work consists of eight Vilāsas dealing with (i) Nāyaka-guṇa (ii) Kāvya-svarūpa (iii) Saṃlakṣya-krama-vyañgya (iv) Asaṃlakṣya-krama-vyañgya (v) Guṇibhūta-vyañgya (vi) Śabdālamkāra (vii) Arthālamkāra and (viii) Guṇa. Kṛṣṇa Yajvan also appears to have written an *Alamkāra-muktīvalī*. A commentary called *Sāhitya-sāmrājya* by Sumatiñdra Yati, pupil of Sudhīndra-pūjyapāda, is mentioned in Rice 288.—Another work of this type which praises Shabaji of Tanjore (1648-1710) is *Sāharājya* of Lakṣmaṇa Kavi; see above p. 270, no. 15.

22. KRŚNA BHĀTTĀ or JAYAKRŚNA MAUNIN

Vṛtti-dīpikā (Aufrecht i. 598a)

The author was a grammarian, and the work probably dealt with the grammatico-rhetorical question of the *Vṛttis* of words. For his other works, see Aufrecht i. 198a. He is described as son of Raghunātha Bhāttā and grandson of Govardhana Bhāttā.

23. KRŚNA SARMAN or KRŚNĀVADHŪTA

a. *Mandāra-maranda-campū*

(ed. Sivadatta and K. P. Parab, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1895, with *Mūḍhurya-rañjanī* commentary)

b. *Kāvya-lakṣaṇa*

c. *Sārasvatālamkāra*, Sūtra and Bbāṣya

The first-named work is a so-called Campū dealing in reality with Prosody, Dramaturgy and Poetics, as well as practical Kavi-śikṣā. The work consists of eleven chapters called *bindus*, dealing with (1) chandas (2) nāyaka-varṇana (3) śleṣa (4) yamaka and citra (5) the different bandhas (6) enigmatology (7) dramaturgy (8) nāyaka-lakṣaṇa (9) bbāva and rasa (10) alamkāra with dhvani-nirūpā etc. and (11) doṣa, which however includes sections on Śabdārtha, the three *vṛttis* etc., pāka, kāvya-bheda, and a section of practical hints for

descriptive poetry. The work appears to be ill-arranged and ill-digested, having no fixed theory but forming a cyclopaedic compilation from various sources, meant to serve as a complete handbook for the poet. The author, who is described as an inhabitant of Guhapura and a pupil of Vāsudeva Yogīśvara, gives us no clue to his date ; but his work belongs to quite recent times. He copies, for instance, many definitions and illustrations from Appayya's *Kuvalayānanda*, and even appropriates the whole section on Pāka from Vidyānātha. Some of the new poetic figures, which appear to be first adduced and illustrated by Appayya, find a place in this comprehensive compilation. For the author and his work see *Karnatak Univ. Journal (Humanities)*, 1957, pp. 127f. His date is given as 1835-1909 A.D. He also wrote a commentary *Rasa-prakāśa* on *Mammaṭa* (see p. 173).

24. KRŚNA SUDHĪ

Kāvya-kalānidhi

The author was son of Śivarāma and grandson of Upadeśṭri-paṇḍita Nārāyaṇa. He was a native of Uttaramerūr in Tonḍaimandalam on the banks of the Ceyyār near Kāñcī. He wrote the *Kāvya-kalānidhi* in 1845 A.D. under the patronage of Ravivarman, rājā of Kolaṭṭanāḍ. The work is in ten sections in which the illustrations are all in praise of the poet's patron.¹

25. KRŚNA SŪRI

Alamkāra-mīmāṃsā (*Madras Cat.* xxii, no.:2700)

The author was son of Gopālācārya, who was son of Kṛṣṇārya of the Śāntalūri family. There is one Kṛṣṇa Sūri who wrote a commentary called *Rātna-śobhākara* on the *Alamkāra-muktāvalī* of Ramasudhī, son of Nṛsiṃha (ed. in Telugu script, Vizagapatam 1897-98).

1 See K. Kunjanni Rāja, *Contribution of Kerala to Skt. Lit.* pp. 62, 244.

26. KEŠAVA BHATTA

Rasika-saṃjīvanī(Aufrecht i. 127b, 497b; *Br. Mus.* no. 424, extract)

The work, dealing with Rasa is in three *viśāsas*. The author, son of Harivamśa Bhaṭṭa, is claimed as a Vaiṣṇava disciple of Viṣṭhaleśvara, who is apparently the son of the reformer Vallabhācārya. Hence our author probably belongs to the second half of the 16th century. He is not the same as Keśava Bhaṭṭa Kāśmīri, son of Śrīmaṇḍgala and a veteran champion of the Nimbārka school¹. The first *Viśāsa* (11 sl. only) of the work is mainly introductory; the second deals with *nāyikās*, and the third with *māna*, *prāṇaya*, *rāga*, *śringāra* etc.

27. KOLLURI RĀJAŠEKHARA

Alamikāra-makaranda (Madras Trm 2285)

The author belonged to a family of Drāviḍas of Peruru in Andhra. The work quotes *Catmatkāra-candrikā* (see below under Viṣveśvara Kavicaṇḍra) and praises a chief called Rāmēśvara of Anipindivāṇiśa, son of Viṣveśvara and Kāmakṣi, and described as Animaṇḍa Mahī-mahendra of Mukteśvara (near Godāvati). This Rājaśekhara is said to have been also patronised by Peshwa Madhava Rao (1760-72 A.D.).

28. GĀNGĀDHARA MIŚRA

Catura-cintāmaṇi(H. P. Sāstri, *Cat. ASB MSS.* vi, 4934/8162, p. 485-86)

This is a work on the nine Rasas, but chiefly on Śringāra Rasa, in eighteen *Prakūsas*. The author is described as son of Miśra Saṇḍoha.

1 See S. K. De, *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement*, 1942, p. 55 fn.

29. GĀNGĀNANDA MAITHILA

Karṇa-bhūṣaya

(ed. Bhavadatta and K. P. Parab, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1902)

Kāvya-dākinī

(ed. P. Jagannath Hoshing, Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, Benares 1924)

The first is a work on the Rasas in five chapters, dealing with (1) vibhāvas (2) anubhāvas (3) vyabhicāri-bhāvas (4) sthāyi-bhāvas and (5) rasa. It was written, as the author himself says, at the command of king Śrīkarṇa of Bikaner (*bikāneri-piṇī*), who appears to be the same as Lūṇakarmajī who ruled at Bikaner from 1505 to 1526 A.D. The *Kāvya-dākinī* deals in five chapters (called *Drṣṭis*) with Doṣas.

30. GĀNGĀRĀMA JĀDI or JĀDIN

Rasa-mīmāṃṣā(ed. with his own *Chāyā*, Kashi Samskrita Press, Benares 1885)

It is a small work of 114 verses on the poetic sentiments. For details about the author and his commentary on Bhānudatta's work, see above p. 250. He belongs to the second quarter of the 18th century.

31. GADĀDHARA BHATTA

Rasika-jīvana (Aufrecht i. 497b, ii. 116b).

This work on Rasa, which bears the character of an anthology rather than a work on Poetics, is in ten *prabandhas* and contains 1562 verses comprising selection from no less than 122 authors. The author is the son of Gaurīpati or Gaurīśa and Umā, and grandson of Dāmodara. Regnau (p. 379) gives an account of the Paris Biblioth. Nationale MS of this work. The work quotes Jagannātha's *Rasa-*

gaṅgādhara, and hence it must be later than the middle of the 17th century.¹

32. GIRIDHARA

Kalyāṇa-kallola

(H. P. Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS.* vi, 4932/ 8312, p. 482)

This is a work on the nine Rasas (including Sānta) composed under the patronage of Kalyāṇa Dāsa, son of Todara Malla.

33. GOKULANĀTHA MAITHILA

Rasa-mahārṇava

The author is the celebrated Maithili Smārta and Naiyāyika Gokulanātha, son of Pūñbara and Umādevī of Phaṇadaha family to Mahgrauni, who lived and wrote in Benares at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century. The work is referred to by himself in his *Pada-vākyā-ratnākara*.² He is probably the same as wrote a commentary on Mammata, see above p. 173. His drama *Amṛtodaya* (written about 1693 A.D.) has been published in *Kāvyamālā* 59, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1897³.

34. GAURANĀRYA

Lakṣaṇa-dīpikā

Prabandha-dīpikā or *Padārtha-dīpikā* (Madras Cat. xxii, 12951, extract)

The first work, which breaks off with the sixth *prakāśa*, deals with (1) *kāvya-svarūpa* (2) *paribhāṣā* (3) *kāvya-lakṣaṇa*.

¹ P. K. Gode in *ABORI* xii, pp. 296-99 and Haze Dutt Sastri in *Jha Comm. Volume* pp. 359-65. For list of authors quoted see *BORI* MS Cat. xii, no. 247, at p. 288-90.

² *ABod* 2462.

³ See *HPS* i p. 17f.

bheda (4) *kalikotkalikādi* (5) *udāharṇa-bheda* and (6) *nāyikā*. The other work *Padārtha-dīpikā* covers common ground. The author is described as son of Āyamaprabhu and brother of Mītarāja, who was minister of Śīṅgaya Mādhava of Reearla family. The work cites *Sāhitya-cūḍāmaṇi* (of Bhaṭṭa Gopāla?). Another work in four *paricchedas*, also called *Lakṣaṇa-dīpikā* (consisting of Kārikā and Vṛtti), is attributed in the same Catalogue (no. 12952, extract) to Gauranārya; but the author is here described as son of Ayyalu-mantrin, brother of *amātya* Potama. They may be identical. The latter work cites the *Alaṇikāra-saṅgraha*, *Kavi-kaṇṭha-pāśa*, *Camatkāra-candrikā*, *Sāhitya-candrodaya* and *Sāhitya-ratnākara* (of Dharmā Sūri?). The *Kavi-kaṇṭha-pāśa*, of which two MSS (without the name of the author) are noticed in *Madras Cat.* xii 12802-03, is a treatise (said to be based on some work of Piṅgala's) on the characteristics of a poet's personal appearance and qualities, on the effect of the initial words of a poem, on the auspicious day for beginning a composition and so forth.

35. GHĀSI or GHĀSĪ RĀMA PĀNDITA

a. *Rasa-candra*

(*IOC* iii, 1210/295, pp. 351-53; extract)

b. *Rasa-kaumudī*

(*Madras Cat.* xii 12921, extract; *BORI MSS Cat.* xxii, no. 197, p. 223)

The first work was composed in 1696 A.D. The second work describes the nine Rasas. The anonymous *Rasa-kaumudī* in Peterson v. 414 refers apparently to this work.¹ The *Rasa-candra* is in four chapters, dealing with: 1. *nāyikā-gaṇa-bheda* (198 sl.), 2. *nāyaka-saṅgha* (85 sl.), 3. *anubhāvādi gaṇa*

¹ P. K. Gode (*Cal. Orient. Journal* iii, pp. 35-37) gives the latter half of the 18th century A.D. as the probable date of this anonymous work.

(150^{sl.}), 4, *rasa-daśaka* (162^{sl.}). Is this Ghāśīrāma of Gautamavṛṣṭa identical with Ghāśīrāma Bhajja, father Śrinātha who wrote the medical work *Jagat-prakṛṣṭa* (Stein pp. 193, 348)? He, however, appears to be the same as wrote the *Padya-muktāvalī* (erotic verses).

36. CĀNDIDĀSA

Dhvani-siddhānta-grantha

The work is referred to by himself in his commentary on *Mammaṭa*. See above p. 160.

37. CANDRACŪDA

Prastāva-cintāmaṇi (Ulwar 1064, extract 223;
Weber 826)

It is a work in five Ucchvāsas on the art of writing poetic descriptions. The author is described as son of Puruṣottama Bhajja. For citations in this work, see Weber *loc. cit.* It cites Candraśekara-campū-prabandha which, Regnau thinks, is a campū by Candraśekhara, father of Viśvanātha (q. v.)

38. CIRĀṄJIVA or RĀMADEVA (VĀMADEVA)

CIRĀṄJIVA BHATTĀCĀRYA

a. *Kāvya-vilāsa*

(Ed. Batuk Nath Sarma and Jagannath Sastri Hoshing, Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, Benares 1925. See *IOC*, iii no. 1191, pp. 343-44 for a detailed summary of contents.

b. *Śringāra-tatīñi* (Aufrecht i. 660b).

The author was son of Rāghavendra (described as *ācārya-tatāvadhāna*) and grandson of Kāśīnātha of Rādhāpura in Gauḍa country. He is the author of the *Vidvanmodataraṅgiṇī* (a campū)¹ and also of *Vṛtti-ratnāvalī*, a work on

¹ Ed. Venkatesvara Press, Bombay 1912; also ed. Sayyavata Samastami in the *Hindu Commentator* iv, nos. 1-4, 1871; and ed. Kali-krishna Deb, Serampore Press 1832 (text and trs.), 2nd ed. 1834. The author's genealogy as above is given by himself in this work.

prosody. The India Office MS, as well as the printed text, of the *Kāvya-vilāsa* consists of two chapters (called *Bhaṅgī*), dealing with *Rasa* and *Alamkāra* respectively. We are told that the definitions in this work are taken from old standard writers, while the illustrative stanzas are the author's own. The section on *śabdālanākāra* from this work has been printed and inadvertently included in the text of Appayya's *Kuvalayā-nanda*, published by N. S. P. (ed. Vāsudeva L. Panshikar, Bombay, 1909) with Āśādhara's commentary¹. See above p. 223 fn 3. The illustrative verses of his *Vṛtta-ratnāvalī*² panegyrisse Yaśovanta Śīṁha, Nayeb-dewan of Dacea under Sujau-d-daulah of Bengal, about Śaka 1653=1731 A.D. His *Kāvya-vilāsa* was composed in 1703 A.D. He belongs, therefore, to the last quarter of the 17th and first half of the 18th century. Cirañjīva also wrote *Mādhava-campū* (ed. Satyavrata Samasrami, in the *Hindu Commentator* iv, no. 4-7, Calcutta 1871), as well as *Kalpa-latā* and *Śiva-stotra* mentioned in his *Kāvya-vilāsa*.

39. JAYAMĀNGALA

Kavi-śikṣā (Peterson i, no. 120, extract)

This work is apparently cited by Ratnakāṇṭha on *Stutikusumāñjali* i. 1. The author was a Jaina who wrote at the time of Jayasīṁha Siddharāja (1094-1143 A.D.) and was thus a contemporary of Hemacandra³.

40. JINAVALLABHA SŪRI

Praśnottara (Br. Mus. MS no. 426, extract)

This is a collection of riddles and verbal puzzles. On the author (about 1110 A.D.), see Klatt p. 36 and Bhandarkar *Rep.* 1882-83, p. 48, where other works of his are mentioned. It is accompanied by an *avacūri* by Kamalamandira.

1 See pp. 97-100 of this edition.

2 *HPS* iii, no. 280.

3 Peterson, *Detailed Report* 1883, p. 68

41. JIVANĀTHA

Alamkāra-śekhara (Oudh iii. 12)

42. TIRUMALA or TRIMALLA BHATTA

Alamkāra-maṇjari (extract in *ALeip* 851)

This South Indian author was son of Vallabhabhatta, and his name is also given as Trimmala or Tirmala, and sometimes incorrectly as Nirmala. The work, written in Benares in 43 verses, deals only with *arthālamkāras*¹. The *Arthālamkāra-maṇjari* entered under this author's name in Bühler's Catalogue (1871-73) is probably this work². The author appears to be identical with Trimalla Kavi, son of Vallabha and grandson of Śiṅghaṇa Bhatta, who wrote some works on medicine (see *ALeip* 1182-85). His date³ is fixed between 1383-1499 A.D.

43. TRILOCANĀDITYA

Nāṭya-locana (Aufrecht i. 284b, iii. 61a)

This work (without the author's name) is extensively cited, e.g. by Rāghavabhatta on *Sakuntolā* ed. NSP, 1886, p. 7, by Vāsudeva on *Karpūra-maṇjari*, by Raṅganātha on *Vikramorvassya* i. 1, by Dinakara and Cāitravardhana on *Raghu*. As Dinakara's date is 1385 A.D.⁴, this work cannot be placed later than the middle or third quarter of the 14th century. A commentary called, "Locana-vyākhyāñjana, by the author himself, is mentioned in Oppert 2695.

44. TRYAMBAKA

Nāṭaka-dīpa (Aufrecht i. 284b)

Three commentaries on the work are entered by Aufrecht

1 The list of 38 figures dealt with is given at the outset; the passage in quoted in *ALeip*, MS no. 851, p. 273.

2 *New Catalogus Catalogorum* i, p. 295 enters them separately. Most of the MSS contain *Arthālamkāra* only.

3 See *Cat. R.A.S* (Bombay Branch) vol. i, no. 126, p. 42.

4 Nandargikar's ed. of *Raghu*, 1897, Pref. p. 17.

loc. cit. One of the Deccan College MSS of the work contains a Prakrit commentary¹.

45. DĀMODARA BHATṬĀ HARṢE

Alamkāra-krama mālā (Aufrecht i. 32a)

46. DĪNA KRṢÑADĀSA

Rasa-kallola

The work was written about 1480 A.D. when Gajapati Puruṣottama was reigning².

47. DEVANĀTHA

Rasika-prakāśa (Aufrecht i. 497b)

The author is probably the same as Devanātha Tarkapañcāñana who wrote a commentary named *Kāvya-kaumudī*, on Mammaṭa (see above p. 174). A Devanātha is cited by Bharatamallika (18th century) on Bhaṭṭī x, 73.

48. DEVAŚĀMKARA, surnamed Purohita

Alamkāra-maṇījūṣā

(Ed. S. L. Katre, Scindia Orient. Ser. Ujjain 1940.
See Bhandarkar, Rep. 1887-91 p. lxiiif, extract)

The author, a Gujarat Brahman, was son of Nāhanābhāī and a native of Rāner (Rānder near Surat), and lived at Urahpattana (probably Olpāḍ in the same district). The work deals with poetic figures alone, and the illustrations sing the glory of the Peshwas Mādhava Rāo I of Poona and Nārāyaṇa Rāo. and their uncle Raghunātha Rāo who flourished between 1761 and 1772 A.D. The author, there-

1 *Deccan Coll. Catalogue* p. 417 no. 38.—The comm. by Rāmakṛṣṇa Paṇḍita on *Nāṭaka-dīpa* is not a comm. on this work, but (as Aufrecht points out, i. 791a) a comm. on the *Nāṭaka-dīpa* in the *Pañcadaśī*. Correct this error in Schuyler's *Bibliography* p. 18 and in Harichand Sastri, p. 35, no. 361,

2 See IA i, p. 215.

fore, belonged to the third and fourth quarters of the 18th century.¹ The work deals almost exclusively with poetic figures, which are enumerated as 115 and classified into Arthā-*lampkāras* (102), *Pramāṇālampkāras* (103-6), *Dhvanyālampkāras* (107-13) and *Mītrālampkāras* (114-15). The *Kārikās*, as well as prose explanations, are generally based on the corresponding passages of Appayya's *Kuvalnyānandn*. In spite of its editor's eulogy, the work does not seem to be a striking or original contribution to the subject. *Devaśāmkata* also wrote a commentary on the *Amaru-śataka* (Mitra x, pp. 81-82).

49. DHARMADĀSA SŪRI

Vidagdha-mukha-mṇḍana, with *vṛtti*

(Ed. Haeberlin in *Kāvyasamgraha*, Calcutta 1847, p. 269f. Also in *Kāvya-kalāp* (pub. Haridas Hiraband) Bomhay 1865 Printed many times in India; but ed. N.S.P., Bombay 1914, is useful. MSS: Aufrecht i. 572b, ii. 135h, 225a, iii. 121a).

The work of Dharmadāsa is in four *paricchedas*, dealing with enigmatology and *Citra-kāvya*, and at the same time describes the feeling of separation from a lover. The concluding verse in the Bomhay edition of the text (wanting in Br. Mus. MS. Bendall no. 427), as well as the first verse (which invokes Śauddhodani) and the colophon to Jinaprabha's commentary, makes the author a Buddhist ascetic. The known dates of Jinaprabha put the limit of Dharmadāsa's date earlier than the last quarter of the 13th century. This work is also cited by name by Kumārasvāmin (p. 122=iv, 1), by Rāyamukuta on *Amara*², and quoted in the *Paddhati* of Śārhgadhara. These citations themselves would put the date of our author earlier than the 14th century.

Commentaries on this work are numerous:

(1) By Jinaprabha Sūri, pupil of Jinasimha Sūri (Weber

1 See *ABORI* xv, pp. 92-96 and xxi p. 152-54.

2 Composed 1431 A.D. : see Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1883-84, p. 63.

1728). For this Jaina writer, whose known dates are 1293 and 1309 A.D. see Peterson iv, p. xxxvii and Klatt's *Onomasticon*. His Guru Jinasimha founded the Laghukharatara-gaccha in 1275 A.D. The date of our commentator, therefore, will be the last quarter of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century. (2) Commentary by Ātmārāma. Aufrecht i. 573a. The full name of this writer appears to be Svātmārāma Yogīndra. (3) *Vidvan-manoramā* by Tārācandra Kāyastha. Aufrecht i. 573a, ii. 135b, iii. 121a. For his other works, see *ibid* i. 229a. (4) *Śravāṇa-bhūṣaṇa* by Narahari Bhaṭṭa, Aufrecht i. 573a. (5) *Subodhini* by Trilocana. Aufrecht ii. 135b (extract in Stein p. 274). (6) Commentary by Śivacandra. Aufrecht iii 121a. Its date is 1613 A.D.¹ (7) *Tīkā* by Durgādāsa, son of Vāsudeva and pupil of Bhaṭṭa Devacandra. Aufrecht ii. 135b, iii. 121a; extract in Peterson iv p. 36.

50. DHARMA SUDHĪ or DHARMA SŪRI

Sāhitya-ratnākara

(ed. Tiruvenkatacharya with commentary, Madras 1871; ed. Nellore 1885. MSS: Aufrecht i. 716a, ii. 171a, iii. 148a; *BORI MSS Cat.* xxii, no. 301, pp. 366-70 (extract); *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12970-75; *HPS* ii, no. 246, extract).

The author's name is given variously as Dharmasimha or Dharmapandita. Son of Parvatanātha and Allamāmba, he belonged to a Benares family distinguished for the high proficiency of its members in philosophical studies, and his genealogy is thus given (Hultzsch i. p. 70): Tripurāri→Dharma→Parvatanātha or Parvateśa→Dharma Sūri. He was also the author of two plays, called *Naraka-dhvaniṣa* or *Narakā-suravijyaya*¹ (a *vyāyoga*) and *Kaṃsa-vadha* (a *nāṭaka*), and of

1 P. K. Gode in *Journal of the Univ. Bombay*, 1954, pp. 126-29.

1 Ed. Madras 1885 (in Telugu characters); Hultzsch 323, Aufrecht i. 277a.

some Kāvyas and Stotras. The author is cited by Anantārya (q. v.) in his *Kavi-samaya-kallola*. A commentary on this *Sāhitya-ratnākara*, called **Naukā*, by Veṅkaṭa Śūri is mentioned in *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12974-75 (ed. Madhusudan Mishra, Bomra 1901). Veṅkaṭa Śūri was son of Lakṣmaṇa Śūri and Suramāmbā, and grandson of Brahmāntara-vāṇi and disciple of Veṅkaṭācārya. There is another commentary called *Mandara* by Mallādi Lakṣmaṇa-śūri (ed. Madras 1891 in Telugu characters). The *Sāhitya-ratnākara* (c. 1425 A.D.) is in ten *tarāṅgas*, dealing with the conventional topics of Poetics as follow: (i) *Granthārambha* (ii) *Vācaka-śabdārtha-vṛtti* (iii) *Lakṣmaṇa-śabdārtha-vṛtti* (v) *Guṇa* (vi) *Śabdālambikāra* (vii) *Arthālambikāra* (viii) *Doṣa* (ix) *Dhvani-bheda* (x) *Rasa*. Most of the illustrative verses are in praise of Rāma as a deity (*śrimat-raghu-tilaka-yaśoghanasūra-surabhita*). Dharmā Śūri must have been later than Vidyānātha; for in one of his verses he anonymously ridicules Vidyānātha's method of praising his patron (*alambikriyāḥ pūrvataraiḥ pranītāḥ / prayogitāḥ kāścana nāyakena/kāścīt tu kukṣimbharibhir nibaddhāḥ / kṣodiyasā kāścana nāyakena*). His date is roughly the first half of the 15th century.¹

51. NARASIMHA

Guṇa-ratnākara (*Tanjore Cat.* ix, no 5207, p. 4028)

This work deals with a hundred poetic figures. It was written under Serfoji of Tanjore (1684-1710 A.D.)

52. NARASIMHA or NRSIMHA KAVI

Nañjarāja-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa

(Ed. E. Krishnamacharya. Gaekwad Orient. Ser. Baroda 1930)

The author, son of Śivārāma-sudhī-maṇi and disciple of an ascetic Yogānanda, belonged to the Sanagara class of Brahmā.

1. See E.M.V. Raghavacharya in *Proc. A.I.O.C.* ix, Trivandrum 1940, pp. 503-17; also *NIA* ii, 1939, pp. 428-441 for Dharmā Śūri's date and works. The date of the work is given as c. 1425 A.D.

mans, and was patronised by Nañjarāja, whose name is borne by the title of his work and whose glory it sings in the illustrative verses. Nañjarāja was Sarvādhikaraṇa (revenue minister) of Chikka Krishnaraja of Mysore from 1739 to 1759 A.D., after which came Nañjarāja's downfall terminating with his miserable death in Hyder Ali's imprisonment in 1773. Narasimha's work must have been written during the twenty years of his patron's flourishing period. The work is divided into seven chapters called Vilāsas; and it deals with all topics of Poetics including Dramaturgy. The seven Ullāsas deal with (1) Nāyaka (2) Kāvya-svarūpa (3) Dhvani (4-5) Doṣa-Guṇa (6) Nāṭya, including Candrakalā-kalyāṇa (a short typical drama) (7) Alāṃkāra. It is obviously modelled on the *Pratāparudra-yaśobhūṣaya* of Vidyānātha and freely appropriates much of its subject-matter *verbatim*. He inserts, after Vidyānātha, a model five-act drama called *Candrakalā-kalyāṇa* to illustrate his treatment of Dramaturgy in ch. vi. The author had the grandiose title Abhinava-Kālidāsa; and he describes himself as the friend of Abhinava Bhavabhūti (alias Ālūra Tirumala-kavi).

53. NARASIMHĀCĀRYA or VENKĀTA NRSIMHA KAVI

Alāṃkārendu-śekhara

(*Madras Cat.* xxii, 12978, extract; contains the first *prakaraṇa* only)

This South Indian author was son of Dāsamācārya of Śrīśaila family and wrote a commentary on a work on music, called *Śānta-vilāsa*, composed by Subrahmaṇya Sudhī (alias Hariśāba Kavīndra) son of Hariśāya and grandson of Kṛṣṇārāya of Cariṣṇusāla village. He refers to a *Gīta-maṇjarī* by this Hariśāba Kavīndra, and to a Campū of his own called *Jānakī-pariṇaya*, and quotes *Sāhitya-ratnākara* of Dharmasūri. The manual on Alāṃkāra mentioned above deals in five Prakaraṇas with (1) *nāyaka lakṣaṇa* (2) *kāvya svarūpa* (3) *rasa-lakṣaṇa*, especially *śringāra* (4) *doṣa* and *guṇa*, and

(5) *alamkāra*. It is based generally upon the *Pratāparudriya*. Our author also wrote a commentary, also called *Alamkārendu-śekhara*, on some Kārikās on Poetics entitled *Lakṣaṇamālikā*¹.

54. NARAHARI SŪRI

Rasa-nirūpaya

This work and the author are mentioned by Kumāra-svāmin at p. 224.

55. NARENDRAPRABHA SŪRI (Maladhāti)

Alamkāra-mahodadhi

(Ed. L. B. Gandhi, Gaekwad Orient. Series, Baroda 1942)

The author was a pupil of Naracandra of Harṣapurīya-gaccha. The work was composed at the request of Vastupūla (d. 1242 A.D.) in whose honour he wrote three Praśastis. It consists of eight chapters and deals with (i) Kāvyn-phalādi (ii) Śabda-vaicitrya (iii) Dhvani including Rasa (iv) Guṇibhūta-vyañgya (v) Doṣa (vi) Guṇa (viii) Śabdālamkāra and (viii) Arthālamkāra. The work is stated to have been composed in Saṃvat 1282 (=1225-26 A.D.).²

1 See Madras Cat. xxii 12955, extract : SgS 1, 98-99 extract, also p. 11. V. Raghavan (New Cat. Cat. i p. 300) thinks that probably "the basic text of the *Lakṣaṇamālikā* is also by Nṛsiṃha himself."

2 The *Alamkāra-candrikā* of Nārāyaṇa Deva referred to by himself in his *Saṃgīta-nārāyaṇa* (ABod 201) is not a work on Rhetoric but deals with the subject of musical *Alamkāras*. The author, also called Gajapati Viranārāyaṇa-deva, was son of Padmanābha and disciple of Puruṣottama Miśra. Similarly, the *Kāma-samāha* of Ananta, son of Maṇḍana and grandson of Nārāyaṇa (composed in 1457 A.D.), is really an anthology of erotic verses ; see P. K. Gode in JOR, Madras, xiv, pp. 74-81. The *Sṛigārdhāpa* of Rāma, of which a MS is dated 1556 A.D., is a similar work (see P. K. Gode in Journal of Bom. Univ. xv (N.S.), pl. 2, 1946, pp. 81-88).

56. NĀRĀYĀNA

Kāvya-vṛtti-ratnāvalī (*Tanjore Cat.* ix, no 5173)

The work is in nine Prakaraṇas. Its avowed object is to deal with Kavi-svarūpa, Kāvya-lakṣaṇa, Rasa-svarūpa and general principles of poetry.

57. NĀRĀYĀNA

Śabda-bheda-nirūpaṇa

The work deals with the three Vṛttis of word (Abhidhā etc). The author refers to Śāha Mahārāja whose protégé he was (=Shahaji, king of Tanjore 1686-1710). There is another work of Lakṣaṇa-kavi, called *Śāharājīya* (*Tanjore Cat.* ix, no. 5304), the illustrations of which eulogise this prince. See above p. 270, no. 15. Several works called *Śabda-bheda-nirūpaṇa* are found in *Tanjore Cat.* ix, no 5301-3.

58. PADMASUNDARA

(Akabara-śāhī) Śrīgāra-darpaṇa

(Ed. Anup Skt. Series, Bikaner 1943)

The author was a Jaina monk of Akbar's time. The work is in four Ullāsas, but it is a rehashing of Rudrabhaṭṭa's *Śrīgāra-tilaka*. The illustrative verses are addressed to the Mughal emperor Akbar. MS (Bikaner 9356) is dated 1569 A.D. See paper on the work by V. Raghavan in *C. Kunhan Raja Presentation Vol.*

59. PUÑJARĀJA

a. *Dhvani-pradīpa* (Aufrecht i. 273b)

b. *Kāvya-lāṇḍikāra-śiśu-prabodha* or *Śiśu-prabodh-lāṇḍikāra* (Aufrecht i. 103a)

The author was son of Jīvana (or Jīvānanda) and Makū, of the Śrīmāla family of Malabar (*mālabhāra*), and his genealogy is given thus: Sādhu-sadepālā→Kora(ā?)→Pāma(ā?)→Govā→Yāmpaca→Jīvana. Jīvana's brother Megha and him-

self were ministers of Khalaci Sāhi Gayāsa ; and Jivana had two sons Puñja and Muñja. Puñja became king, but abandoning his kingdom to his younger brother, devoted himself to study, and wrote some works¹. The colophon² to Puñjarāja's *Sārasvata-fikā* on *Sārasvata-prakriyā* says: *śrimāla-kula-śrimālabhārāśri-puñjarāja*³, on which Bhandarkar remarks that Puñjarāja was the ornament of the Mālava circle⁴. Aufrecht thinks that the patron of Puñja's father and uncle was Ghiyas Shah Khalji of Mālava (about 1475 A.D.) and that Puñjarāja must have lived between 1475 and 1520 A. D. or at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century.

60. PUNDARIKA

Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa (Aufrecht i. 284b ; SCB 308)

61. PUNDARIKA (or PAUNDARIKA) RĀMEŚVARA

Rasa-sindhu (Aufrecht iii. 106a)

The work consists of fourteen chapters called Ratnas. It quotes *Darpaṇa* (of Viśvanātha) and *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* of Bhānudatta ; hence later than 1500 A.D. For its date see P. K. Gode in *Calcutta Orient. Journal* ii, pp. 30-32, dating the work at about the beginning of the 15th century.

62. PURUŚOTTAMA SUDHINDRA

Kavīvatāra (Aufrecht i. 87a)

The work, in ten chapters (called Vihāras), is dedicated to one Nāgahūpāla, whom its illustrative verses panegyris. A Puruṣottama is cited by Viśvanātha in his *Sūhitya-darpaṇa*, see above p. 214, fn 6.

1 Peterson Report v, pp. xliii. 166-69.

2 Peterson Report v, p. 169 ; AFI 181.

3 Rep. 1882-83, p. 12 ; cf also the colophon to his *Silu-prabodha* quoted in op. cit p. 199. See P. K. Gode, *Studies in Ind. Literary Criticism*, i, pp. 68-72 on Puñjarāja's date.

63. PRAKĀŚVARŚA

Rasārṇavālāṇikāra

The text in Roman transliteration was published by V. Venkataram Sarma with an account of the work in *IHQ* v, 1929, pp. 173f. The Madras MS gives the work in five chapters, the first four of which deal with Doṣa, Guṇa and Alamkāra, the last (incomplete) with Rasa. It is possible that the whole of ch. v (now lost) dealt with Ubhayālamkāras and the major part of ch. vi (now recovered incomplete) with Rasa. See the question discussed by S. K. De in *IHQ* v, 770-780 and by V. Raghavan in *JOR* viii, 1934, pp. 267-276. The work is later than Bhoja whose works are extensively utilised. See also on this work S. P. Bhattacharya in *JOI*, Baroda, vii, 1957, nos. 1-2 and ix, 1959, pp. 5-16.

64. PRABHĀKARA BHĀTTĀ

a. *Rasa-pradīpa*

(Ed. Narayan Sastri Khiste, Sarasvati Bhavana Text, Benares 1925. MSS: Weber 823 ; SCC vii 42, extract in both)

b. *Alamkāra-rahasya*, cited in his *Rasa-pradīpa*, pp. 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 20, 37, 38, 39, 40, 51.

The author was son of Mādhava Bhaṭṭā and grandson of Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭā, and younger brother of Raghunātha and Viśvanātha, the last of whom he calls his 'vidyā-guru'. The *Rasa-pradīpa* was composed in Saṃvat 1640=1583 A.D. at the age of nineteen (Weber *loc. cit.*)¹. Prabhākara was thus born in 1564 A. D. His *Laghu-saptaśatika-stotra*, an epitome of the *Devī-māhātmya* was written in 1629 A.D. He belongs, therefore, to the last quarter of the 16th and first quarter of the 17th century. The *Rasa-pradīpa* consists of three chapters (called *ālokas*) dealing with (1) *kāvya-lakṣaṇa* (2)

1 The date given in SCC vii, no. 42 is Saṃvat 1170=1114 A.D ; but this must be a mistake.

rasa-viveka (3) *vyañjanā-nirūpaṇa*. The author cites Śrībarṣa Miśra, Miśra Ruciṇātba, Dharmadatta, Locanakāra (Abbinavapguta), Pradipakṛt, Sāhityadarpaṇa-kāra. The Dharmadatta may be the same as quoted by Viśvanātba in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. Ananta in his commentary on *Āryā-saptaśatī* quotes a Ruciṇātba Miśra as a writer on Poetics. For Prabbākara's other works, see Aufrecht i. 353b. On citations in *Rasa-pradīpa* see S. K. De in *IHQ* viii, 1932, p. 358.

65. BALADEVA

Śrīgāra-hāra

(Kielborn, *Rep.* 1880-81, p. 71 = *BORI MS Cat.*, xii, no. 295, p. 351)

The author is described as son of Keśava. MS is dated in Saṃvat 1845 (= 1789-90 A.D.).

66. BALADEVA VIDYĀBHŪṢĀṄA

Kāvya-kaustubha

(Ed. Haridas Das, Navadvip, Bengal, 1957)

This work consists of nine *prabhās* and deals respectively with (1) Kāvya-phalādi (2) Saṃdārīha-vṛtti (3) Rasa (4) Guṇa (5) Rīti (6) Doṣa (7) Dhvani-bbeda (8) Madhyama-kāvya and (9) Saṃdārtbālaṇikāra. See above pp. 171-72 under commentators on Mammaṭa.

67. BĀLAKRṢÑA BHĀTTĀ

Alāṅkāra-sāra (Aufrecht i. 32b)

The work consists of ten chapters. Bālakṛṣṇa Bhāṭṭā, styled Tighara, was son of Govardhana Bhāṭṭā and belonged to the Vallabha Sampradāya. A work of this name is cited by Jayaratha (pp. 88, 97, 171, 172, 184); also in Bühler's *Catalogue* 1871-73. The *Alāṅkāra-sāra* quotes Kuvalayānanda and *Citra-mīmāṃsā*; and the Deccan College MS of the work (no. 23 of 1881-82) appears to have been copied in Saṃvat

1758 (=1702 A.D.). We can, therefore, assign it to a period between 1625 and 1700 A.D.

The ten Ullāsas of the work have the following topics respectively: (i) Kāvya-prayojana-kāraṇa-svarūpa (ii) Śabdā-nirṇaya (iii) Artha-nirṇaya (iv) Dhvani-nirṇaya (v) Guṇī-bhūta-vyaṅgya-nirṇaya (vi) Śabdārtha-nirṇaya (vii) Doṣa (viii) Guṇa (ix) Śabdālambikāra and (x) Arthālambikāra.

68. BHĀVA MIŚRA or MIŚRA BHĀVA

Śrīṅgāra-sarasī

(*SCC* vii 43, extract)

The author of this treatise on amorous sentiments is described as son of Miśra Bhaṭṭaka.

69. BHĀSYKĀRĀCĀRYA (or ? BHĀSKARĀCĀRYA)

Sāhitya-kallolini

(*Madras Cat.* xxii, 12964, extract)

The author is described as a descendant of Varadaguru of Śrīvatsa-gotra, and a resident of Bhūtāpurī or Śrīperumbūdūr. The verses are taken copiously from several well-known rhetorical works, e.g. Mammata, the *Bhāva-prakāśa* etc. The author states his indebtedness to the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* of Śiṅga-bhūpāla ; hence he should be placed later than the middle of the 14th century. The topics dealt with are *prabandha-bheda*, *nāṭya-nṛtta-nṛtya*, *vastu*, *saṃdhī* *nāyaka-lakṣaṇa*, *rūpaka*, *uparūpaka* and *kāvya-lakṣaṇa*.

70. BHĪMASENA DĪKṢITA

a. *Alaṇikāra-sāroddhāra*

b. *Alaṇikāra-sāra-sthiti* or *Kuvalayānanda-khaṇḍana*, see above p. 225 under Appayya Dīkṣita.

He refers to both these works in his *Sudhā-sāgara* commentary on Mammata (see p. 171). Date between 1650-1725 A.D.

71. BHĪMEŚVARA BHATTA

Rasa-sarvasva (Burzell 57a)

The author was son of Raṅga Bhaṭṭa.

72. BHŪDEVA ŚUKLA

Rasa-vilāsa

(Ed. Prem Lata Sarma, Poona 1952)

The author, son of Śukadeva of Jambusara in Gujarat, flourished between 1660 and 1720 A.D.¹ For his other works, see Aufrecht i. 414b and introd. to above ed. p. xii. The India Office MS of the present work (no. 1209/2526b) contains only three *stabakas* and the beginning of a fourth. Our author is the same as Bhūdeva Śukla who wrote the drama *Dharma-vijaya*² in five Acts.

The *Rasa-vilāsa* consists of seven chapters, called *Stabakas*. The topics dealt with are as follow, according to chapters: 1-2 *Rasa*, counted as nine including Śānta. 3 *Bhava*. 4 *Guna*. 5-6 *Doṣa*. 7 *Vṛtti* (Abhidhā, Lakṣaṇa and Vyañjanā). As its editor rightly says it is a mediocre manual on *Rasa* and allied topics, which derives its material chiefly from Mammata and Jagannātha and shows little originality.

73. MĀNASIMHA

Sāhitya-sāra (Aufrecht i. 716a)

74. MOHANADĀSA

Rasodadhi

The work is cited by himself in his commentary on the

1 P. K. Gade, however, in *ABORI* xiii. p. 183, thinks that the *Rasa-vilāsa* was composed about 1550 A.D. As the *Rasa-vilāsa* refers to the definition of poetry given by *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*, it could not have been composed earlier than 1660 A.D.

2 Ed. Grantham III iii. 1889; also ed. Narayan Sastri Khiste, Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, Benares 1930. See Mura i, p. 37; Weber 1561; IOC vii, p. 1596.

Mahānāṭaka (*ABod* 143a). The author was son of Kamalā-pati.

75. YAJÑANĀRĀYĀNA DĪKṢITA

Alaṇikāra-ratnākara (*Tanjore Cat.* ix, no. 5131)

Sāhitya-ratnākara (ed. T. R. Chintamani, Madras 1932)

The author was son of Govinda Dīkṣita, minister of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore who ruled between 1614 and 1633 A.D. Almost all the verses of the first work eulogise Raghunātha. The second work is really a Kāvya in sixteen cantos, dealing with the exploits of the same prince. Both the works form a companion to the author's *Raghunāthābhuyudaya*. K. Kunjunni Raja (*Contribution of Kerala*, p. 134) is not correct in identifying him with Yajñeśvara Dīkṣita mentioned below.¹

76. YAJÑEŚVARA DĪKṢITA

Alaṇikāra-rāghava (*Tanjore Cat.* 5132-33)

Alaṇikāra-sūryodaya (*Tanjore Cat.* 5140-41)

The author was son of Cerukūri Koṇḍubhaṭṭa and brother of Tirumala Yajvan.² The first work quotes *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* of Śiṅga-bhūpāla and *Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi* (apparently of Viranārāyaṇa, *q.v.*) ; hence later than the 15th century (c. 1600 A.D.). The work is so called from the circumstance that the illustrative verses refer to Rāma. The author may be identical with Yajñeśvara already mentioned as a commentator on *Mammaṭa* (see p. 175). He may have been related to Lakṣmīdhara (*q.v.*) who also came from Cerukūri.

1 So also in *Tanjore* ix, 1933, no. 5132. The *Alaṇikāra-ratnākara* ascribed Yajñanārāyaṇa (no. 5131), also eulogises Raghunātha Nāyaka, the poet's patron. Yajñeśvara and Yajñanārāyaṇa appear to be different persons.

2 See *ŚgŚ* ii, p. 65.

77. YAŚASVIN KAVI

Sāhitya-kautūhala and its commentary *Ujjvalapadā* (Utrecht i. 715b, ii. 171a)

The author is described as son of Gopāla and Kāsi. The India Office MS (Cat. iii, p. 337) was copied in 1730 A.D.; it contains only the first chapter which deals with enigmatology and *Citra-kāvya*. There is another *Sāhitya-kutūhala* of Raghunātha, a protégé of queen Dīpāhai of Tanjore (between 1675-1712 A.D.), also on *Citra-kāvya* (see *Journal Bomb. Univ.* x, p. 132f).

78. RATNABHŪṢĀNA

Kāvya-knumudī (HPS ii, no. 35, extract)

This work in ten *paricchedas* is apparently a very modern composition by a Vaidya Pandit of East Bengal. It deals with (1) nāma, (2) liṅgādi, (3) dhātu-pratyaya, (4) kāvya-lakṣaṇa (5) dhvani, (6) guṇibhūta-vyañgya, (7) guṇa, (8) and (9) alamkāra, and (10) doṣa, the first three chapters being devoted to grammar. The date Śaka 1781 (=1859 A.D.) may be the date of its composition (HPS ibid, preface p. viii).

79. RAGHUNĀTHA MANOHARA

Kavi-kaustubha

P. K. Gode (*Poona Orientalist* vii, 1943, pp. 157-64) places this work between 1675 and 1700 A.D.

80. RĀGHAVA-CAITANYA

Kavi-kalpalatā (Utrecht i. 87a)

Possibly the poet of the same name cited in the *Paddhati* as Rāghavacaitanya Śrīcaraṇa (71, 168, 877, 1557-8), which title apparently indicates that he was a well-known Vaiṣṇava. In the colophon to the codex containing Deveśvara's *Kavi-kalpalatā* in SCC vii, no. 7 (cf. ABod 211b), the reading is māgha-caitanya-viracita-kavi-kalpalatāyāḥ etc. This may be

a corruption of or mistake for the name Rāghavacaitanya, whose work may have got mixed up with that of Deveśvara himself.

81. RĀJACŪḌĀMAÑI DĪKṢITA

a. *Kāvya darpaṇa*

(Ed. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, Vani Vilasa Press, Srirangam (no date). MSS: *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12809-814, with the commentary of Ravi-paṇḍita)

b. *Alaṅkāra-cūḍāmaṇi*

Mentioned in his *Kāvya-darpaṇa* (*Madras Cat.* xxii. 12809) or *Alaṅkāra-śiromāṇi* (Hultzsch i. extract p. 86)

The author, who is a well-known and prolific South Indian author, was son of Satyamaṅgala Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita and Kāmākṣī, and step-brother of Keśava Dīkṣita and Śeṣādri-śekhara Dīkṣita. He was grandson of Bhāvasvāmin and Lakṣmī and great-grandson of Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa Dīkṣita, and pupil of Ardhanārīśvara Dīkṣita who was his brother (Hultzsch ii, p. x). The date of composition of his *Tantra-śikhāmaṇi*, a work on Mīmāṃsā, is stated to be 1636 A.D. He was, thus, a contemporary of Nilakanṭha Dīkṣita, whose *Nilakanṭhavijaya* Campū was also composed in 1636 A.D., and belonged to the first half of the 17th century. In his poem *Rukmīṇī-kalyāṇa* (in ten cantos) he states that he composed it when Raghunātha, son of Aeyuta, was ruling at Tanjore; and his two dramas *Ānanda-rāghava* and *Kamalinī-kalalaiṣa* were staged in the court of the same prince. His genealogy and a long list of his other works are given in the concluding verses of his *Kāvya-darpaṇa*¹ and in his drama *Ānanda-rāghava*². The *Kāvya-darpaṇa* in ten *ullāsas* covers generally all the topics of Poetics, while his other work deals specially with the poetic figures. The ten *Ullāsas* of the *Kāvya-darpaṇa*

1 Extract in *Madras Cat.* xxii no. 12809 and Hultzsch i, pp. 85-6.

2 *Madras Cat.* xiii, no. 12495. The *Kāvya-darpaṇa* mentions 26 works of the author.

deal with (i) Kāvya-svarūpa (ii) Śabdārtha (iii) Vyāṅgārtha (iv-vi) Kāvya-bheda (vii) Doṣa (viii) Guṇa (ix) Śabdālambkāra and (x) Arthālambkāra. The family to which Rājacūḍamāpi belonged was known as *atirātra-yōjin*. Śrīnivāsa Atirātrayājin in Aufrecht i. 672a is identical with Rājacūḍamāpi's father. He lived in Surasamudra in Tondica (i.e. in the region of Kāñcī). Cf Sten Konow, *Ind. Drama* p. 94. For a list of his other works see Hultzsch i, pp. ix-x, and introd. to the Vanivilasa Press ed. of *Kamalini-kalahamṣa*. His *Samkarabhyudaya* has also been published by Vanivilasa Press, Srīrangam.

82. RĀMACANDRA and GUṢACANDRA

Nāya dārpāṇa

(Ed. G. K. Shrigondevkar and L. B. Gandhi in 2 vols. Gaekwad Oriental Ser. Baroda vol. i 1929. Ed. based on a single MS : Peterson v, p. 188)

A work of this name, but probably not identical, is cited by Raṅganātha on *Vikramorvāsiya* and Bharatamallika on *Bhaṭṭi*. The present work is in four *vivekas*, dealing with Dramaturgy, and mentions twelve varieties of Rūpaka and a number of Upatūpakas. The author Rāmacandra was the one-eyed pupil of Jaina Hemacandra¹ of whom Guṣacandra was also a pupil. He thus flourished between 1100 and 1175 A.D. He also wrote two dramatic works respectively called *Raghu-vilāsa*² or *Raghu-vilāpa*³ where he mentions four other works by himself, as well as *Satya-hariścandra* (ed. B. R. Arte, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1898) which gives a curious Jaina version of the Hariścandra legend. Rāmacandra is said to have been the author of a hundred works (*prabandha-sata-kāra*), and no less

¹ Peterson, *Report* ix, pp. 16-7; Bühl's *Hemacandra* p. 44. The present work was first brought to notice by Sylvain Lévi in *IA*, cciii, 1923. P. K. Gode (*Studies*, i, pp. 36-42) places the work at 1150-1170 A.D.

² Peterson *Report* v, 145.

³ Bühl's *Kashmir Rep.* p. xliv.

than eleven of his dramatic works are quoted in the *Nāṭya-darpana*.

83. RĀMACANDRA NYĀYAVĀGĪŚA

Kāvya-candrikā or *Alaṅkāra-candrikā* (Aufrecht i. 101a, 778b), with commentary called *Alaṅkāra-mañjūṣā*

(ed. Comilla 1885 ; ed. Dacca 1886 with commentary of Jagabandhu Tarkavagisa ; ed. Venkatesvara Press, Bombay 1912, with commentary *Alaṅkāra-mañjūṣā* by Rāmacandra Śarman who may be the author himself)

A Bengal writer described as son of Vidyānidhi. Is he identical with Nyāyavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya, author of the *Kāvya-mañjari* commentary on the *Kuvalayānanda* (see above p. 229)?

84. RĀMA ŚARMAN or RĀMA KAVI

Nāyikā-varṇana in 42 stanzas (Madras Cat. xxii, no. 12901).

85. RĀMA SUBRAHMĀNYA

Alaṅkāra-sāstra-saṅgraha (Hultzsch 1562) or *Alaṅkāra-sāstra-vilāsa* (Madras Trm II C 1802, 1805 ; extract)

The author, also called Rāmasubbā, belonged to Tiruvisa-lore. He seems to be a very recent author, who appears to have also written some philosophical works noticed in the Catalogues cited above.

86. RĀMA SUDHĪ or SUDHĪŚVARA

Alaṅkāra-muktāvalī

(Ed. with *Ratna-śobhākara* comm. of Kṛṣṇa Sūri in Telugu script, Vizagapatam 1877-98)

The author was son of Nṛsiṁha.

87. LAKṢMĪDHARA DİKṢITA

- a. *Alamkāra-muktāvalī* (Aufrecht i. 32a)¹
- b. *Rasa-maṇjari*, cited by himself in his commentary on the *Gita-govinda*
- c. *Bharata-śāstra-grantha* (BORI MS no. 40 1916-18)²

The author was son of Yajñeśvara and Sarvāmbikā (or Ambikāmbā), grandson of Timmaya Somayājin, and brother and pupil of Koṇḍubhaṭṭa. He belonged to the Kāsyapa Gotra and bore the surname of Dakṣināmūrti-kimkara. His family came from Cerukūri on the Kṛṣṇā river (in Andhra country) which place Hultzsch thinks to be identical with modern Peddacerukūru near Bāpaṭla. He is identical with Lakṣmīdhara, author of the Prakrit grammar *Saṅbhāṣā-candrikā*. He also wrote commentaries on the *Anargha-rāghava*, *Prasanna-rāghava* and *Gita-govinda*. In the first of these commentaries it is said that after having led the life of a householder for a long time, he travelled to different countries and conquered all literary opponents, and then having renounced the cares of the world he became a *śamnyāsin* or *yati* with the name Rāmānanda or Rāmānandāśrama, under a Guru called Kṛṣṇāśrama. Lakṣmīdhara (who is also sometimes called Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa or Lakṣmaṇa Sūri) was patronised by Tirumālāraja, probably Tirumāla I of the third Vijayanagar dynasty³, to whom his *Śruti-rāñjanī* commentary on Jayadeva's

1 V. Raghavan (*New Catalogus Cat.* i, p. 296) queries whether this work is really the *Alamk. muktāvalī* of Viśveśvara (q.v.), son of Lakṣmīdhara, and refers to *ABORI*, xviii, 1937, p. 200.

2 See P. K. Gode *ABORI* xv, 1953, p. 240-42. Mentions *Bharatārṇava* and *Kavi-kaṇṭha-pāṭa*. The *Kavi-kaṇṭha-pāṭa* (*Madras Cat.* xxii, no. 12802), said to be based on some work of Pingala's, gives miscellaneous information about a poet's personal appearance, qualities etc. (cf. Rājasekhara, *Kav. Mim.* ch. x); the name of the author is not known. See above under *Gaurāṇḍrya*, p. 278.

3 *EJ* iii p. 238 Table. He died in 1572 A.D.

Gita-govinda is sometimes attributed¹. As the prince flourished in the middle of the 16th century, Lakṣmīdhara's date would be the same².

88. VALLABHA BHATTA

Alamkāra-kaumudi (ed. Granthamālā ii, 1889)

A short treatise of very recent times, dealing with poetic figures, the illustrations being in praise of Rāma.

89. VITTHALEŚVARA or VITTHALA DIKṢITA

Rīti-vṛtti-lakṣaṇa (Kielhorn, *Central Prov. Cat.* p. 104)

The author, also called Agnikumāra, was the second son of Vallabhācārya the famous religious reformer, and brother of Gopinātha, and father of seven sons, Giridhara, Raghunātha and others. He was born in 1515 A.D. For his other works, see Aufrecht i. 572ab, 135a, 225a, iii. 121a. His *Śringāra-rasa-maṇḍana* (ed. Mulchand Tulsidas Telivala, with a Gujarati trs. Bombay 1919) in ten Ullāsas is not a work on Śringāra Rasa, but an erotic-religious poem on Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa modelled obviously on Jayadeva's *Gita-govinda* and introducing songs in rhythmic rhymed metres.

90. VIDYĀRĀMA

Rasa-dīrghikā

(Peterson iii. no. 336 ; for a description of this work and extracts see *BORI MS Cat.* xii, no. 210, p. 240. MS incomplete)

Nothing is known of the author, but the work in five Sopānas was composed in Samvat 1706 (=1649-50 A. D.). It names *Kavi-kalpalatā* as one of the sources.

1 See Hultzsch 2112 ; *SgS* ii, pp. 203-5. See also *SgS* ii, pp. 63-5, 67 ; Hultzsch iii, pp. viii-ix.

2 See K. P. Trivedi, introd. to his ed. of the *Ṣaḍ-bhāṣā-candrikā* (Bombay Skt. Ser. 1916) pp. 14-17. P. K. Gode (*ABORI*, xv, pp. 240-42) would place him in the 3rd quarter of the 16th century.

91. VIŚVANĀTHA

Sāhitya-sudhā-sindhu (*Ulwar Catalogue*, extract 235; also *Jammu Cat.* no. 1254)

This South Indian author, who wrote in Benares, was son of Trimala or Trimalla Deva and grandson of Ananta of Dhārāsura city on the Godāvarī. Stein's Kashmirian MS¹ is dated in 1602 A.D.² He quotes at the beginning of his work from Mammāṭa and Bhoja, and elsewhere cites Caṇḍīdāsa (probably the same as the commentator on Mammāṭa) and Mahimabhaṭṭa. The work is in eight *sāraṅgas*. Viśvanātha also wrote a drama called *Mṛgāṅka-lekhā*, a MS of which is dated Saṃvat 1664 (=1608 A.D.).

92. VIŚVANĀTHA NYĀYA-(or SIDDHĀNTA-) PĀNCĀNANA

Alamkāra-pariṣkāra

This work is mentioned under Viśvanātha Nyāya-pāñcānana in S. C. Vidyabhushana's *Indian Logic* p. 479 (also p. 392). The author was son of Vidyānivāsa Bhāṭṭācārya and a brother of Rudra Vācaspati. He composed his well known Vaiśeṣika treatise *Bhāṣā-pariccheda* in 1634 A.D. and also wrote a *Pīṅgala-prakāśikā*. He was a native of Navadvipa (Bengal) and an adherent of the Navya Nyāya school of Raghunātha Śiromāṇi. See H. P. Sastri in *JASB* vi, 1910, p. 313.

1 *Jammu Cat.* p. xxix.

2 Stein speaks of a MS "transcribed from an autograph copy of the author. In the colophon referring to this original copy, which is added by another hand at the end of the Jammu MS, the date *saṃvat* 1659 (=A.D. 1602) can be made out with difficulty."

3 Sten Konow, *Ind. Drama* p. 113. The work has been published in the Sarasvati Bhavans Text Series, Benares.

- c. *Alamkāra-(kula)-pradīpa* (ed. Visnuprasad Bhandari, Chowkhamba Skt. Series, Benares 1923)
- d. *Kavīndra-karṇābharaṇa* (ed. in Kāvyamālā Gucchaka viii, 1891)
- e. *Rasa-candrikā* (ed. Visnuprasad Bhandari, Chowkhamba Skt. Series, Benares 1926)

The author was son of Lakṣmīdhara. He was born in Ālmoḍa ; hence he is called Pārvatiya. He flourished in the first half of the 18th century and died about its middle¹ at the age of 34. In the first work, the author refers to two dramas called Śrīgāra-mañjarī (*sāttvaka*)² p. 347 and Rukmiṇī-parinaya pp. 381, 387 by himself ; and the latest writers that he quotes appear to be Appayya Dikṣita and Jagannātha (both cited extensively). He cites also Mallinātha (p. 69) as a commentator on Daṇḍin (see above p. 71), Caṇḍīdāsa (pp. 125, 166), Maheśvara (p. 49, 111) who is probably the commentator on Mammaṭa, cited as Nyāyālamkāra (p. 82), as well as a work (p. 157) called *Kāvya-dākīnī*³. The Nyāyapañcānana, so extensively (eleven times) quoted, is probably Jayarāma Nyāyapañcānana (q.v.), another commentator on Mammaṭa. He gives the name of his elder brother as Umāpati (p. 357). In this work he deals with 61 poetic figures. The second work of our author, as he himself says, was written as an easier and briefer manual for beginners, after his first more extensive work. The third work *Alamkāra-pradīpa* deals entirely with poetic figures, enumerated as 119 and defined with illustrations. The fourth work deals in four chapters with enigmatology and Citra-kāvya (58 varieties). The fifth work deals with the different classes of heroes and heroines, and their characteristics. Viśveśvara was a scholiast of considerable activity and wrote a commentary called *Vyaṅgyārsha-kaumudi* or *Samañjasārthā* on Bbānudatta's

1 See Kāvyamālā, Gucchaka viii, pp. 51-52 fo.

2 Also quoted in his *Rasa-candrikā* p. 90.

3 See above p. 276.

Rāva-māriṇī (see above p. 249). For the other works, see Antrechit E. 1895. The Kāvya-māla editors (Goschukle 1911 p. 52) mention two other works Kāvya-nālaka and Kāvya-nāma by Viśwadevā.

95. VIŚVADĀSA.

2. Śāśvaprabodha Alampāṇa (AFI 4.59)

3. Kāvya-kāvya cited by himself in chapter viii of the above work.

The author was son of Mādhava. The Florentine MS. referred to above, contains only chapters 6 and 7, which deal with arche-gupta and śubhālambana respectively.

96. VĪRA NĀRĀYAṄA.

Sāhitya-dīnāmāṇi with a commentary
(Mādura Cat. no. 12265-68, extract)

According to the colophon, Vīra NārāyaṄa is the author; but in the work itself he is in the vocative case and praised as in the Bhāskarālīra. Vāmane Bhatta Bījā¹ is the real author of the work which bears the name of the patron. The alleged author seems to be the same as the Rājālī poetess Vīra of Kōṇārākṣa (end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century), the bore of the prose *Vemābhīṣṭā-cūḍā* or *Vīra-nārāyaṄa-cūḍā* of Vīraṇā (or Alībhāwā) Bhatta Bījā (ed. R. V. Krishnamachariar, Sivānti-Vāna Press 1910). There is also a reference to Padukodasi Vīra-Bījāpīla who is the same person. A commentary called *Śrīgūra-dīpikā* on the *Āmarāśādha* is attributed to Vīra-nārāyaṄa (Antrechit E. 1895) or Vīra-Bījāpīla (ibid. E. 1895). The *Sāhitya-dīnāmāṇi* (also called "vāṇīmāṇi") consists of seven chapters² which deal

1. For Vāmane Bhatta Bījā, see introd. to the Vāni Vīlā, ed. of the drama *Pāṇavipariṇaya*.

2. In the Tanjore Catalogue, it. no. 5308, p. 420b the work is described as having thirteen chapters.

with (1) *dhvani* (2) *śabdārtha* (3) *dhvani-bheda* (4) *guṇibhūta-vyaṅgya* (5) *dosa* (6) *guṇa* and (7) *alāṅkāra*. Possibly this is the work cited under the name *Sāhitya-cintāmaṇi* by Kumāra-svāmin (p. 97) and in the *Vṛtti-vārttika* (p. 4).

97. VIRESVARA PANDITA (BHATTĀCĀRYA) surnamed Śrīvara

Rasa-ratnāvalī (IOC iii, 1233/12576, p. 359)

This Vireśvara is the son of Lakṣmaṇa and father of Veṇidatta, the last of whom, besides being the author of the *Alāṅkāra-candrodaya*, wrote a commentary on Bhānu's *Rasa-taraṅgiṇi* (see above p. 250). The present work quotes Rudraḥhaṭṭa's *Śrīgūra-tilaka*, and is limited chiefly to Śrīgūra-rasa and treatment of the Nāyikās.

98. VECĀRĀMA NYĀYĀLĀṄKĀRA *Kāvya-ratnākara*

The author was a Bengal writer, son of Rājārāma. He mentions this work in his *Ananda-taraṅgiṇi*, which describes an itinerary from Chandernagar to Benares (Mitra 305). He also wrote a work on *Jyotiṣa*, and is probably identical with Vecārāma, who wrote a commentary on Deveśvara's *Kavikalpalatā* (see above p. 262).

99. VEṄKAPAYYA PRADHĀNA

Alāṅkāra-maṇi-darpaṇa (Rice 280)

The author is known as Pradhāni Veṅkayāmātya of Mysore, ca. 1763-80 A.D.

100. VEṄKATA NĀRĀYAṄA DIKṢITA

Śrīgūra-sūra (Madras Cat. xxii, 12958-9, extract)

The author, son of Kāmeśvara Vaidika of the Goḍavarti family and Lakṣmī, refers in this work to his larger *Śrīgūra-*

sārāvalī for fuller treatment. The present work consists of six *ullāsas* dealing with (1) *kāvya-svarūpa* (2) *nāyaka-nāyikā-lakṣaṇa-vibhāga* (3) *nāyakādi-sahāya-nirūpaṇa* (4) *rasa-bhāva-svarūpa* (5) *caturvidha-śrīngāra* (6) *daśarūpaka-svarūpa*. The author is said to have composed works in eight languages.

101. VENKATĀCĀRYA (also called Kirīṭi Veṅkaṭācārya)
surnamed Tarkālamkāra Vāgiśvara
Alamkāra-kaustubha

(*New Catalogus Catalogorum* i, p. 292-93)

This writer, son of Aṇṇayārya Dīkṣita of Surapuram and of the Tirumala Bukkapaṭṭaṇam Śrīśaila family, should be distinguished from the poet Veṅkīācārya (author of the *Viśvaguṇādarśa*) who was son of Raghunātha and grandson of Appayya. Our author was patronised by Veṅkaṭa, son of Pāmi Nāyaka (died in 1802 A.D.). See *Journal of Andhra Hist. Res. Society* xiii, i, pp. 17 and 20-22.

102. VENIDATTA ŚARMAN, TARKAVĀGĪŚA BHATTĀCĀRYA, surnamed Śrīvara

Alamkāra-candrodaya (IOC iii, 1198/235)

This author, son of Vīreśvara Śrīvara, also wrote a commentary on Bhānuḍatta's *Rasa-taraṇgiṇī* (q.v.). His genealogy is given thus: Mahīdhara (a māntrika of Kāśīpati)→Kalyāṇa→Lakṣmaṇa→Vīreśvara. He had the surname Śrīvara and belonged to *nāgacchātra-dhara-dvijottama-kula*. The *Alamkāra-candrodaya* is in six *ullāsas* dealing with (1) *kāvya-svarūpa* (2) *kāvya-vibhāga* (3) *doṣa* (4) *guṇa* (5) *alamkāra* and (6) *upamā*.

103. ŚĀNKHA, ŚĀNKHADHARA or ŚĀNKHACŪDA
(sometimes called ŚĀMKARA), surnamed Kavirāja
Kavi-karpaṭī or *Kavi-karpaṭīka-racanā*

(Jammu Cat. no. 1135 (p. 267) extract; BORI MS Cat. xii, nos. 42-46; extracts. Printed at Durbhanga 1892)

The word *kavi-karpaṭī* means "the ragged cloth of a poet," and the work is a strange effort at supplying a profuse stock of expressions which may be of use in poetic compositions for ideas of frequent occurrence. Various ways of expressing one and the same thought are indicated to suit various metres. The author, who also wrote the *Laṭakamelaka-prahasana* (ed. Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1889), was court-poet of *mahāmāṇḍalikādhirāja* Govinda-nṛpati, king of Kānyakubja, and wrote in the first half of the 12th century (about 1113-1143 A.D.). His verses are quoted in the anthologies of *Śārhgadhabha* (nos. 155, 3632) and *Jahlaṇa*, and in the *Sāhitja-darpaṇa* (ad iii. 219 p. 176, *guror giraḥ pañca*, anonymously). The verse cited under *Karpaṭīka* in Kṣemendra's *Aucitya-vicāra* (under sl. 15) is attributed to Māṭīgupta by *Kahlaṇa* (iii. 181) and in the *Subhāṣitāvalī*¹ (3181).

104. ŚAMBHUNĀTHA

Alāmākāra-lakṣaṇa

(Peterson v. 407; BORI Cat. xii, no. 19, p. 18)

105. ŚĀTAKARÑI

Cited as a writer on Dramaturgy (on *Sūtra-dhāra*) by Śāmkara in his commentary on *Sakuntalā*², and by Śāgara Nandin in his *Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-kōṣa* (on *Sūtradhāra*).

1 See Peterson's paper on *Aucitya-vicāra*, 1885, p. 21. There is a *Kavi-karpaṭīka* of Vādiadra noticed in *Tanjore Cat.* vi, no. 3753-56 (pp. 2711-14); one of these MSS belonged king Serfoji who acquired it during his pilgrimage to Benares.

2 *ABod* 135a. Mention is also made of an anonymous work *Kavi-kāṇṭha-hāra*.

106. ŚIVARĀMA TRIPĀTHIN

- a. *Rasa-ratna-hāra* and its commentary *Lakṣmī-vihāra* (ed. Kāvyamālā Gucchaka 6, 1890, pp. 118-140; *Jammu Cat.* p. 273 (extract))
- b. *Alaṅkāra-samudgaka*, cited at the end of his *Rāvaiya-puravadha*, where he gives a list of his own 34 works. Stein p. 292.

For the author, son of Kṛṣṇarāma and grandson of Trilokacandra, and brother of Govindarāma, Mukundarāma and Keśavarāma, see *JAOS* xxiv 57-63. He appears to be a comparatively recent writer, quoting *Paribhāṣendu-śekhara*, which alone will suffice to place him in the beginning of the 18th century. He is identical with the commentator on the *Vāsavadattā* (see Fitzedward Hall, *Bibl. Ind.* ed. 1859); for in this commentary he refers to his *Rasa-ratna-hāra* pp. 4, 9, 193, 206, 207. The present work, in 100 stanzas, deals with the characteristics of *rasa* and *nāyaka-nāyikā*, and quotes extensively Bhānudatta and *Daśa-rūpaka*. For his other works, see Aufrecht i. 652b, ii. 155b; also Stein, *Jammu Cat.* p. 292. He also appears to have written a commentary (*Viṣama-padī*) on *Mammaṭa* (see above, p. 176) and a work on metrics called *Kāvya-lakṣmī-prakāśa* or 'vihāra, as well as a commentary on the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, called *Vidyā-vilāsa*¹.

107. SOBHĀKARAMITRA

Alaṅkāra-ratnākara

(Ed. C. R. Devadhar, Poona 1942)

The author belonging to Kashmir was son of Trayīśvaramitra. The work is written in the form of Sūtra (107 in number), Vṛtti and illustrations. The poet Yaśaskara of Kashmir extracted the Sūtras from this work and wrote his *Devī-stotra* for the purpose of illustrating them (Peterson i, pp. 77-78; extract p. 81). Ratnakāṇṭha (q.v.) appears to have commented

1 See P. K. Gode, *Studies in Ind. Lit. Hist.* ii, p. 237-41.

upon both the Sūtras and the Stotra. The date of Śobhākara is not known, but from the definitions and number of Alāṅkāras given, he appears to be a comparatively recent writer, considerably later than Ruyyaka whom he criticises. But as he is quoted by Jagannātha (p. 202 = *sūtra* 11)¹ and by Appayya (*Vṛtti-vārttika*, p. 20), he is earlier than the end of the 16th century. It appears, however, that Jayaratha in his *Vimarsinī* commentary defends Ruyyaka against Śobhākara's attacks. Coming after Ruyyaka and preceding Jayaratha Śobhākara probably belonged to the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century. The work deals entirely with poetic figures, the number of which is 109.

108. ŚRIKANTHA

Rasa-kaumudi

(Aufrecht i. 494a = BORI MS no. 303 of 1880-81 : Cat. xii, no. 347, p. 463f. Also H. P. Sastri, Cat. ASB MSS vi, no. 4931/8383, p. 481; the MS was copied in Samvat 1652 = 1596 A.D.)

The work combines Sāhitya and Saṃgraha in ten chapters divided into two Khaṇḍas, Pūrva and Uttara. It was composed in 1575 A.D. The author was patronised by Śatruघna or Śatruṣalya Jāma (Jam. Sattarsal) of Navanagar (1569 to 1608 A.D.).²

109. ŚRIKARA MĪŚRA

Alāṅkāra-tilaka (Aufrecht i. 32a)

110. ŚRĪNIVĀSA DĪKSITA

a. *Alāṅkāra-kaustubha* (Aufrecht i. 31b)

b. *Kāvya-darpana* (Ricc 282)

1 See above p. 235 (under Jagannātha).

2 P. K. Gode in *ABORI* xii, 1931, p. 202-4; also xiv, 1933, p. 329 see MSS Cat. BORI, xii, pp. 463-66.

c. *Kāvya-sāra-saṃgraha* (Augsburg i. 102b ; SCC vii 19)

d. *Sāhitya-sūkṣma-sarāṇi* (Rice 244)

This author may be identical with Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivāsa, father of Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita (q.v.). If this were so, then the *Kāvya-darpana* above is the work of his son bearing the same title (see above p. 296), mistakenly entered here in most catalogues. As the first verse of the third work shows, it is three parts : (1) *kāvya-lakṣaṇa-saṃgraha* (2) *varṇa-saṃgraha* and (2) *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*. It quotes the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. About 1800 A.D.

111. SĀGARA NANDIN

Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-kośa

(Ed. Myles Dillon, Oxford Univ. Press 1937)

The work is published from Devanāgarī transcript of a unique MS discovered by Sylvain Lévi in Nepal.¹ As its name signifies, the work brings together a number of views of different notable writers on important dramaturgic topics. Its date² is uncertain ; but as it cites from Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (p. 44, *vilāsa-vinyāsa-kramo*) it cannot be earlier than the first quarter of the 10th century. On the other hand, it is known to Rāyamukuta (1431 A.D.), Viśvanātha (between 1300 and 1350) and Bahurūpa Miśra (later than 1250 A.D.). The topics dealt with are : 1. Rūpaka and its ten varieties. 2-5. Five Avasthās, dialects to be employed, five Artha-prakṛtis. 6-10. Five Upakṣepakas, five Saṃdhis, 21 Pradeśas of Saṃdhī, four Patākāsthāna, Vṛttis and their division. 11. Excellences of the Nāyaka. 12-13. Thirty-six Nāṭya-lakṣaṇas, ten Guṇas,

1. S. Lévi in *JA*, xciii, 1923, p. 210f.

2. For a discussion of date see P. K. Gode in *ABORI*, xix, 1938, pp. 280-88 (*Studies*, i. pp. 48-56) ; M. Ramkrishna Kavi in *NIA* ii, p. 412-19. For textual study see V. Raghavan in *Journal of the Univ. of Gauhati* iii, 1952, pp. 17-33 and *Annals of Orient. Research*, Madras Univ., xvi, 1958-59.

thirty-four Nātyālāmākāras. 14-16. Rasas and Bhāvas. 17. Types of Nāyikā and their excellences. 18. Minor forms of Rūpaka. The work is important not only for its collection of various views on these topics, but also for its citation of a large number of dramatic and dramaturgic works.¹

112. SĀMARĀJA DĪKṢITA

Śrīgārāmṛta-laharī

(ed. Kāvyamālā Gucchaka xiv. MSS: *Jammu Cat.* no. 1243; *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12961)

The author, also called Śyāmarāja, was son of Narahari Bindupurandara, and wrote also *Triptura-sundarī-mānasapūjana-stotra* (ed. Kāvyamālā Gucchaka ix) and other poems. He lived in Mathurā at the latter part of the 17th century. His son Kāmarāja, whose *Śrīgāra-kalikā-kāvya* is published in Kāvyamālā Gucchaka xiv, as well as a Prahasana named *Dhūrta-nartaka*² was also a poet; while his grandson Vrajarāja and his great-grandson Jīvarāja wrote commentaries on the *Rasa-maṇjari* and *Rasa-tarāṅgiṇī* of Bhānudatta respectively (q.v.). The present work deals with Rasa, especially Śrīgāra, after Bhānudatta. Our author wrote his drama *Śrīdūma-coriṭa* in 1681 A.D. for the Bundela-prince Ānandatāya. His son Kāmarāja also appears to have written a *Kāvyendu-prakāśa* in 15 Ullāsas (Kalās), which is apparently the same work as entered anonymously in Bhandarkar, *Rep.* 1887-91, no. 601 and in *BORI MSS Cat.* xii, no. 142, pp. 158-60, which see for information about this work.

Sāmarāja, who wrote *Rati-kallolīṇī* in 1719 A.D. but who does not give his parentage, is probably a different person.³

1 For an index of authors and titles, see ed. as above pp. 145-47 and P. K. Gode as cited above p. 435 fn. As authors on Nātya-sūtra are mentioned Āśmakuṭṭa (lines 83, 437, 2766, 2775), Cārvāya (l. 392; also mentioned in Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-sūtra* I, 1.12; l. 5.22), and Bādarā.

2 Wilson ii, 407; Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 262-63.

3 See P. K. Gode in *ABORI* x, pp. 153-59.

modern authorities on the subject, deals with and illustrates the Arthālamkāras by means of examples eulogising the virtues of Sudhindra Yati himself who is made out to be a follower of the Mādhwā sect. He is probably the same as Sudhindra Yati, disciple and successor of Vijayīndra Yati (d. 1623 A. D.). The *Alamkāra-nikarṣa* by Sudhendra in Oppert 4797 is probably this work. The *Alamkāra-mañjarī* appears to be separate work by Sudhindra Yati in which the illustrative verses are in praise of the teacher Vijayīndra. Most of the MSS contain the Śahdālamkāras only. There is a commentary on this work called *Madhu-dhārā* by Sumatīndra, a successor of Sudhindra. We are told that Sudhindra was living in the Tanjore district in the 17th century. A drama called *Subhadrā-parīṇaya* is attributed to Sudhindra Yati in *Madras Cat.* xxi no. 12729 and a drama called *Subhadrā-dhārañjaya* to Vijayīndra Yati in *ibid* no. 12728.

118. SUNDARA MISRA AUJĀGARI

Nāṭya-pradīpa (Aufrechti. 284b, 791a)

The work is dated in 1613 A.D. It is cited by Rāghavabhaṭṭa on *Śakuntalā* (ed. N.S.P. 1886, p. 6). This work repeats *verbatim* a large portion of the *Dāsa-rūpaka* (see pref. to Hall's ed.). In the work itself the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* is referred to. The author is the same as Sundara Miśra who wrote the *Ahhirāmamaṇi-nāṭaka* in seven acts in 1599 A. D. which is mentioned as his own (*ABod* 137b-138a; Kielhorn *Central Prov.* p. 68; Wilson ii p. 395). See *IOC* iii, pp. 347-48, no. 1199/1148d (extract).

119. SONANĀRYA

Nāṭya cūḍāmaṇi

(*Madras Cat.* xxii 12998, with a Telugu commentary)

This is a very recent work on dancing and music¹. The

¹ See V. Raghavan on Later Saṅgīta Literature in the *Journal of Madras Music Acad.* iv.

author is described as one famous for *asṭāvadhāna* (attention to eight things at a time).

120. HARIDĀSA

Prastāva-ratnākara

(Weber 827 ; Aufrecht i 360a, ii 212a iii 77a)

The author was son of Puruṣottama of the Karaṇa family, and the work is a metrical compilation dealing with *kūṭha*, *samasyā* and enigmatic composition in general, as well as with miscellaneous subjects including *Nīti*, *Jyotiṣa* etc. It was compiled in 1557 A.D.

121. HARIPRASĀDA MĀTHURA

a. *Kāvyārtha-gumpha*

(Aufrecht ii. 20b ; *BORI MS Cat.* xii, no. 131, p. 145, the MS is dated Saṃvat 1775)

b. *Kāvyāloka*

(Aufrecht i. 103a, extract in Peterson iii p. 356-7)

The second work in seven *prakāśas* is dated in Saṃvat 1734=1728 A.D. A MS of the first work bears the date 1775 which is possibly the date also of its composition. Hariprasāda is also author of a work on *ācāra* (*māsādi-nirūpāṇa*), see Peterson iv, p. cxxxvii. A *Kāvyāloka* is cited by Appayya in his *Citra-mīmāṃsā* ; but this must have been an earlier work. The *Kāvyāloka* cited by Kumārasvāmin p. 73 refers the *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 221), and is not, as supposed by Harichand Sastri (p. 27, no. 234) a reference to the present work. The author was son of Māthura Miśra Gaṅgeśa (see above under Sukhalāl).

122. HARIHARA

a. *Śringāra-bheda-pradīpa* (Burnell 59a)

b. *Bindvalaṇikāra*, cited in *Ekāvalī* p. 242 (on Dīpaka)

One Harihara is referred to in the *Ekāvalī* p. 19 as having received amazing wealth from king Arjuna, who is supposed

by Bhandarkar and Trivedi (see above p. 206) to be identical with Arjunavarman of Mālava, whose earliest and latest known dates are 1211 and 1216 A.D. If this Harihara be our author, then his date will be the first quarter of the 13th century. The *Śrīgāra-bheda** deals, among other topics, with the ten *Avasthās* of Vipralambha Śāṅgāra, as we know from a passage which is quoted by Viśveśvara in his *Rasa-candrikā* (p. 55).

123. HALADHARA RATHA

Kāvya-tattva-vicāra

(H. P. Sastri's *Report*, 1895-1900, p. 16).

ANONYMOUS WORKS

We give below a list of some minor works on *Alaṅkāra*, of which the names of the authors are unknown or uncertain:

1. *Alaṅkāra-kārikā*. Aufrecht i. 31b.
2. *Alaṅkāra-kaumndi-vyākhyā*. Madras Cat. xxii, 12784. Neither the name of the author of the original treatise nor that of the commentary is given. It treats of poetic figures.
3. *Alaṅkāra-candrikā*. Rice 284 (Aufrecht i. 32).
4. *Alaṅkāra darpaṇa* in Prakrit, consisting of 134 Ślokas devoted to the treatment of poetic figures. Monatsber. Berl. Akad. 1874, 282.
5. *Alaṅkāra-prakaraṇa*. ŚgŚ i. no 52.
6. *Alaṅkāra-prakāśikā*. Madras Cat. xxii, 12791. It deals with poetic figures and quotes from the *Kāvya-prakāśa*.
7. *Alaṅkāra-mayñkha*. Oppert 1754 (Aufrecht i. 32).
8. *Alaṅkāra-vādārtha*. Śabda-bheda discussion, starting with the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*. HPS i, 12.
9. *Alaṅkāra-saṅgraha*. Madras Cat. xxii, 12795. It enumerates and classifies the various poetic figures.
10. *Alaṅkāra-sarvrasva*. Madras Cat. xxii, 12798 (MS. incomplete). The author says that his teacher composed a work on *Alaṅkāra* in praise of king Gopāladeva. It is a treatise on the general topics of *Alaṅkāra*, but the MS is incomplete, breaking off with the *Guṇa-prakaraṇa*. It appears to be a recast of *Pratāparndriya*. For the uncertain name of the author see V. Raghavan, *New Cat. Cat.* i, 2976; *Number of Rasas* p. 50, also note in *Addendum*.
11. *Alaṅkārānmkramāṇikā*. Oppert 5489 (Aufrecht i. 32b).

- 12. *Alaṅkāreśvara*, cited by Śivarāma on *Vāsavadattā* p. 4.
- 13. *Kavi-kaṇṭha-pāśa*. See above p. 278, 299 fn. *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12802-03.
- 14. *Kavi-kalpalatikā*. Burnell 54a.
- 15. *Kavi-saraṇa-dīpikā*. A work on poetic composition by one Ratneśvara. H. P. Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS.* vi, no. 4915A/8069, pp. 471-73.
- 16. *Kāvya-kalāpa*. Aufrecht i. 100b.
- 17. *Kāvya-kaustubha*. Oppert ii. 3616 (Aufrecht i. 101a).
- 18. *Kāvya-dīpikā*. Oppert 541, 636; *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12815. A compilation for beginners. Probably the same as Kānticandra's *Kāvya-dīpikā* (see below).
- 19. *Kāvya-pariccheda*, Oppert ii. 8727.
- 20. *Kāvya-ratna*. Oppert ii. 6237. See above p. 220.
- 21. *Kāvya-lakṣaṇa*. *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12829. It is based on the Kārikās of *Kāvya-prakāśa*, but adds a section on dramaturgy (cf. Oppert i. 1793 and ii. 6238).
- 22. *Kāvya-lakṣaṇa-vicūra*. *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12979. A comparatively modern work on the general topics of Alamkāra, citing the *Citra-mīmāṃsā* and the *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*.
- 23. *Kāvya-mṛta-taraṅgiṇī*. See above p. 177.
- 24. *Kāvyaopadeśa*, cited by Hemādri on *Raghu* (Aufrecht i. 103a).
- 25. *Daśarūpaka vivaraṇa*. *Madras Cat.* xxii, 12892. This work is not a commentary on the *Daśa-rūpaka*, but a short treatise, mostly in the nature of a compilation, explaining the characteristics of dramatic composition. It may have formed the Nāṭaka-section of some comprehensive work on Poetics. It refers to *Daśa-rūpaka* by name.
- 26. *Nāṭaka-ratna-kośa*, cited by Rāyamukuta and Bhānujī. *ABod* 182b. This may be the *Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratnakōśa* of Sāgara Nandin, see above p. 310.
- 27. *Nāṭakāvatāra*, mentioned by Mohanadāsa (q.v.). *ABod* 142a.

28. *Nātya-darpaya*, cited by Raṅganātha on *Vikramorvaśya* (ed. N.S.P. 1914, p. 7) and Bharatamallika on *Bhaṭṭi* xiv. 3. See p. 297, no. 82 above.

29. *Nātya-sarvasvā-dīpikā*. *BORI MS* no. 41 of 1916-18 (*Cat.* xii, no. 344, p. 453). Purports to be a comm. on the so-called *Ādibharata* in 5 Skandhas. 32 Adhyāyas and 221 Prakaraṇas, of which a fragment is found in a Mysore MS named *Ādibharata*. For an account of this MS and the work see S. K. De. *The Problem of Bharata and Ādi-Bharata in Some Problems of Skt. Poetics*, Calcutta 1959, pp. 156-76.

30. *Rasa-kalikā*, cited by Vāsudeva on *Karpūra-mañjarī* (Aufrecht i. 494a) For a *Rasa-kalikā* by Rudrabhaṭṭa see V. Raghavan *Number of Rasas*, p. 53f. This work is found in two MSS in the Govt. Orient Library, Madras (nos. R. 2241 and 3274). It is identical with the work cited by Vāsudeva, for all the six verses quoted by him are found in it.

31. *Rasa-kaumiudi*. Peterson v, no. 414. P. K. Gode (*Cal. Oriental Journal* iii, pp. 35-37) gives the latter half of the 18th century A. D. as the probable date of this anonymous work.

32. *Rasa-gandha*. Rice 286 (Aufrecht i. 494b).

33. *Rasa-gāndhāra*. Aufrecht i. 494b (may be a mistake for *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* of Jagannātha).

34. *Rasa-ratnākara*, cited by Mallinātha on *Kirāta* ix. 71 and on *Meghadūta* (ed. Nandargikar, 1894, pp. 64, 67, 85, 91). Aufrecht, i. 496a (commentary by Hṛdayarāma Miśra).

35. *Rasa-ratna-kośa*, anonymous, is mentioned in Aufrecht i. 495b ; but it may be Kumbha's work of the same name (see p. 271-72).

36. *Rasa-bindu* and *Rasānūrtta-sindhu*. Kathvate no. 703 and 707 ; *BORI MS Cat* xii, no. 212, pp. 245-46.

37. *Rasa-viveka*. *Madras. Trn C* 589. (Cf. Oppert 5144).

38. *Rasa-samuccaya*. Aufrecht i. 496b.

39. *Rasa-sāgara*, cited by Mallinātha on *Śiśu* xv. 89.

40. *Rasa-sudhākara*, cited by Mallinātha on *Raghu* vi. 12,

It is *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* of Śiṅga-khūpāla which Mallinātha cites in his com. on *Kumāra*. For this work see above p. 239.

41. *Rasākara*, cited by Mallinātha on *Megha-dūta* (ed. *ibid.* p. 87, 97).

42. *Rasika-sarvarsa*, cited by Nārāyaṇa on *Gīta-govinda* v. 2; also by Rucipati in his comm. on *Anargha-rāghava* (NSP ed.) p. 13.

43. *Rahasya*, probably an abbreviation of some more definite title, cited by Mallinātha on *Kirāta* iii. 60, xiv. 40, on *Śiśu* xiii. 10.

44. *Śrīṅgāra-kaustubha*. Rice 288 (Aufrecht i. 660b).

45. *Śrīṅgāra-candrodaya*, cited in *Prastāva-cintāmaṇi*, Weher i, p. 229.

46. *Śrīṅgāra-taraṅgiṇi*. Oppert 2465; Rice 288 (= Aufrecht i. 660b).

47. *Śrīṅgāra-pavana*. Oppert 5766 (Aufrecht i. 661a).

48. *Śrīṅgāra-mañjari*. Aufrecht i. 661a.

49. *Śrīṅgāra-vidhi*. Oppert 5680 (Aufrecht i. 661a).

50. *Śrīṅgāra-ratnākara*. Aufrecht ii. 158a.

It is not always clear, from the citations or descriptions in the catalogues, whether some of the works on Rasa and Śrīṅgāra noted here are really works on Poetics or partake of the nature of erotic Kāvya. But care has been taken to exclude the latter wherever possible.

Among recent publications (in Sanskrit) on Poetics, produced late in the 19th century, may be mentioned:

(1) *Alamkāra-sūtra* by Candrakānta Tarkālamkāra, a Bengal Pandit who lived within living memory. (Publ. Calcutta 1899).

(2) *Yaśovanta-yaśo-bhūṣāṇa* by Pandit Rāmakarṇa in praise of a native prince of Rajaputana of that name. (Publ. Godhapur 1897).

(3) *Alamkāra-maṇi-hāra* by Śrīkṛṣṇa Brahmācārin, published in Mysore Govt. Oriental Series in 4 vols, nos. 51, 85, 68, 72. The author is called Kṛṣṇabrahmataṇtra Parakāla-

svāmin, a recent pontiff of the Parakāla Śrīvaiṣṇava Math in Mysore.

(4) *Kāvya-dīpikā* of Kānticandra Mukhopādhyāya Vidyāratna (ed. Calcutta 1870, 1886, with a comm. by Jivananda Vidyasagar 1919 ; ed. Haridatta Sastri, Lahore 1939, with Skt. and Hindi commentary). It is a compilation for beginners from Māniśa and other authors by a modern writer belonging to the 19th century.

(5) *Alaṅkāra-sāra-maṇjarī* with Skt. text and Hindi comm. by Narayan Sastri Khiste, ed. Narahari Sastri Thatte, Chowkhamba Skt. Series 1933.

CONCLUSION

(I)

An attempt has been made in the foregoing pages not only to indicate the diversity as well as immensity of Sanskrit Alāṅkāra literature, but also to settle its relative chronology as a workable basis for an historical treatment. If we leave aside its unknown beginnings and Bharata, the historic period of its growth covers broadly a thousand years from 800 to 1800 A.D. It is marked by a speculative activity, surprising alike for its magnitude and its acuteness. This activity in its early stage centres in Kashmir, to which place belong most of the famous and original writers on Poetics. We do not indeed know the place of origin of the two earliest writers, Bharata and Bhāmaha, but immediately after them we find Vāmana, Udbhaṭa, Rudraṭa, Mukula, Ānandavardhana, Lollāṭa, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Abhinavagupta, Kṣemendra, Kuntaka, Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka flourishing in Kashmir. The only important exception is found in Daṇḍin who was probably a South Indian writer. Coming to later times we find the study extending itself to Central India, Gujarat, the Dekkan and Bengal. In South India, no doubt, this study was kept alive by a succession of brilliant, if not very original, writers; but these contributions of later times, though greater in bulk and sometimes superior in a certain acuteness, never supersede the volume of original work done in Kashmir, which may be fittingly regarded as the home-land, if not the birthplace, of the Alāṅkāra-śāstra. The writers of Central India, Gujarat, the Dekkan and Bengal only carry on the tradition, as well as acknowledge the authority, of the Kashmirian originators of the discipline.

(2)

Although our history covers a period of more than a thousand years, it is yet marked by several well-defined stages.

in this period is Bharata's more or less elaborate exposition of Dramaturgy, and incidentally of Rasa, which element, however, is considered not in relation to Poetry and Poetics, but in connexion with Drama and Dramaturgy.

This is followed by a comparatively brief but important period of extraordinary fertility and creative genius, beginning with Bhāmaha and ending with Ānandavardhana, in which we find most of the fundamental problems of Sanskrit Poetics discussed and settled in their general outlines. We have, on the one hand, Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and Rudraṭa, devoting themselves to the consideration of those decorative devices of poetic expression which are known as Alāṃkāras (poetic figures), and confining themselves chiefly to an external art or theory of ornament, from which the discipline itself takes its name and its original tradition. Daṇḍin and Vāmana, on the other hand, emphasise in poetry the objective beauty of representation realised by means of what they call Mārga or Riti (roughly 'diction') and its constituent excellences, the ten Guṇas. Both these systems, which emphasise respectively the elements of Alāṃkāra and Riti in poetry, content themselves with the working out of the outward forms of expression, the advantages of which were considered sufficient for poetry. They point out the faults to be avoided and the excellences to be attained, and describe the poetical embellishments which should enhance its beauty, insomuch so that the whole discipline came to receive the significant designation of Alāṃkāra-śāstra or the Science of Poetical Embellishment.

Side by side, with these early writers, however, we have the commentators on Bharata (like Lallaṭa, Saṅkuka and others) who were bringing into prominence the aesthetic importance of Rasa, the consideration of the moods, sentiments and feelings, which we find reacting upon and influencing even the theorists of rival persuasion (e.g. Daṇḍin, Udbhaṭa, Vāmana and Rudraṭa) who betray themselves more and more alive to the significance of this element in poetry.

But the discussion of *Rasa* appears to have been, so far, confined chiefly to the sphere of the dramatic art, and its bearings on poetry were not fully realised until the *Dhvanikāra* and *Ānandavardhana* had come into the field.

These new theorists, headed by *Ānandavardhana*, maintain that no system of Poetics, like no system of Dramaturgy, can entirely ignore the moods, feelings and sentiments as essential factors in poetry, and must therefore find an important place for *Rasa* in its scheme. What was thus already established in the drama was taken over and applied to poetry, profoundly modifying, as it did, the entire conception of the *Kāvya*. The *Rasa* came to be considered as the "essenee" (*ātman*) of poetry ; and in order to harmonise it in poetic theory, the new school evolved a theory of "suggestion" (*dhvani*) as the means of its expression. Not satisfied, however, with working up the concept of *Rasa* into their system, the new theorists devoted themselves to the examination of the already accumulated ideas of *Alaṃkāra* and *Rīti* (with its constituent *Guṇa* and *Doṣa*), with a view to correlate them to the new idea of *Dhvani* (and *Rasa*), and thus by synthesis evolve a comprehensive theory of Poetics.

The interval between *Ānandavardhana* and *Mammaṭa* was taken up in settling precisely the details of the new system, which was raised to almost exclusive recognition by the final text-book of *Mammaṭa*. Its success was so complete that the new concept of *Dhvani* was unquestionably accepted by most later writers, and the systems which emerged after *Mammaṭa* could no longer be strictly regarded as entirely independent systems.

(4)

But a new theory, however systematic or comprehensive, is never accepted without some opposition. *Ānandavardhana's* system, no doubt, absorbed and overshadowed in course of time all the earlier systems ; but in the interval between *Ānandavardhana* and *Mammaṭa*, while it was still

striving for supremacy, we find a few vigorous but short-lived reactionary movements which refused to accept Ānandavardhana's new interpretation. Thus, we have Kuntaka who strove to make Bbāmaba's concept of Vakrokti elaborate and comprehensive enough to include the new ideas; Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who raised his voice on behalf of the Rasa-systems against their acceptance; and Mahimabhaṭṭa who attempted to settle the new concept of Dhvani with the technical process of logical inference. All these writers, however, do not deny the newly established doctrine of Dhvani, but they try to explain it in terms of already recognised ideas. In spite of these nonconformist schools, however, whose feeble opposition languished for want of support even in the time of Mammāṭa, the system of Poetics, as finally outlined by Ānandavardhana and worked out in detail by Mammāṭa and his followers, was established without question in almost all writings from the 12th century downwards. Here and there we have some surviving exponents of some old tradition, like the Vāgbhāṭas or the followers of Bhoja, as well as specialised departments which stood apart like the group of Kavī-śikṣā-writers or the erotic Rasa-writers; but in the main, the creative days of the science were over, and no new theory forthcoming, the system of Ānandavardhana, as represented by Mammāṭa, reigned supreme, even influencing, to an obvious extent, the writers who would pretend to stand apart.

(5)

These considerations, which will become clearer as we proceed in our study of details in the next volume of this work will enable us to fix the rough outlines of the history of Sanskrit Poetics and divide it, for convenience of treatment, into several periods in conformity to chronology and the stages of development through which its doctrines passed. The dim beginnings of the discipline, like the beginnings of most other departments of Indian speculation, are hidden from us, until it issues forth in the works of Bharata and

Bhāmaha in a more or less self-conscious form. Then starts a period, ending with Ānandavardhana, which may be characterised as the most creative stage in its history, a stage in which the dogmas and doctrines of the different systems were formulated and settled in their general outlines, giving us at least four different systems which emphasise respectively the theories of Rasa, of Alāṃkāra, of Rīti and of Dhvani in poetry. To this period belong Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and Rudraṭa, Daṇḍin and Vāmana, the commentators on Bharata (Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka and others), the *Viśṇu-dharmottara* and *Agni-purāṇa*, and lastly, the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana. Between Ānandavardhana and Mammaṭa, we have a third definitive period which ends with the ultimate standardisation of a complete scheme of Poetics, with the Dhvani-theory in its centre, in which the divergent gleams of earlier speculations are harmonised into a focus, and which finds itself finally set forth in a well-defined and precise form in the text-book of Mammaṭa. To this period also belong reactionary theorists, like Kuntaka and Mahimabhaṭṭa, as well as Bhoja who carries on the same tradition as that of the *Agni-purāṇa*, and Dhanañjaya who writes on Dramaturgy. The period which follows this is necessarily a scholastic period of critical elaboration, the chief work of which consists in summarising and setting forth in a systematic form (generally after Mammaṭa) the results of the final speculations, and also in indulging in fine distinctions and hair-splitting refinements on minute questions. This stage, therefore, is marked by great scholastic acumen, if not by remarkable originality or creative genius ; but at the same time it denotes a progressive deterioration of the study itself. The branching-off of some specialised and practical groups of writers from the main stem is to be explained as due rather to this degenerate spirit of the times than to any real split in the domain of poetic theory or to any desire for independent thinking. It is also the age of numberless commentators, and of commentators on commentators, who busied themselves with the

hardly inspiring task of explanation, of expansion or restriction of the already established rules. We have also now a number of popular writers who wanted to simplify the study for general enlightenment, the lowest stage being reached when we come to the manuals and school-books of quite recent times.

(6)

We may, therefore, conclude here by broadly indicating the bearings of the chronological results of this volume on our enquiry in general, in the light of which (as well as in the light of what follows in the next volume) we may tentatively put forward a rough division of the different periods of our history, noting the different groups of writers comprised in them, with a view to facilitate the study of the problems which will confront us in the next volume :

- I. From unknown Beginnings to Bhāmaha. (Formative Stage).
- II. From Bhāmaha to Ānandavardhana. Circa middle of the 7th to the middle of the 9th century. (Creative Stage).
 - (1) Bhāmaha, Uddhaṭa and Rudraṭa (*alaṃkāra*-theory).
 - (2) Daṇḍin and Vāmana (*ṛiti*-theory).
 - (3) Lollāṭa, Śaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and others (*rasa*-theory).
 - (4) The *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* and *Agni-purāṇa*.
 - (5) The Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana (*dhvani*-theory).
- III. From Ānandavardhana to Mammaṭa. Circa middle of the 9th to the middle of the 11th century. (Definitive Stage).
 - (1) Ahhinavagupta
 - (2) Kuntaka
 - (3) Rudrabhaṭṭa
 - (4) Dharañjaya and Dhanika

- (5) Bhoja
- (6) Mahimabhaṭṭa

IV. From Mammaṭa to Jagannātha. *Circa* middle of the 11th to the 18th century. (Scholastic Stage).

- (1) Mammaṭa, Ruyyaka and Viśvanātha (including Hemacandra, Vidyādhara, Vidyānātha, Jayadeva, Appayya and others).
- (2) The Vāgbhaṭas and Keśava Miśra.
- (3) The writers on Rasa, especially Śrīṅgāra : Śāradā-tanaya, Śiṅga-bhūpāla, Bhānuḍatta, Rūpa Gosvāmin and others.
- (4) The writers on Kavi-śikṣā : Rājaśekhara, Kṣemendra, Arisiṁha and Amaracandra, Deveśvara and others.
- (5) Jagannātha.

(7)

Looking at the question from another point of view, we may classify the systems of Poetics broadly into (1) Pre-dhvani (2) Dhvani and (3) post-Dhvani systems, taking Dhvani-theory as the central landmark. In the Pre-dhvani group, we include all writers (flourishing before Ānandavardhana), mentioned in Groups I and II above, with the exception of the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana, with whose names the Dhvani-system is associated. In the Post-dhvani systems may be comprised the followers of the Dhvani-system from Mammaṭa to Jagannātha, together with reactionary or unorthodox authors like Kuntaka or Mahimabhaṭṭa, as well as the writers on Śrīṅgāra and on Kavi-śikṣā. On the other hand, the systems of Poetics have been grouped, on the basis of the particular theory emphasised by a particular group of writers, into (1) the Rasa School (2) the Alambāra School (3) the Rīti School and (4) the Dhvani School. The convenience of this classification is obvious, but it is doubtful whether we may safely apply the term "school" to indicate affiliation to a particular

system of opinion,¹ when we consider that one has to admit a great deal of mutual and (to a certain extent) inevitable contamination of the different "schools", which makes the existence of any particular school *by itself* almost impossible. Thus, the "Dhvani School" admits Rasa and Alāṃkāra as important factors of poetry, which are thus not exclusively monopolised by the so-called Alāṃkāra and Rasa Schools. It is doubtful, again, if a Rasa School, properly so-called was at all founded by Bharata, who is taken as its original exponent, or a similar Alāṃkāra School by Bhāmaha. All that we can say is that Bharata and Bhāmaha laid stress on the elements of Rasa and Alāṃkāra which became in course of

1 Sovani in *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* pp. 387f. Reliance has been placed on Ruyyaka's review of previous opinions and Samudrabandha's classification. But Ruyyaka only takes the concept of *dhvani* or *pralayamāna artha* as the starting point and considers how far it was accepted, explicitly or implicitly, by his predecessors. Samudrabandha, commenting on this passage, speaks of five *pakṣas* or theses, including the *dhvani*-theory (which he calls the last *pakṣa*) with which his author identifies himself. His classification is based upon the conventional theory that poetry consists of a "special" disposition of word and its sense (*visista sabda* and *artha*). This speciality, in his opinion, may be realised by putting emphasis on their (1) *dharma* (inherent characteristic) (2) *vyāpāra* (operation) and (3) *vyañjya* (suggestiveness). In the first case, the *dharma* may proceed from *alāṃkāra* and *guṇa* (i.e. *rūpi*). In the second case, the *vyāpāra* may consist of *bhaṇiti-prakṛta* or *bhogikarana*. Thus, we get five standpoints associated respectively with the names of Udbhaṭa, Vāmana, Kuntaka, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Ānandavardhana. This classification, though very significant, is obviously overlapping and historically incorrect. The *vyañjanā*, it may be objected, which is taken as one of the bases of differentiation, is admittedly as much a *vyāpāra* as *bhaṇiti* postulated by Kuntaka. Besides, Kuntaka, as a matter of fact, develops Bhāmaha's idea of *vakrokti* as *bhaṇiti-vaidurya*, and therefore may be properly included among those who put emphasis on *alāṃkāra*. Similarly, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka describes *bhoga* as a peculiar function (*dharma*) or process by which Rasa is said to be realised; and therefore he is in reality an exponent of the Rasa-theory as an interpreter of Bharata's dictum on Rasa.

time established ideas in the realm of Poetics. As a rule, each great writer who puts forward, consciously or unconsciously, a new theory, takes over from his predecessors those ideas which have stood the test of criticism and which he can combine in a self-consistent system of his own. In this way, really valuable ideas have been generally adopted, although sometimes other ideas, perhaps of the same author, have by common consent been rejected. This is illustrated by the case of the *Vakrokti-jīvitakāra*, whose theory of *Vakrokti* was universally rejected, although the main principle (analysis of an *Alamkāra*) for which he was contending is accepted by Ruyyaka and others. It is not maintained here that the history of Sanskrit Poetics consists of only *one* stream of development, and that within it we have mere currents and counter-currents. The latter were indeed very important, but they never succeeded in forming into separate rivers; and the different channels originating independently or breaking away from the main course ultimately merge into one dominant and clear stream.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI=Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

Aufrecht=Th. Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum i-iii. Leipzig 1891-1903.

ABod=Aufrecht's Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Sanscritorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae. Oxonii 1864.

AFI=Aufrecht's Florentine Sanskrit MSS. Leipzig 1892.

ALeip=Aufrecht's Katalog der Sanskrit-Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Leipzig. Leipzig 1901.

Bendall=C. Bendall's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the British Museum. London 1902.

Bhandarkar. R. G. Bhandarkar's Reports on the search of Sanskrit MSS are quoted with reference to the particular years of operations, as indicated on the respective title-page of the Reports. Other lists by him are cited as in Aufrecht. Sridhar Bhandarkar's Reports and Catalogues are separately referred to.

Bibl. Ind.=Bibliotheca Indica Series of Sanskrit publication.

Bik. or Bikaner=Rajendra Lal Mitra's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Library of the Maharaja of Bikaner. Calcutta 1880.

BORI Cat. MSS=P. K. Gode's Descriptive Catalogue of the Govt. Collections of MSS deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Volume xii deals with MSS of Alarikāra and Nāṭya.

BSOS or *BSOAS*=Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies.

Br. Mus.=British Museum.

BSS=Bombay Sanskrit Series. Ben. S. S.=Benares Sanskrit Series.

Burnell or Tanjore Catalogue=Burnell's Classified Index to Sanskrit MSS in the Palace at Tanjore. London 1880.

Also P. P. S. Sastri's revised Catalogue of the same collection, esp. vol. ix which deals with *Alamkāra* (1930). Srirangam 1928-31.

Comm.=Commentary.

Deccan Coll. Cat.=Sridhar Bhandarkar's Catalogue of MSS. deposited in the Deccan College. Bombay 1888.

Ed.=edition or edited. *EI*=Epigraphia Indica.

F or f=following. *Fn*=Footnote

GgA=Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.

GN=Nachrichten der Göttingischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

Hall Index=Hall's Contribution towards an Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems. Calcutta 1859.

HPS or *H. P. Sastri*=Haraprasad Sastri's Notices of Sanskrit MSS. Second Series. i-iv. Also his *Report* 1895-1900. Also his Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. vi.

HSP=History of Sanskrit Poetics by P. V. Kane, prefixed to his ed. of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, 3rd ed. Bombay 1951.

Hultzsch=E. Hultzsch's Reports on Sanskrit MSS in Southern India. i, 1895; ii, 1896; iii, 1905. Madras 1895-1905.

IA=Indian Antiquary. *IHQ*=Indian Historical Quarterly.

IOC=J. Eggeling's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the India Office Library. Part iii deals with works on *Alamkāra*. London 1891.

JA=Journal Asiatique.

JAOS=Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JASB=Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JRAS=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JBRAS=Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JDL=Journal of the Department of Letters. Calcutta University.

JOI=Journal of Oriental Institute, Baroda.

JOR=Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.

Kashmir Rep.=G. Bühler's Detailed Report of a Tour in search of Sanskrit MSS in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India (Extra no. *JBRAS* 1877). Bombay 1877. As regards Bühler's other Reports and Lists, the references are as in Aufrecht.

Katbavate=A. V. Kathavate's Report on the Search of Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Presidency during 1891-95. Bombay 1901.

Kāvyamālā=*Kāvyamālā* Series published by the Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay.

KBod=A. B. Keith's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Bodleian Library, Appendix to vol. i. Oxford 1909.

Kielhorn, Rep. 1880-81=F. Kielhorn's Report on the search of Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1880-81. Bombay 1881.

Kielhorn, Central Prov. Cat.=Kielhorn's Classified Alphabetical Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Central Provinces. Nagpur 1874. Kielhorn's other reports and lists are cited as in Aufrecht.

KM=*Kāvyamālā* publications in 14 Guccakas, also referred to as *Kāvyamālā* in parts.

Madras Cat.=A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Govt. Oriental MSS Library, Madras, by S. Kuppuswami Sastri. Vol. xxii (dealing with works on *Alamkāra*). Madras 1918.

Madras Trm A, B and C=A Triennial Catalogue of MSS. collected during the Triennium 1910-11 and 1912-13 for the Govt. Oriental MSS Library, Madras, by M. Rangacarya and S. Kuppuswami Sastri. Vol i (A, B, C). Madras 1913. Also vol. iv 1928; vol. v 1932 etc.

Mitra=Rajendralal Mitra's Notices of Sanskrit MSS. i-x. Calcutta 1871-90.

NSP or N.S.P.=Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay, and its edition of Sanskrit works.

Oppert=G. Oppert's Lists of Sanskrit MSS in the Private

Libraries in Southern India. i, Madras 1880 ; ii, Madras 1885.

Our Heritage=Journal of the Postgraduate Research Dept. Calcutta Sanskrit College.

Peterson=P. Peterson's Reports on the search of Sanskrit MSS, as follow: i Detailed Report 1882-83 ; ii 1883-84 ; iii 1884-86 ; iv 1886-92 ; v 1892-95 ; vi 1895-97. Bombay 1883-99.

Rep.=Report.

Rice=L. Rice's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in Mysore and Coorg. Bangalore 1884.

Raghavan, V= *The Number of Rasas and Some Concepts of the Alāmkāra Śāstra*. Adyar Library, Madras 1940 and 1942.

Regnaud=Regnaud's *Rhétorique Sanskrite*. Paris 1884.

Sb. der Preuss. Akad.=Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Sb. der Wiener Akad.=Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften.

SCB=Lists of Sanskrit, Jaina and Hindi MSS deposited in the Benares Sanskrit College, comprising collections 1897-1901, 1904-05, 1909-10, 1911-12, 1912-13, 1914-15. Allahabad. Separately published 1902-15.

SCC=Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Calcutta Sanskrit College by Hrisikesa Sastri and Sivacandra Guin. Vol vii (dealing with Alāmkāra works). Calcutta 1904.

SgŚ=Sesagiri Sastri's Reports on the search of Sanskrit and Tamil MSS. Madras, i, 1898 ; ii, 1899.

Śl=Śloka.

Sten Konow=Sten Konow's *Indische Drama* (in the *Grundriss Series*), Berlin and Leipzig 1920.

Stein or *Jammu Cat.*=M. A. Stein's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Raghunath Temple Library of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. Bombay 1894.

Ulwar=P. Peterson's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Library of the Maharaja of Ulwar. Bombay 1892.

WBod=Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Bodleian Library
vol. ii, begun by M. Winternitz and completed by Keith.
Oxford 1905.

Weber=A. Weber's Verzeichnis der Sanskrit und Prakrit
Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin. I, 1853 ;
II, pt. i 1886, pt. ii 1888, pt. iii 1892. Berlin 1853-92.

WRAS=Winternitz's Catalogue of South Indian Sanskrit
MSS in the Royal Asiatic Society. London 1902.

WZKM=Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

ZDMG=Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Obvious abbreviations of texts referred to (e.g. *Kāv. prak.*=
Kāvya-prakāśa) are not given in this list ; but the texts are
often quoted only with the author's name, e.g. *Dandin*=
Dandin's Kāvyādarśa. Other Reports and Catalogues are
cited as in Aufrecht.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

P. 4. Footnote 1, line 2. Read *kanīyāṇīsaṇī*.

P. 34. Footnote 1, lines 4 and 5. Read 151 (for 161) and 160 (for 16).

P. 44. Bibliography. Line 4. Read ch. 1 (for ch. i), and line 8 read *du* (for *de*). Next page, line 1 read *Sanskrite* (for *Sanskrit*).

P. 55. The last footnote should be numbered 4.

P. 93. Footnote, line 8. Add after the paragraph: The verse is missing in ASB MS no. 4801/5456 (H. P. Sastri, *Cat.* vi, p. 395).

P. 140. Line 2. Add: (6) *Laghn-tīkā* by Harihara Miśra (H. P. Sastri, *Cat. ASB MSS* vi, no. 4808/4851, p. 399).

P. 189. Line 21. Read *gloss* (for *glass*).

P. 207. Line 7. Read *Keli-* (for *Kali-*).

P. 233. Footnote 1. Lines 4 and 9. Read *i* (for *ii*).

P. 259. Footnote 2. Add: Maladhāri Rājaśekhara Sūri, author of the *Prabandha-kośa*, was a Śvetāmbara Jaina who became pontiff of the Harṣapurīya-gaccha about 1350-54 A.D.

P. 270. Paragraph 15. Read KĀŚĪ (for KASHĪ).

P. 274. Add after line 15: Kṛṣṇāvadhūta also wrote a drama called *Īhāṇīrga* or *Sarva-viñoda* in four Acts dealing with Śrīṇāra, Bībhatsa, Hāsyā and Vairāgya.

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N.B.—There are numerous passing references to some of these works and authors; but the figures in the index indicate the places where they are dealt with or cited substantially.

HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS

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CHAPTER I

FROM BEGINNINGS TO BHĀMAHA

(1) .

Of the unknown beginnings of Poetics as a discipline, our enquiry in the preceding volume¹ has indicated that we can only make a few surmises, by implication, from the oldest surviving works on the subject, from stray references in general literature, from the elaboration of similar ideas in other disciplines, and from the fully developed Kāvya-style which would warrant the pre-existence of some doctrines of Poetics regulating its art and usage.

Apart from such surmises, the sixteenth chapter of Bharata's *Nātya-śāstra* gives us for the first time an outline of Poetics which is probably earlier in substance, if not in date, than the earliest existing Kāvya. In this chapter, one meets with a developed dogma, if not a theory, of Poetics which enumerates four poetic figures (*alamkāras*), ten excellences (*guṇas*), ten defects (*doṣas*), and thirty-six characteristics (*lakṣaṇas*) of poetic composition. These apparently constituted the principal contents of the discipline as it existed at a very early period; and this may be taken, in the absence of other data, as the first known period in the history of Sanskrit Poetics.

It is proper to note in this connexion that in the *Nātya-śāstra*, Bharata is principally concerned with Dramaturgy and allied topics², and deals with Poetics in so far as it applies to the theme in hand. In later poetic theories, Dramaturgy is taken as a part of the discipline of Poetics, and the drama

1 See vol. i, pp. 1-17.

2 An outline of the different chapters of Bharata's *Nātya-śāstra* is given in Winternitz *GIL* iii, pp. 7f, and in Kane *HSP*, pp. vi-vii.

is accordingly considered to be a species of the Kāvya. But there are reasons to believe that in older times Dramaturgy and Poetics formed separate disciplines, the former being probably the earlier in point of time, as well as in substance. We have seen³ that the existence of *nāṭa-sūtras*, which were presumably works in the *sūtra*-style on the histrionic art, was known even in the time of Pāṇini; but there is no reference, direct or indirect, to such *alāṅkāra-sūtras*, and indeed the term Alāṅkāra itself in the technical sense was unknown in early literature. The earliest surviving works on Poetics, on the other hand, do not include a treatment of the theme of Dramaturgy which, having been a study by itself, was possibly excluded from the sphere of Poetics proper. Both Bhāmaha and Dāṇḍin, no doubt, speak of *nāṭaka* as a species of *kāvya*, but they refer to specialised treatises for its detailed treatment⁴. Vāmana, the next important writer on Poetics, shows indeed an unusual partiality towards the drama (1. 3. 30-32), but even he did not think it proper to devote any special attention to it. Among later writers, it is not until we come to the time of Hemacandra, Vidyānātha and Viśvanātha, when the study was already entering upon a period of critical elaboration and summing-up of results, that we find special chapters dealing with the topic of Dramaturgy. Of these late writers, Vidyānātha and Viśvanātha explicitly refer to and summarise the *Daśa-rūpaka*, a recognised work on the dramatic art; while the encyclopaedic Hemacandra, who professes great admiration for Bharata and his commentator Abhinavagupta, deals with the subject rather summarily, referring the reader to the standard works of Bharata and Kohala.

It seems, therefore, that the school of Dramaturgy had an existence separate from the orthodox school of Poetics.

3 Vol. i, p. 16.

4 Kāvyaśāra i. 31, Bhāmahālāṅkāra i. 24. The word *anyatra* in Dāṇḍin is interpreted by the commentators as referring to Bharata.

It is thus not surprising that Bharata should set apart, as he does, a chapter of his work for dealing with the ornaments of Poetry, so far they apply to the drama (*nāṭakāśraya*). In his discussion of the *guṇas* and *doṣas* in their application to the drama, he expressly designates them as *kāvya-guṇas* and *kāvya-doṣas* (xvi. 92, 84) respectively; and with reference to the *alāṃkāras* he says *kāvyaṣyaitē hy alāṃkārāḥ* (xvi. 41)⁵, making it clear at the same time that he considers them only as embellishments of the dramatic speech.

Bharata opens this chapter on Poetics with the discussion of what he calls the *lakṣaṇas* (lit. characteristics), which appear to be partly formal and partly material elements of poetry⁶. Bharata mentions 36 of them and devotes a considerable part of this chapter to their definition; and the whole discipline appears to have received from them the designation of *Kāvya-lakṣaṇa* referred to in xvi. 17⁷. From his treatment it appears that he considers *Lakṣaṇas* to be of greater importance

5 Ed. *Kāvyaṁlā* (N.S.P.), ed. GOS xvi. 4t; but the Chowkhamba Skt. Ser. ed. xvii. 42 reads the line differently. Our references in the following pages are throughout to the *Kāvyaṁlā* ed.—Cf. also verses 104, 110. Bharata uses the word *kāvya* many times here, as in other chapters, to signify the drama, but we must bear in mind that his conception of poetry is dramatic and justifies such employment of the term *kāvya*. But in this chapter he appears to imply a distinction between the *kāvya* and the *nāṭaka* as species of composition.

6 The part of the text dealing with *Lakṣaṇas* and *Guṇas* exists in two recensions, which we shall call here A and B. Both the recensions are known to Abhinavagupta; but he follows the text of A on *Lakṣaṇas*, as it had been handed down to him through his teachers (*asmad-upādhyāya-paramparāgataḥ*, p. 384). The editions of *Kāvyaṁlā* and Gaekwad's Series give this recension A, which consists of 39 verses starting with *Upajāti* and proceeding with *Anuṣṭubh* stanzas. The B recension, found in Chowkhamba Skt. Ser. ed. (which also gives A in the footnote), consists of 42 stanzas all in *Anuṣṭubh*. A is followed by the *Data-rūpaka*, but B is accepted by *Singa-bhāpila* and *Viśvanātha*. Bhoja appears to know both the recensions, but he makes out 64 *Lakṣaṇas*; he is followed by *Sāradātanaya*.

7 In *Kāvyaṁlā* and Gaekwad's ed.; ed. Chowkhamba p. 204, st. 16.

than *Alamkāras* which are mentioned as just a few in number.

It is not very clear, however, from Bharata's treatment as to what position these *Lakṣaṇas* should occupy in a formal scheme of Poetics ; but the function of most of these is assigned in later Poetics to *Alamkāras* or *Guṇas*. Daṇḍin mentions them summarily (ii. 366) under *Alamkāras* in the wider sense, along with *saṃdhyaṅga* and *vṛttyaṅga* which belong properly to the drama, and refers to *āgamāntara* (interpreted by Taruṇavācaspati as alluding to Bharata) for their treatment. So does Dhanañjaya (ed. N. S. P. iv. 84) ; while Viśvanātha (ed. Durgaprasad, vi. 171-211, pp. 316-332) takes them in connexion with the drama, calling some of them *nātyālamkāra* (dramatic embellishment), and is at the same time of opinion that although some of them are properly included under *guṇa*, *alamkāra*, *bhāva* and *saṃdhi*, they require a particular mention inasmuch as in the drama they are to be accomplished with some care (p. 332). In later literature the *Lakṣaṇas*, which linger conventionally in Dramaturgy, entirely disappear from Poetics proper, Jayadeva's *Candrāloka* being the only later work on Poetics which deals with them. This phenomenon would probably indicate not only that the *Lakṣaṇas* were regarded as strictly proper to the drama, but also the conclusion that what were, in the infancy of Poetics, considered so important as to deserve separate treatment and to be differentiated from the *Guṇas* and the *Alamkāras*, were with the growth of critical insight assigned to the *Guṇas* and *Alamkāras* themselves to whose sphere in ultimate analysis they were thought properly to belong⁸.

V. Raghavan has already given⁹ a detailed account of the

8 For instance, *āśi* is one of the *lakṣaṇas* of Bharata, Bhāmaha mentioning it rather doubtfully as an *alamkāra* with the remark: *āśi* *api ca* *keśāṇcid alamkāratayā matā* (iii. 54). In Daṇḍin ii. 357 (as well as in Bṛhatī), it is already established as an *Alamkāra*. It is significant that Kuntaka finds fault with those who regard it as an *Alamkāra*.

9 *Some Concepts of the Alamkāra-Sastra*, Adyar Library 1942, pp. 1-47.

history of the concept of *Lakṣaṇa*; but since the *Lakṣaṇapaddhati* perished very early, or lingered as a superfluous relic in the history of Poetics and Dramaturgy, it is not necessary for us to make more than a passing reference. Abhinavagupta, while exploring Bharata's text, mentions as many as ten different views concerning *Lakṣaṇa*; but it appears that *Lakṣaṇa*, otherwise called *Bhūṣaṇa*, is generally taken (on the analogy perhaps of *Sāmudrika Lakṣaṇa*), to be an innate beautifying element belonging to the body of poetry, or rather as constituting the body itself. Although similar in function to the *Alamkāra* in being a *Kāvya*-śobhākara Dharma, it is not a separate entity, but *Apṛthak-siddha*; that is to say, it imparts beauty to poetry by itself, and is not added, as an *Alamkāra* is added, for extra beauty. It is obvious that the concept of *Lakṣaṇa*, even at its birth, had an overlapping of function with *Alamkāra*, which in course of time swallowed it up. Even as a *Nāṭaka-dharma*, connected with dramatic *Saṃḍhyaāṅgas*, it had little individuality, and the attitude of the *Dasa-rūpaka* in not considering it separately is significant. The main view, however, which takes *Lakṣaṇa*, like *Alamkāra*, as a beautifying characteristic, appears to have died out with Abhinavagupta's somewhat apologetic formulation.

From *Lakṣaṇas* Bharata goes on to the more interesting topic of *kāvya-alamkāras* or poetic figures. It appears from his treatment that only four such poetic figures were known or recognised in his time, viz. *upamā* (simile), *rūpaka* (metaphor), *dīpaka* (lit. illuminator¹⁰) and *yamaka* (repetition

10 It is difficult to translate some of these terms, for there are no equivalents for them in European Rhetoric, and therefore attempts at such translation are as a general rule avoided here. The poetic figure *dīpaka* may be generally explained as a figure in which two or more objects, some relevant and some irrelevant, having the same attributes, are associated together; or in which several attributes, some relevant and some irrelevant, are predicated of the same object. It is called *dīpaka* or "illuminator" because it is like a lamp which, when employed for illuminating one object, illuminates others.

of words or syllables similar in sound). The Upamā is subdivided into four kinds, according as the object compared (*upameya*) or the standard of comparison (*upamāna*) is one or many¹¹, Bharata expressly making use of these technical terms. From another standpoint, five varieties of Upamā are distinguished and illustrated, viz. (1) *praśāṇisopamā* (2) *nindopamā* (3) *kalpitopamā* (4) *sadr̥ṣī upamā* and (5) *kiṇicit-sadr̥ṣī upamā*¹², according as these qualifications apply to the *upamāna*. Bharata is apparently unaware of the finer shades of distinction (grammatical or otherwise) introduced later on into the treatment of Upamā by Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Udbhaṭa, or of its comprehensive definition given by Vāmana; but the very fact that the idea of comparison was even by this time analysed thus far shows a considerable amount of speculation on this point¹³. Bharata's first two kinds, however, are criticised by Bhāmaha (ii. 37), but accepted by Daṇḍin without question (ii. 30-31); while the name, if not the idea, of the third kind lingers in Vāmana iv. 2. 2. Of Rūpaka and Dīpaka¹⁴ no subvarieties are mentioned, and possibly these were comparatively late inventions. Of Yamaka, on the other hand, ten subspecies are elaborately defined and illustrated¹⁵, a number exceeding even that given by Bhāmaha. It would appear that in the earlier stages of Poetics, what in later authors is known as a *śabdālaṇikāra*

11 Viz. (i) *ekasya ekena* (ii) *ekasya anekena* (iii) *anekasya ekena* (iv) *bahūnām bahubhīḥ*.

12 Abhinavagupta notices the reading *asadr̥ṣī*.

13 This figure is certainly one of the most ancient, and the idea of it was not unknown to Yāska (see vol. i, pp. 3-6).

14 The arrangement of the text dealing with these two figures differ in the different editions. But the wordings agree with the exception of *samprakīrtitam* xiv. 55 (in Kāvyamālā ed.), which is obviously a misreading for *sampradīpakam* (as Abhinava's comm. shows), given correctly in other editions.

15 Most of the names of these varieties have survived in Bhaṭṭi, Daṇḍin and other writers; but they are in most cases differently defined. See vol. i, p. 54 footnote 2.

(of which the artifices of Yamaka in particular seem to have found the greatest favour) received a more elaborate treatment¹⁶, although the process repeats itself in comparatively modern decadent authors who delight in such external poetic devices. The later distinction between *śabdālamkāra* and *arthālamkāra* is not referred to by Bharata¹⁷, as also by Bhāmaha; but Bharata uses the word *śabdābhāṣa* with reference to Yamaka, which term might have suggested, as Abbinava's commentary on this point indicates, the later classification, which is implied for the first time by Daṇḍin's treatment.

After the Alamkāras, comes the treatment of ten *doṣas* (xvi. 84f) and ten *guṇas* (xvi. 92f), which seem to have constituted the orthodox number of faults and excellences of poetic composition. We shall have occasion to deal with the doctrine of *Guṇa* and *Doṣa* in connexion with the Rīti-theorists, who for the first time take it up seriously; but it

16 As in Bhāṭṭi, Daṇḍin, Vāmana, Rudraṭa, the *Agni-purāṇa* and Bhoja among older authors. Bhāmaha gives only five varieties, and Udbhaṭa is the only old writer who altogether omits its treatment. This figure, as Bharata's elaborate treatment would show, must have been very early comprehended, e.g., in *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sundarakāṇḍa v 15-17, in Rudradāman Inscription of the 2nd century A.D. Possibly it was favoured as a not unlikely substitute for rhyme, which is nearly absent in earlier Sanskrit and which probably originated from *antyānuprāṣṭa* in later literature. But Mammāṭa and later writers, following perhaps the dictum of Ānandavardhana (on ii. 16 f) that *yamaka*, in order to be really poetical, requires a special effort on the part of the poet, and is in no way accessory to *rāsa*, allude to it but dismiss it in a few words. As critical insight into the aesthetic requirements of poetry grew, the number of such figures as depended for their appeal chiefly on clever verbal arrangement, as well as their treatment in Poetics, naturally dwindled, although *yamaka* itself (as well as *anuprāṣṭa*) played a much larger part in later decadent poetry. Bhoja, with an inaccuracy characteristic of later writers, speaks of tricks like *maraja-bandha* as having been *bharata-kāthita*!

17 Abbinava, however, reads into Bharata such a distinction, and in his **Locana* p. 5 he says: *cirantanair hi bharata-muni-prabhṛtibhir yanikopame śabdārthaśāṇikāratvēnēśe*.

may be pointed out here that Bharata's enumeration and definition of individual Doṣas and Guṇas do not exactly correspond to those of his nearest successors. Except keeping to the conventional number of ten (although Bhāmaha introduces an eleventh fault from the standpoint of logical correctness¹⁸ and a list of ten intrinsic poetic faults in a different context, as he also mentions only three poetic excellences), both Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin do not appear to have accepted implicitly this part of Bharata's teaching.

The faults mentioned by Bharata (xvi. 84) are:¹⁹

- i. *gūḍhārtha*=circumlocution or periphrase (*paryāya-śabdābhīhitam*²⁰).
- ii. *arthāntara*=digression into irrelevant matter (*avarṇyasya varṇanam*²¹).

18 With the exception of the eleventh fault, Daṇḍin is not only in complete agreement with Bhāmaha but really follows the latter's enumeration and definitions almost literally. This point will be discussed later.

19 On Bharata's Doṣas see V. Raghavan, *Śringāra-prakāśa*, pt. ii, pp. 229-233. In Kauṭilya's Artha-śāstra the defects of the art of writing are: *vyāghāta* (contradiction), *punarukta* (repetition), *apaśabda* (grammatical incorrectness) and *samplava* (misarrangement of words).

20 This phrase in Bharata cannot mean "expression by means of a synonym", for it would then be difficult to differentiate this Doṣa from *ekārtha* given below. Possibly this is the fault which appears in later writers as the figure of speech known as *paryāyokta* (=roughly, circumlocution or periphrase as a poetic figure). It is apparently so explained by Abhinavagupta. It is possible that later rhetoricians perceived that periphrase might sometimes be an ornament of expression, and thus analysed it into a poetic figure; and this may be taken as an instance in point of the process by which poetic figures were multiplied in later speculation.

21 Abhinava takes it in the sense of description of matters which should not be described in words (*sabdenāvaraṇanīyam api varṇitam*), and rejects the sense of *aprākṛta-varṇanam*. We are, however, inclined to prefer the sense of *digression* rejected by Abhinava. The defect *vācyāvacana*, mentioned by Mahimabhaṭṭa (p. 100), would possibly be this Doṣa of Bharata. This seems to be the fault in Māgha i. 43. Abhinava regards the *sva-sabda-vācyatā-doṣa* of Rasa and Bhāva as:

- iii. *artha-hīna*=incoherence (*asambadhā*), or multiplicity of meaning (*asēśārtha*).
- iv. *bhinnārtha*=(a) rusticity or want of refinement (*asabhya* or *grāmya*), or (b) changing the desired sense by another sense (*vivakṣito'nya evārtho yatrānyārthena bhidyate*).
- v. *ekārtha*=tautology (*ekārthasya abhidhānam*).
- vi. *abhiplitārtha*=aggregation of complete lines without merging them into a complete sentence (*yat padena samasyate*²²).
- vii. *nyāyād apetam*=defective logic (*pramāṇa-varjītam*).
- viii. *viśama*=defective metre (*vṛttā-dosā*).
- ix. *visarṇdhī*=disjunction in which the words are not well knit²³.
- x. *śabda-hīna*=use of ungrammatical words (*asabdasya yojanam*²⁴).

But the faults discussed by Bhāmaha are (ch. iv):

- i. *apārtha*=absence of complete sense²⁵,
- ii. *vyarthā*=Incongruity with the context,
- iii. *ekārtha*=tautology (Bhāmaha noting that others call

included in Bharata's *arthāntara-dosā*, although it is not clear whether Bharata himself regarded this *sva-śabda-vācyatā* to be a *Dosā* at all.

22 Abhinava explains: *abhiplitārtham yathā—sa rājā nīti-kuśalah sarah kumuda-śobhitam / sarva-priyā vasanta-śrīḥ grīme mālatikāgamah/iti ; asra pratipadam arthasya parisamāptavād abhiplitārtham, eka-vākyatvena nimajjanābhāvāt.*

23 The reading *anupratiṣṭhāśabdaṇi yat* is obviously incorrect. Abhinava's explanation is not clear; but he appears to read *anuprūḍha-śabdam*. By *sāṃḍhi* or *sāṃḍhāna* he appears to mean compactness, congruity or merging, i.e. where the words are well knit. The Gaekwad ed. reading *anupasīṣṭa-śabdam* is more apposite, but perhaps it is not original.

24 *asabda*=*apabuddha*, Abhinavagupta.

25 Both Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin say *samudāyārtha-sūnyam yat*, and this incompleteness of the total sense arises, they explain, from the non-satisfaction of the natural expectancy of words in a sentence (*ākāñkṣā*), a point already dealt with by grammarians and Mīmāṃsakas.

it *punarukta*, which well-known term is apparently unknown to Bharata),

- iv. *sasāyisaya*=ambiguity,
- v. *apakrama*=violation of syntactical regularity,
- vi. *śabda-hīna*=use of words not approved by correct usage (grammatical),
- vii. *yati-bhṛaṣṭa*=deviation from the rules of metrical pause,
- viii. *bhinna-vṛtta*=use of long or short syllables in the wrong place in a metre,
- ix. *visāṇḍhi*=disjunction of euphonic *liaison* when it is necessary,
- x. *deśa-kāla-kalā-loka-nyāyāgama-virodhi*=inconsistency with regard to (a) place (b) time (c) the fine or mechanical arts (d) worldly usage (e) logic (f) *āgama* (=*dharma-śāstra*²⁶ i. e. codes of law or jurisprudence).

Bhāmaha also adds another fault to these ten, viz., the *Doṣa* which arises from a faulty logical proposition (*pratijñā*), a faulty middle term (*hetu*), and a faulty logical illustration (*dṛṣṭānta*); but this blemish is treated in a separate chapter (ch. v), being interesting to Bhāmaha from the standpoint of the logic of poetry. In another context, while discussing the general characteristics of poetry (i. 37f), Bhāmaha mentions ten other defects which a poet should avoid, viz.:

- i. *neyārtha*=farfetchedness, when the sense does not follow from the logical order of words but has to be guessed from the general intention,
- ii. *kliṣṭa*=obstruction of the sense,
- iii. *anyārtha*=disappearance of the sense,
- iv. *avācaka*=inexpressiveness, when in the expressed words the sense does not appear to be openly dominant,

26. *āgamo dharma-śāstrāṇi, loka-sīmā ca tat-kṛtā / tad-virodhi tadā-cāra-vyatikramāṇato...//* says Bhāmaha himself in explanation (iv. 48).

- v. *gūḍha-sabdābhidhāna*=use of difficult expressions,
- vi. *ayuktimat*=impropriety, e.g. making clouds messengers in poetry.
- vii. *śruti-duṣṭa*=expressly indecent²⁷.
- viii. *artha-duṣṭa*=implicitly indecent (later writers calling it *asūlatva*).
- ix. *kalpanā-duṣṭa*=defective conception, where in the alliance of two words an undesirable sense is produced.
- x. *śruti-kasya*=unmelodious or harsh in sound²⁸.

After giving these ten *Doṣas* Bhāmaha points out (i. 54-58) how these *Doṣas* may sometimes become *Guṇas*. As to how these two different series of ten faults are to be distinguished, Bhāmaha says nothing; but it is conceivable from his treatment that the latter concerns the inner nature or essence of poetry, while the former refers to only such defects as are more or less external. A glance at these two lists of faults, given by Bharata and Bhāmaha respectively, will at once show that while some of Bhāmaha's faults correspond generally to Bharata's in name or in substance, Bhāmaha in his elaborate treatment is certainly more advanced than his predecessor. It is also noteworthy that Bhāmaha lays down, in his discussion of the last-named fault of *śruti-kasya*, the general proposition (i. 54) that a particular combination or arrangement sometimes makes even defective expressions allowable; in other words, a fault sometimes is converted into an excellence. Bharata, on the other hand, regards, as we shall see, all *Guṇas* or excellences to be mere negations of *Doṣas* or faults.

After dealing with the *Doṣas*, Bharata speaks of the *Guṇas* or excellences of composition which are also enumerated as

27 Bhāmaha's text is obviously corrupt on this point. But the distinction between *śruti-duṣṭa* and *śruti-kasya* of earlier writers is explained by Abhinava in his **Locana* p. 82 (on ii. 12).

28 The examples given of this fault are words like *ajihlatat* (Bhāmaha), or *adhākṣit*, *akṣautsīt*, *īṇedhi* (Abhinava, **Locana* loc. cit.).

ten in number²⁹. He states summarily at the outset (xvi. 91) that the Guṇas are negations of the Doṣas (*guṇā viparyayād eṣām*), an opinion which is indeed extraordinary in view of the fact that later writers like Vāmana (ii. 1. 1-3) rightly consider Guṇas in a theory of Poetics to be positive entities, of which the Doṣas are the negations known by implication. It appears, on the other hand, that Guṇas like *mādhurya* and *audārya*, mentioned by Bharata in xvi. 91 and 92, are not really, as defined by himself, negations of any particular defect discussed by him. Jacobi's explanation³⁰ is probably right that Bharata's description of the Guṇas as negations of the Doṣas is in conformity with the common-sense view of the matter, for it is not difficult for one to seize upon a fault instinctively, while an excellence cannot be conceived so lightly unless its essence is comprehended by differentiating it from a more easily understood fault. The Guṇas, according to Bharata (xvi. 92), are the following³¹:

- i. *śleṣa*=coalescence of words, connected with one another through the aggregate meaning desired by the poet, and consisting of a subtlety which in appearance is clear but in reality difficult to comprehend³².
- ii. *prasāda*=clearness, where the unexpressed sense appears from the word used through the relation of the easily understood word and sense³³.

29 Abhinava reads *kāvyasya guṇāḥ* in xvi. 92 as in Gaekwad and Chowkhamba eds., and not *kāvyārtha-guṇāḥ* as in Kāvyamālā ed.

30 In *Sb. der preuss. Akad.* xxiv, 1922, p. 223.

31 The alternative readings show that the text for some Guṇas also existed in two recensions. Abhinavagupta attempts throughout to approximate Bharata's Guṇas to those of Vāmana and strains to make Guṇas of Sabda and Artha out of each. Hence he is not a safe guide for this portion of the text. On the Guṇas of Bharata see V. Raghavan *Śrṅgāra-prakāśa*, pp. 271-81.

32 Hemacandra (p. 196) and Māṇikyacandra (p. 191) remark: *svabhāva-spaṣṭam vicāra-gahanāṇi vacaḥ śliṣṭam iti bharatali*. Abhinava thinks that this excellence corresponds to Vāmana's *śabda-guṇa śleṣa*.

33 Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra explain: *vibhakta-vācyā-*

- iii. *samatā*=evenness, which is easy to understand and in which there is no redundancy of expression nor excess of *cūrṇa-padas*³⁴.
- iv. *samādhī*=superimposition (*samādhāna*) of something special or distinguishing in the sense³⁵.

ācakāyogād anuktayār api sabdārthayoh pratipattih prasāda iti bharataḥ. Jacobi proposes (ZDMG ixiv, p. 138 contd. fn.) to read *mukhya* instead of *mukha* in the text, and thinks that Bharata's *prasāda* corresponds to Dandin's *samādhī*. But Abhinava reads *sukha* and explains: *sukhayat*, *na prayatnam apeksate yah sabdārthah*. Perhaps by this *Guṇa*, Bharata means to imply some kind of hint (*anukta artha*), transparent from the words used (such as we find, e. g., in the figure *snudrā* in *Candrāloka*, ed. Jivananda, v. 139, and *Kuvalayānanda*, ed. N.S.P., 1917, pp. 146-7), which may correspond partly to the metaphorical mode of expression included by Vāmana in his peculiar definition of *vakrokṣi* (iv. 3. 8.), or comprised by later writers under *lakṣaṇā* or *upacāra*. Referring to Vāmana's definition of *artha-guṇa prasāda* as *artha-valmalya* (iii. 2. 3), Abhinava seems to support our suggestion when he says *so'rtho valmalyāśrayo'pi valmalyam upacārāt*; thus attempting to approximate Bharata's *prasāda* to Vāmana's *artha-guṇa* of that name.

34 The *cūrṇa-pada* is defined by Bharata himself in xviii. 50b, 51. Cf. Vāmana I. 3. 22, 24 where *cūrṇa* is the name given to a kind of prose, which contains short compounds. Commenting on this passage in Vāmana, Gopendra Tippa Bhūpāla interprets the word as: *cūrṇa-padena upacārād vyasta-pada-samāhāro lakṣyate*, *tena vyasta-pada-bahularūpā cūrṇam*. Vāmana himself in his Vṛtti gives two characteristics, viz., *adīrgha samāsa* and *anuddhata pada*, short compounds and soft vocables. Referring to Vāmana's *sabda-guṇa* of the same name in iii. 1. 12, and trying to approximate it to Bharata's *samatā*, Abhinavagupta remarks: *sabdānām samatvāt samah*, *cūrṇa-pada* *a-samāsa-racanā yatra sātiśayā na bhavati*,....., *dīrgha-samāso* *pyatyanta-samāsa* *ca viśamatā, tad-viparyayaṇa samatā, upakrānta-mārgāparityāga-rūpety uktam*.

35 Abhinava explains: *yasyārthasya abhiyuktih pratibhānūtilāya-vadbhir viśeṣo'pūrvah svollikhita upapadyate sa samāhita-manah-sampādyo-viśeṣatvād artho viśiṣṭah samādhīḥ*. In the second line of the text Abhinava reads *parikīrtitah* (and not *parikīrttyate*), and takes *arthena* as referring to the word *samādhī*: *samādhī-sabdasya yo'rthaḥ parihāra-lakṣaṇas tena parikīrtitah paritah samantād ākrāntyā uccāraṇe sampannah*. This explanation of *saṃpanna* is probably given to make the definition correspond to that of Vāmana's *ārohāvaraḥ-kramah samā-*

- v. *mādhurya*=sweetness, where a sentence heard or repeated many times does not tire or disgust³⁶.
- vi. *ojas*=strength, which consists in the use of varied and dignified compounded words, having letters agreeable to one another³⁷.
- vii. *saukumārya*=smoothness, where an agreeable sense is realised by means of agreeably employed words and well-connected euphonic conjunctions³⁸.
- viii. *arthā-vyakti*=explicitness, which describes the nature of things, as they appear in the world, by means of well known predicates³⁹.

dhilī (iii. 1. 13); for Abhinava goes on explaining *ākrūṇtyoccūraṇe ārohāvaroha-krama eva*, the *āroha* and *avaroha* depending, as he discusses in detail, on *uccūraṇa*. Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra explain Bharata's definition simply as *arthasya guṇāntara-samādhūnāt samādhīr iti bharataḥ*.

36 Abhinava reads *śrutani* and *vākyam* instead of *kṛtam* and *kāvyam* in the printed text (Kāvyamālā ed.); and this is supported by what Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra say with regard to this excellence of Bharata. The other eds. give the words correctly.

37 Abhinava reads *bahubhilī* (instead of *vividhailī*) and *sānurāgailī* (instead of *sā tu svarailī*), explaining the latter reading thus: *yatra varṇair varṇāntaram apekṣate tatra sānurāgatvam*. Hemacandra, however, attributes a different definition to Bharata, viz., *avagītasya hīnasya vā śabūrtha-saṃpadū yad udāttatvam niśīncati kūvayas tad oja iti bharataḥ*; and Māṇikyacandra says to the same effect (this follows the reading of Recension B): *avagīto'pi hīno'pi syūd udāttīvabhāsakāḥ*, *yatra śabdārtha-saṃpattyā tad ojaḥ parikīrtitāḥ*.

38 Abhinavagupta reads *sukha-prayojyaś chandobhilī* (for *sukha-prayojyair yac chabdaiḥ*) in the text. Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra simply paraphrase: *śukha-śabdārthaṇi saukumāryam iti bharataḥ*.—The "agreeable sense" (*sukumārātha*), which corresponds to the *anīṣhur-rūkṣara-prāyata* of Daṇḍin's *Guṇa* of this name, or to the *ajaraḥhatra* or *apārusya* of Vāmana's twofold *saukumārya*, implies probably the avoidance of disagreeable or inauspicious (*amaṅgala*) statements. Thus instead of *mīṭaiḥ*, one should say *kīrtiśeṣam gataḥ*. It is on this ground that theorists after Mammaṭa object that this is no *Guṇa* but a negation of the *amaṅgala doṣa*, which some writers include in the fault known as *āśīlalatva*.

39 The text is obviously corrupt. Abhinava reads *suprasiddhā-*

ix. *udāra*=exaltedness. where there are superhuman sentiments, varied feelings, and the Erotic and the Marvellous moods⁴⁰.

x. *kānti*=loveliness, which delights the ear and the wind, or which is realised by the meaning conveyed by graceful gestures (*lilādi*⁴¹).

It will be noticed from this enumeration that in some cases it is difficult to see what Bharata means exactly by a particular *Guṇa*, and that the classification is by no means exhaustive nor free from overlapping. On the other hand, some of the *Guṇas* can be taken (as Abhinavagupta takes them) as approximating roughly to the individual *śabda-guṇas* and *artha-guṇas* elaborated by Vāmana and other later theorists. The development of the *Guṇa*-doctrine is intimately connected *bhīdhānū tu* instead of *suprasiddhū dīptū ca*, which phrase, however, may mean use of well known verbs. Read also *loka-dharma*⁴² instead of *loka-karma*⁴³. Hemacandra explains: *yasminn anyathā sthito'pi tathā-sthita evāsthah pratisiddhiḥ sōrthavyaktiḥ*. He also points out that this *Guṇa* of Bharata corresponds to Vāmana's *artha-guṇa arthavyakti* (defined as *vastu-svabhāva-sphuṭatvam* iii. 2. 13), and would be equivalent to the poetic figure *śūla* or *svabhāvokti* of Daṇḍin and others. Cf. Mammaṭa p. 583: *abhidhāryā-māna-svabhāvoktyalāṇḍreya vastu-svabhāva-sphuṭatva-rūpārthavya-ktiḥ svikṛti*, but Viśvanātha would include it in *prasūda-guṇa*.

40 The implication of *adbhuta* Rasa in this excellence and the characteristic that it deals with *divya-bhīva* indicate a certain *utkarṣavān dharmāḥ*, causing wonder, such as Daṇḍin's *udāra* would contain. See the illustration of this *Guṇa* given by Hemacandra p. 199. The inclusion of the *śringūra* and *adbhuta* Rasas makes this *Guṇa* of Bharata correspond partly to Vāmana's *artha-guṇa kānti*. But Daṇḍin adds: *ślāghyair viśeṣayair yuktam udāram kaiścid īyate*. There is no reference in Bharata to such 'praiseworthy epithets', although Hemacandra says: *bahubhīḥ sūkṣmais ca viśeṣaiḥ sametam udāram iti bharataḥ*. In the *Agni-purāṇa* 346. 9, however, we read: *utrāna-padataudāryam yutam ślāghyair viśeṣayaiḥ*, which might be a direct echo of Daṇḍin.

41 *lilādi*=*lilādi-ceṣṭā*. Abhinavagupta. This would be comprehended by the *dīpti-rasatvam* of Vāmana's *artha-guṇa kānti*.—Kauṭilya (ii. 28) mentions the following characteristics of the art of writing: *artha-krama* (arrangement of subject-matter), *sambandha* (relevancy), *paripūrnata* (completeness), *mādhurya* (sweetness), *audārya* (dignity), and *spaṣṭatva* (clearness).

with the central theory of the Rīti-school and will be dealt with later ; but it may be pointed out here that although the definitions of the individual Guṇas, given by Bharata, do not correspond exactly to those of later writers, there can be no doubt that here we have for the first time a definite statement, if not a proper theoretic treatment, of the doctrine. The disagreement between different theorists with regard to the definitions of individual Guṇas is a well known fact in the history of Sanskrit Poetics, and one need not therefore be surprised that later authors give us definitions which do not agree with those of Bharata. To Bharata, again, the relation of the *gunas* to *rīti*, as elaborated by Vāmana, or to *rasa*, as first clearly enunciated by the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavar-dhana, was probably unknown. So was also Vāmana's distinction between *śabda-guṇa* and *artha-guṇa*, although Bharata's *guṇas* are mostly of the nature of *artha-guṇas*, and some of them can be interpreted (as done by Abhinavagupta) as constituting *śabda-guṇas* as well. But the number and nomenclature of the Guṇas, as well as the substance of some of them, as outlined by Bharata, are conventionally adhered to by all later writers, excepting Bhāmaha who, as we shall see, was a radical thinker in this respect, until we come to the Dhvanikāra and his followers who give a new interpretation to the Guṇa-doctrine. It is also important to note that Bharata takes the *gunas*, as well as the *doṣas* and *alaṅkāras*, to be subservient to the purpose of awakening *rasa*, which is taken as the principal business of the drama. In this he anticipates and probably influences the view of the Dhvanikāra and his school who, as we shall see, borrow Bharata's idea of Rasa from the case of the drama and apply it to that of poetry.

(2)

It has been noted above that Bharata makes all these elements, *lakṣaṇa*, *guṇa*, *doṣa* and *alaṅkāra*, subordinate to the principal purpose of awakening *rasa* in the drama.

These elements constitute what he calls *vācika abhinaya* (defined in viii. 6, 9), which is dealt with in chapters xiv-xx and which forms an important factor, the *anubhāva* (vii. 5), in calling forth the *Rasa*. Hence Bharata expressly considers (xvi. 104 f) the question of their employment in relation to *Rasa*. It is necessary, therefore, to consider here briefly Bharata's teachings regarding *Rasa*⁴², which is dealt with in the *Nāṭya-sāstra*, chapters vi and vii⁴³.

It must be observed at the outset that *Rasa* does not appear to be Bharata's principal theme, and that it is discussed only in connexion with his exposition of dramatic representation with which he is principally concerned. It is not surprising, therefore, that Rājaśekhara, probably following some current tradition, should regard Bharata as an authority on Rūpaka (drama) rather than on *Rasa*, and mention one Nandikeśvara⁴⁴ as the original exponent of the *Rasa*-doctrine which, if Rājaśekhara is right, Bharata must have borrowed and worked up into his dramaturgic system. That the *Rasa*-doctrine was older than Bharata is apparent from Bharata's own citation of several verses in the Āryā and the Anuṣṭubh metres in support of or in supplement to his own statements; and in one place, he appears to quote two Āryā-verses from an unknown work on *Rasa*⁴⁵.

The idea of *Rasa*, apart from any theory thereon, was

42 The question has been dealt with briefly in S. K. De, Theory of *Rasa* in *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume*, Orientalia, vol. iii, 1922, reprinted in *Some Problems of Skt. Poetics*, Calcutta 1959, pp. 177-235.

43 In some other chapters Bharata deals with the cognate topics of the Nāyaka and Nāyikā and their adjuncts and emotional states, which will be referred to in their proper place below (ch. viii).

44 See vol. 1 p. 1, 2, 19.

45 *atrārye rasa-vicāra-mukhe*, ed. Kāvyamālā p. 67. The line is wanting in Grosset's edition. Keśava Miśra, a comparatively recent writer of the 16th century, speaks of one Bhagavata Saubhodanī who, according to him, was a *sātra-kāra* on *Rasa*; but the opinions of this otherwise unknown writer (see vol. 1, p. 219), as recorded by Keśava Miśra, do not deviate materially from the conventional views

naturally not unknown to old writers; and Bharata's treatment would indicate that some system of Rasa, however undeveloped, or even a Rasa school, particularly in connexion with the drama, must have been in existence in his time. But the bearings of this doctrine on poetry were seldom discussed, and the importance of Rasa as one of the essential factors of poetry was indeed naïvely understood but was not theoretically established.⁴⁶ As Dramaturgy was in the beginning a separate study, from which Poetics itself probably took its cue, the Rasa-doctrine, which sprang up chiefly in connexion with this study, confined its activity in the first stage of its development to the sphere of dramatic composition and exerted only a limited influence on poetic theories.⁴⁷ The importance of this dramaturgic Rasa-system must have been somewhat overshadowed by the early dominance, in Poetics,

of those later writers of the new school who admit the essentiality of Rasa.

46 We get the first definite exposition, as we shall see, of the idea of Rasa and its relation to poetry in the works of the Dhvani-kāra and Ānandavardhana: and its importance in poetry, as distinguished from the drama, was probably understood from that time. Māgha in some verses (see vol. i pp. 61, fn 3) shows himself conversant with some theory of Rasa; but it is to *nātya-rasa* (such as described by Bharata) rather than to *kāvya-rasa* that he appears to refer. It is not maintained that older Sanskrit Poetry was devoid of Rasa or that the earlier poets never possessed any idea of it; but it is suggested that the theory of Rasa was not critically set forth, nor its aesthetic importance in poetry properly understood until the Dhvani-kāra and Ānandavardhana came into the field. The presence of Rasa is such a familiar fact in Sanskrit Poetry as well as in comparatively modern Sanskrit writers on Poetics that one is apt to lose sight of this fact of historical importance.

47 That the doctrine of Rasa was originally associated with dramaturgy and later on applied to Poetics is clear from the tradition which survives even in very late writers, and makes them not only discuss the theory directly in connexion with the drama (e. g. Viśvanātha) but even borrow the illustrations mostly from dramatic poetry. Abhinava speaks of the Kāvya as *loka-nātya-dharmi-sthānīya*, and says: *nātya eva rasah, kāvye ca nātyāya-māna eva rasah, kāvya-rasah*.

proper, of the Alampkāra and Rīti systems, whose traditions are carried on by the two earliest writers on Poetics, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, both of whom allow a very subsidiary place to Rasa in their scheme ; but at the same time the comparative antiquity of such a Rasa-system in connexion with the drama, going back to a time even earlier than Bharata, cannot be doubted.

The oldest known exponent of this system is Bharata, from whom spring all later systems and theories such as we know them, and whom even Ānandavardhana himself (p. 181), in applying the Rasa-theory to Poetics, names as his original authority. It is necessary for this reason to take into account Bharata's doctrine of *nāṭya-rasa* as the original source of the doctrine of *kāvya-rasa* elaborated in later Poetics. But long before the new interpretation of the relation of Rasa to poetry, given by the Dhvanikāra and authoritatively established by Mammāta, was dominant, Bharata's views on Rasa appear to have been discussed in some detail in dramatic systems with the result that divergent theories came to prevail under the names of Bhaṭṭa Lollāṭa, Śaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and others, all of whom are supposed to have been commentators on Bharata's text⁴⁸, or at least to have taken Bharata as their starting point. With Bharata, therefore, we arrive at a distinctly definite landmark in respect of the Rasa-doctrine.

It is worth noticing, however, that although all theorists take Bharata as their starting point and build up their own theories round his authoritative, if somewhat meagre, text, Bharata himself, like all old masters, is tantalisingly simple in his statements ; for the subject does not appear to have yet been brought into the realm of scholastic speculation. Bharata's work is encyclopaedic in its scope, but its primary theme is the drama and its conception of poetry dramatic, a view which perhaps inspired Vāmanā's partiality towards

dramatic composition already alluded to, and which is concisely put by Abhinavagupta by saying *kāvyāṇī tāvad daśa-rūpātmakam eva*. In such a composition Rasa, according to Bharata, should be predominant, and there are numerous passages which clearly indicate that there can be no sense of poetry, in his view, without Rasa⁴⁹. Although Bharata does not enter into technicalities, he seems to be of opinion that the *vibhāvas* and the *anubhāvas*, which later theory takes to be essential factors, call forth or evolve Rasa; but he is not clear as to what this process of evolution exactly is. He takes the *bhāva* as the basis of Rasa and explains it generally as that which brings into existence the sense of poetry through the three kinds of representation, viz., through words, gestures, and internal feelings (*vāg-aṅga-sattvopetān kāvyārīhān bhāvayantī bhāvāḥ*). This *Bhāva*, which consists of an emotional state of the mind, reaches, when permanent and not transitory, the state of Rasa through the elements known as *vibhāva* and *anubhāva*. A *vibhāva* is explained thus: *vibhāvo nāma vijñānārīhāḥ, vibhāvyante'nena vāg-aṅga-sattvābhinayā ity ato vibhāvali*. The term *vibhāva*, therefore, is used to connote knowledge or cognition, and is explained generally as denoting that which makes the three kinds of representation capable of being sensed. In the same way, the *anubhāva* is explained as that which follows upon and makes the three kinds of representation actually sensed. The third element of Rasa, the *vyabhicāri-bhāva*, consists of accessory emotional facts which help and strengthen it, and is etymologically explained as: *vi abhi ity etāvupasargau, cara gatau dhātuḥ, vividham abhimukhyena rasāṇī carantī vyabhicāriṇiḥ*. As to what relation these elements bear to Rasa and how this state of relish is brought about, Bharata simply lays down in a cryptic formula: *vibhāvānubhāva-vyabhicāri-saṇiyogād rasanispattiḥ*, a formula which, in spite of his own explanation, is so ambiguous with respect to the exact significance of the

49 e. g. *na hi rasād rte kaścid arthaḥ pravartate*, ed. Grosset p. 87=ed. Kāvyamīlā p. 62. Cf. also vii. 7.

terms *samyoga* and *nispatti* that a great deal of controversy has centred round their interpretation, giving rise to a number of theories about Rasa. Bharata's own explanation, if it can be called an explanation, is that just as a beverage is accomplished through various seasoned articles and herbs, so the permanent mood (the *sthāyi-bhāva*), reinforced (*upagata*) by various *bhāvas*, attains the state of Rasa; and it is so called because its essence consists in its taste or relish (*āsvādyatvāt*), this being the etymological meaning of the word *rasa*⁵⁰. He also explains⁵¹ that the *sthāyi-bhāva* is the basis of Rasa because it attains, as it were, mastery or sovereignty among forty-nine different *bhāvas* mentioned by himself⁵², which naturally rest upon it as being presumably the principal theme or mood in the composition in question.

Nothing definite can be concluded from all this except that, in Bharata's opinion, the *sthāyi-bhāva* or the principal mood in a composition is the basis of Rasa, the essence of which consists in *āsvāda* or relish by the reader or spectator, while the *vibhāva*, *anubhāva* and the *vyābhicāri-bhāva* awaken this state of emotional realisation or 'relish' in the reader's mind. But this explanation by its very ambiguity or vagueness taxed the ingenuity of theorists and commentators, its general trend anticipating theories like the *utpatti-vāda* of Lollāja and the *anumiti-vāda* of Śāṅkuka, and special terms in the passage in question like *vyāñjita* and *sūmānya-guṇa-yoga* suggesting specialised doctrines like the *vyakti-vāda* of Abbinavagupta and the *bhukti-vāda* of Bṛāṭṭa Nāyaka.

The original outlines of the theory, however, are accepted as fixed by Bharata. It is practically admitted on all hands, on semi-psychological considerations of poetry, that the Rasa

50 ed. Grosset p. 87=ed. Kāvyamālā p. 62. It should be noticed that all the terms which describe the essence of Rasa such as *rasaṇa*, *carvāṇa*, or *āsvāda*, refer etymologically to the physical pleasure of taste; this point will be dealt with below.

51 ed. Grosset p. 102, II. 7-19=ed. Kāvyamālā p. 70, II. 13-22.

52 viz., 8 *sthāyi-bhāvas*, 8 *sāttvika bhāvas* and 33 *vyābhicāri-bhāvas*.

is a state of relish in the reader of the principal sentiment in the composition, a subjective condition of his mind which is brought about when the principal or permanent mood (*sthāyi-bhāva*) is brought into a relishable condition through the three elements, the *vibhāva*, the *anubhāva* and the *vyabhicāri-bhāva*, exhibited in the drama. Of these elements, the first two are important, the *vyabhicārin* being only concomitant or accessory. Bharata's explanation of these terms is rendered with greater precision by his followers. By the *sthāyi-bhāva* in poetry and drama are meant certain more or less permanent mental states, such as Love, Grief, Anger or Fear. This permanent mood, constituting the principal theme of a composition and running through all other moods like the thread of a garland, cannot be overcome by those akin to it or those opposed to it, but can only be reinforced. Those elements which respectively excite, follow and strengthen (if we may use these expressions) the *sthāyi-bhāva* are in poetry and drama known as *vibhāva*, *anubhāva* and *vyabhicāri*- (also called *sāpicāri*-) *bhāva*⁵³, corresponding in ordinary life (as opposed to the extraordinary world of poetry) to the mundane causes and effects (*laukika kāraṇa* and *kārya*). Devoid of technicalities, a *vibhāva* may be taken as that which makes the permanent mood capable of being sensed, an *anubhāva* as that which makes it actually sensed, while a *vyabhicāri-bhāva* is that which acts as an auxiliary or gives a fresh impetus to it. In the case of Love as a permanent mood, the stock-examples given of a *vibhāva* are women and the seasons; of *anubhāva*, glance and embrace; of *vyabhicārin*, the transient subordinate feelings of joy or anxiety. Now Bharata says that the reader is enabled to realise or relish as Rasa the permanent mood of a composi-

53 Ballantyne renders these terms conveniently, if not adequately, as the Excitant, the Ensuant and the Accessory respectively, a nomenclature which is followed by Ganganatha Jha in his translation of the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. Jacobi, however, uses (ZDMG. 1902, pp. 394 f) the terms Factor, Effect and Concurrent.

tion through a certain correlation of these elements with the permanent mood, the correlation taking place apparently for the purpose of manifesting it and bringing it to a relishable condition. The question, therefore, arises, to which Bharata himself gives no definite solution, viz. what relation these elements bear to Rasa, or in other words, how do they bring about this subjective condition of relish in the reader's mind, the solution depending, as we have noted above, upon the explanation of the two much-discussed terms *samyoga* (lit. correlation) and *nispatti* (lit. consummation) in the original *sūtra* of Bharata. This is the central pivot round which all later theories move, and we shall take it up again in their connexion below (ch. iv).

Bharata mentions eight different moods or Rasas in the drama, of which a detailed account is given in *Nātya-sāstra* ch. vi, which is the authoritative source drawn upon by all later writers, although they sometimes differ, as we shall see, in the enumeration of the orthodox number of eight. Properly speaking, the primary Rasas, according to Bharata, are only four in number, viz., *śringāra* (the Erotic), *raudra* (the Furious), *vīra* (the Heroic) and *bibhatsa* (the Disgusting). The other four Rasas proceed from these, as follow: *hāsyā* (the Comic) from *śringāra*, *karuṇā* (the Pathetic) from *raudra*, *adbhuta* (the Marvellous) from *vīra*, and *bhayānaka* (the Terrible) from *bibhatsa* (xvi. 39-40).

The eight *sthāyi-bhāvas* or permanent moods, corresponding to the eight Rasas, are given categorically as (i) *rati* (Love) (ii) *hāsa* (Mirth) (iii) *krodha* (Anger) (iv) *utsāha* (Courage) (v) *bhaya* (Fear) (vi) *jugupsā* (Aversion) (vii) *vismaya* (Wonder) and (viii) *śoka* (Sorrow), forming the basis respectively of *śringāra*, *hāsyā*, *raudra*, *vīra*, *bhayānaka*, *bibhatsa*, *adbhuta* and *karuṇā*. The *vyabhicāri-bhāvas* are mentioned as thirty-three in number and include the subordinate feelings of self-disparagement (*nirveda*), debility (*glāni*), apprehension (*śaṅkā*), envy (*asūyā*), intoxication (*mada*), weariness (*śrama*), indolence (*ślāsya*), depression (*dainya*),

reflection (*cintā*), distraction (*moha*), recollection (*smṛti*), equanimity (*dhṛti*), shame (*vrīḍā*), unsteadiness (*capalatā*), joy (*harṣa*), flurry (*āvega*), stupefaction (*jaḍatā*), arrogance (*garva*), despondency (*viṣāda*), longing (*autsukya*), drowsiness (*nidrā*), dementedness (*apasmāra*), dreaming (*supta*), awakening (*vibodha*), impatience of opposition (*amarsa*), dissembling (*avahittha*), sternness (*ugratā*), resolve (*mati*), sickness (*vyādhi*), madness (*unmāda*), death (*maraṇa*), alarm (*trāsa*) and doubt (*vitarka*⁵⁴. The *sāttvika bhāvas*, which can be taken generally as involuntary evidences of internal feeling, are then specified as eight in number⁵⁵, viz., stupor (*stambha*), perspiration

54 The English equivalents follow generally Ballantyne's renderings.—It must be borne in mind that the *vyābhicāri-bhāvas* are independent *Bhāvas* but occurring as accessory or concurrent to the principal mental state depicted, which is known as the *sthāyi-bhāva*. Sometimes it may happen that the *vyābhicāri* is principally manifested in a composition, and the *sthāyi* is merely awakened; such cases later theorists would call *bhāvas* (and not *rasas*) which are thus incomplete *rasas*. Attempts have been made to distinguish between *Rasa* and *Bhāva*, and this question will be discussed later on. It would appear from the enumeration of the *vyābhicāri-bhāvas* that the older theorists consider many conditions from the spiritual point of view, which we would regard from the standpoint of the body (e.g. *vyādhi* or *maraṇa*). See Jacobi in *ZDMG* lvi, 1902, p. 395 fn 2.

55 Regarding the *sāttvika bhāva* (which later theorists, e.g. Abhinavagupta, connect with the *sattva guṇa* of the Sūṅkhya philosophers), Bharata says (ed. Grosset p. 129=ed. Kūvyamūlā, p. 82): *ihā hi sattvam nāma manalī-prabhavam, tac ca samāhita-manastvād utpadyate, manalī-samādhānāc ca sattva-nirvṛtir iti; tasya yo'sau svabhāvā romāñcāsrādi-kṛtah sa na sakyate'nya-manasū kartum iti; loka-svabhāvāmukarānāc ca nātyasya sattvam ipsitām.* Thus Bharata connotes by it certain tokens of mental feelings, delineated in the dramatic representation by an imitation of human nature through steady concentration of the mind. Bharata adds the illustration: *ihā hi nātya-dharmia-pravṛttāḥ sukha-dhṛkha-kṛto bhāvās tathā sattva-viśuddāḥ kāryā yathā svarūpā bhavanti.* For, how can sorrow, he says, which must be manifested by weeping, or joy which must be expressed by laughter, be delineated except by these involuntary evidences? This is apparently what Bharata means by *sattvābhinaya* or *sāttvikābhinaya*. In the *Daśa-rūpaka*, however, *sattva* is taken to mean 'a sympathetic heart' and *sāttvika* is explained as *sattvena*

(*sveda*), horripilation (*romāñca*), break of voice (*svarā-bhaṅga*), trembling (*vepathu*), change of colour (*vaivarnya*), tears (*aśru*) and loss of consciousness (*pralaya*). This psycho-physical analysis, however formal it may appear to us, is taken up in detail in chapter vii, and each of these states is categorically defined and illustrated strictly from the standpoint of the drama; but in later literature they are established authoritatively for poetry as well⁵⁶.

(3)

This is a rough outline of the teachings, relevant to Poetics proper, that we can gather from the somewhat meagre text of Bharata, and it may be taken as an outline of the discipline as it existed in the earliest known period of its history. With Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and the *Dhvanikāśa*, on the other hand, begins the next period of its history, a comparatively brief but exceedingly important stage of extraordinary creative genius. Of the period anterior to Bharata our knowledge is extremely scanty; and between Bharata and the definite formulation of poetic theories which begins with Bhāmaha, lies, again, a long gap of which we do not possess much knowledge. It is clear, however, that certain poetical *guṇas*, *doṣas*, *alāṃkāras* and *lakṣaṇas* were known to Bharata and dealt with by him even as decorative devices of the dramatic speech. It would not be wrong to presume from this fact that the study of *Alāṃkāra-śāstra*, even if it was not yet fully

nirvṛttas (Cf. *Sāhitya-darpana* iii. 134). Bhānudalita, in his *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* gives a somewhat different interpretation, and takes *sāttvika* to mean physical gestures as evidences of natural feeling (*sattvāñjīva-śarīram, tasya dharmāḥ sāttvikāḥ, itthāpi ca śūdra-bhāvāḥ stambhādayāḥ sāttvikā bhāvā ity abhidhīyante*). Later writers like the author of the *Kāvyaprakāśa-pradīpa* bring in philosophical implications and interpret *sāttvika* as originating in the *sattvā-guṇa*. Whatever difference there might be as to the meaning of the term *sāttvika* itself, all the writers on this subject agree in applying the term to denote those gestures (enumerated above) which give an involuntary expression to internal feelings.

56 e. g., in *Mammata*.

developed and self-conscious, was probably older than Bharata himself. It follows from this conclusion that the tradition of opinion, which crystallises itself in the oldest available manuals of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, or in the memorial verses of the Dhvanikāra, comes to us in a definite shape indeed at a date much posterior to Bharata, but it is probable that in substance, if not in actual formulation, it may have been much anterior to Bharata, who himself gives an indication of such teachings. Excepting what we get in Bharata, however, the history of this process of crystallisation (for the different systems appear in a relatively developed form in Bhāmaha and others) is not known to us ; but it must have covered a tentative stage whose productions, if they had been extant today, would have shown Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and the Dhvanikāra in the making, and would have partly filled up the presumably long gap between Bharata and these earliest formulators of Poetics.

Even if they were the earliest formulators, neither Bhāmaha, nor Daṇḍin, nor the Dhvanikāra, however, claims entire originality of having created the system which he individually represents. None of them can be taken as the absolute founder of the particular doctrines of *alaṇikāra*, *rīti* or *dhvani* with which they are respectively associated ; and with them we do not start at the absolute beginnings of the discipline. Indebtedness of these writers to their predecessors in the line, acknowledged by themselves, has already been noted in the first volume of this work (pp. 50, 67-68, 109) ; but apart from such explicit admissions, one can easily argue that certain fundamental concepts and formulas (such as *vakrokti*, *rīti*, *guṇa* or *alaṇikāra*) appear in writers like Bhāmaha without a preliminary explanation, as things traditionally handed down or already too well known to require any detailed discussion. It is also unthinkable that these early writers could have, as they certainly do not claim to have, evolved by themselves the relatively developed form and treatment of the main topics of Poetics in the absence of earlier tentative works.

It will be profitable, therefore, to pause and enquire if these works of Bhāmaha and others give us any indication of the stage or stages through which the discipline might have passed in the interval between Bharata and themselves. Fortunately there are passages in these writers which would give us hints as to the existence of such intermediate stages. Jacobi has already shown⁵⁷ that Bhāmaha, in his treatment of the poetic figures, groups them in a curious but suggestive way which probably indicates the different stages in the growth and multiplication of such figures before his time. Unlike later authors who, adopting some definite principle of classification, enumerate the poetic figures *en masse*⁵⁸. Bhāmaha begins (ii. 4) by naming and defining first a group of five such figures only, and then goes on to enumerate other such limited groups of figures, taking 24 remaining figures in a final group. The first group of figures thus mentioned comprises *anuprāsa*, *yamaka*, *rūpaka*, *dīpaka* and *upamā*, recognised, as Bhāmaha says, by others (*anyair udāhṛitāḥ*) and accepted by himself. These five correspond in reality to the four ancient poetic figures known to and defined by Bharata, viz. *yamaka*, *rūpaka*, *dīpaka* and *upamā*. The additional figure *anuprāsa*, mentioned by Bhāmaha, can be taken as falling in the same class as *yamaka*⁵⁹, the one being *varṇābhyaśa* and the other *padābhyaśa*.

57 In *Sb. der preuss. Akad.* xxiv, 1922, pp. 220-222.

58 By the time of Dandin, for instance, a large number of poetic figures appears to have been recognised, and he does not find any necessity of 'reporting' them or mentioning them successively in groups as Bhāmaha does; but he arranges them in his own way, taking the *arthālamkāras* first and the *sabdālamkāras* next, in two separate chapters. Udbhaṭa, a follower of Bhāmaha, deals with the first three groups of Bhāmaha in the first three chapters of his own work (omitting, however, Bhāmaha's phrases like *anyair udāhṛitāḥ*, *aparāḥ*, *abhihitāḥ* *kyacit* etc, with reference to these groups), the other three chapters taking up the remaining twenty-four figures of the last group. Although he follows generally the sequence as well as the definition of Bhāmaha, he does not recite them in the manner of groups after Bhāmaha.

59 The distinction between *yamaka* and *anuprāsa* may be explained thus: in the *anuprāsa* there is a repetition of one or more consonants,

sa, while both are what Bharata would call *śabdābhāyāsa*. Abhinavagupta very significantly takes⁶⁰ *anuprāsa* as implied in *yamaka* by Bharata; and the very fact that the *anuprāsa* in Bhāmaha is thus clearly differentiated from *yamaka* may indicate further refinement in the analysis of these figures and betoken a somewhat later stage.

In course of time, six other figures appear to have been analysed and added, and Bhāmaha mentions them next in a group in ii. 66. They are *ākṣepa*, *arthāntara-nyāsa*, *vyatireka*, *vibhāvanā*, *samāsokti* and *atiśayokti*. Of these there is no trace in Bharata. This constitutes probably the second stage of development, in which can also be included a seventh figure *vārtta*, which is referred to by Daṇḍin in i. 85, but which is not accepted by Bhāmaha as non-poetic utterance in which there is no *Vakrokti* (ii. 87)⁶¹. The third stage indicated by Bhāmaha's treatment does not appear to have been very productive, for in it we have the addition of only two more figures *yathāsanākhyā* and *utprekṣā* (ii. 88), and possibly of a third *svabhāvokti*. In this connexion it is noteworthy that by Daṇḍin's time *svabhāvokti* (also called *jāti*, recognised by Bāṇabhaṭṭa) is established as the primary or first figure (*ādyā*

sometimes but not necessarily along with the accompanying vowels; in *yamaka*, the consonants as well as the vowels are repeated strictly in the same order or sequence. In *yamaka*, the same group of vocables is repeated but it need not have the same meaning, and may even be quite meaningless in itself; but in the repetition of the *anuprāsa* one should consider the meaning. *Nicitayā kham upetya nīradaiḥ priyahūnā-hṛdayāvanīradaiḥ* would be an example of one variety of *yamaka*; while *adri-droṇī-kuñire kuhariṇī hariṇīrūtayo yūpayanti* would be an example of *anuprāsa*.

60 *tenōnuprāsa-lūṭiyāder anena (=yamakenu) evopasamgīghūt.*

61 V. Raghavan (*Some Concepts*, p. 99f), however, argues that in Bhāmaha *Vārtta* is no name of an Alāṃkāra.—Here Bhāmaha speaks of three other poetic figures *hetu*, *sūkṣma* and *leṣa*, which he rejects as not involving that he calls *vakrokti*. These, however, appear not in direct connexion with this enumeration of poetic figures but in the immediate context of *vakrokti* alluded to in the previous verse. These figures, however, are illustrated (as interpreted by commentators) by Bhaṭṭi, and were probably recognised before Bhāmaha's time.

alamīkṛti), while in Bhāmaha it occupies a rather dubious position ; for the latter, in pursuance probably of his peculiar theory of Vakrokti, does not appear to favour this figure very much. With regard to *utprekṣā*⁶², which is indeed an important addition to the Poetics of this period, Bhāmaha reports (ii. 88) that Medhāvīn called it *saṃkhjāna*⁶³. Is it possible that Bhāmaha's predecessor Medhāvīn was the first to analyse and name this figure? Daṇḍin, in a well known passage, considers in detail the question whether the word *iva* is indicative of *utprekṣā*, a question which was apparently disputed by other rhetoricians between Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin ; but in Vāmana we find this is already an established fact. From Bhāmaha ii. 40, again, we learn that Medhāvīn set up

62 The *utprekṣā* and *ākṣepa* as poetic figures are expressly mentioned by Subandhu, ed. Scirangam p. 146 ; while *upamā* and *dīpaka* are recognised by Bīqabhaṭṭa (introd. to *Kādambarī*). Both Subandhu and Bāṇa speak of composition enlivened by *sleṣa* ; but it is not perfectly clear whether they mean by it a *prabandha-guṇa* (as in Pharata) or the specific poetic figure of that name. Bhāmaha not only speaks of *sleṣa* but mentions three kinds or cases of its occurrence. Subandhu's boast of having used *sleṣa* (as his commentators interpret) in every word of his composition is not an idle one ; and from his use of it, one can indeed incline to the view that Subandhu's *Sleṣa* is no other than our modern poetic figure of the same name, especially as Bharata's definition of *Sleṣa* as a *Guṇa* is hardly applicable to Subandhu's case.

63 The text reads (Bhāmaha ii. 88) :

*yathāsaṃkhyam athoprekṣdm alaṅkāra-dīpaḥ viduḥ /
saṃkhyānam iti medhāvīnosprekṣibhūhitā kvacit//*

It should be noted in this connexion that Daṇḍin (ii. 273) gives *saṃkhyāna* (and *krama*) as alternative names, not of *utprekṣā*, but of *yathāsaṃkhyā*, which seems to be more plausible. It is possible that the text is corrupt here. Kane HSP. pp. 61-62 suggests the emendation : *saṃkhyānam iti medhāvī notprekṣibhūhitā kvacit*, which he translates as "Medhāvīn (calls *yathāsaṃkhyā*) by the name of *saṃkhyāna*, and in some places (in works on *alaṅkāra*) *utprekṣā* has not been spoken of as an *Alaṅkāra*." But the difficulty in accepting this emendation lies in the fact that Daṇḍin's elaborate treatment of *utprekṣā* would indicate that this figure must have assumed enough importance, even in Bhāmaha's time, to have been entirely overlooked in works on *Alaṅkāra*. Vāmana calls *yathāsaṃkhyā* by the name of *Krama*.

seven *upamā-doṣas*, and this statement appears to have been accepted by Nami-sādhu (on Rudraṭa xi. 24), who mentions and illustrates the seven Doṣas by examples. Unfortunately we do not possess any other information about Medhāvin (or Medhāvirudra)⁶⁴; and to Nami-sādhu and Rājaśekhara, who cite him, he was possibly nothing more than a name. From Bhāmaha's references, however, it is not unreasonable to presume that Medhāvin was the first writer on Poetics who, at an early period, gave an exposition of two very important poetic figures like *upamā* and *utprekṣā*.⁶⁵

After dealing with these groups of figures, Bhāmaha takes up (iii. 1-4) in the next chapter the remaining poetic figures recognised in his time, all in a body, without any further break. These constitute a long list as twenty-four figures. This may be taken as the fourth stage which brings us down to Bhāmaha's own time, and which must have ended with the elaboration of a large number of figures, although the number is not as large as we find it in Daṇḍin's time.⁶⁶ This stage is also represented by a canto in the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya* which illustrates in all thirty-eight independent poetic figures, although

64 See vol i p. 50. Nami-sādhu's quotation from Medhāvin (on xi. 24) merely refers to Bhāmaha ii. 40 which hardly adds anything to our knowledge. Rājaśekhara and Vallabhadeva (on *Śiśu* xi. 6) cite Medhāvin as a poet, the former coupling his name with that of Kumāradāsa, and the latter actually citing a verse from Medhāvirudra (see *ZDMG* lxxiii, 1919, p. 190 fn 1).

65 The problems regarding *upamā-doṣas* and *utprekṣā* appear to have engaged, to a great extent, the attention of early writers. See vol. i. p. 60, fn 1 on *upamā-doṣas*. On *utprekṣā*, see Daṇḍin ii. 226-234, Vāmana iv. 3. 9 vṛtti, Udbhaṭa ed. Telang, pp. 43-46.

66 The differentiation and multiplication of poetic figures with the growth of speculation is a familiar fact in Alāṃkāra literature; and it is not surprising that as the study advanced, the process of refining went on until a time came when the number became too unwieldy and the distinctions too fastidious; and then they had to be systematised in the light of some central principle. Such attempts were made from time to time, the earliest of which, as we shall see, was perhaps that of Vāmana.

as we have already discussed⁴⁷) Bhāṭṭī appears to have made use of a text possibly unknown to Bhāmaha, if not materially differing from the latter's sources. There can be no doubt, however, that by this time the standpoint of the Alāṃkāra-śāstra was clearly defined and firmly established. With Bhāmaha begins a new epoch in which the uncertain groupings of the earlier periods vanish with the setting up of a more or less authoritative standard.

CHAPTER II

BHĀMAHA, UDBHAṬA AND RUDRAṬA

(*The Alāmkāra System*)

BHĀMAHA

(1)

In Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālāmkāra*, the different topics of Poetics are formulated not incidentally, as in Bharata, but in such well-defined outline as would indicate that the Alāmkāra-śāstra had already attained the rank of an independent discipline. We have seen that Bharata considered certain important elements of poetry as devices for embellishing dramatic speech and as subservient to the principal purpose of producing the dramatic Rasa. In Bhāmaha, on the other hand, the poetical embellishments form the principal object of study ; and, while Dramaturgy and Rasa are entirely ignored, we find for the first time a definite scheme of Poetics more or less systematically elaborated and authoritatively established. Bharata's treatment would show that even before his time some of the older poetic figures, most of the Guṇas and Doṣas, had been recognised and clearly defined, even if no particular theory of Alāmkāra had been in existence. But Bhāmaha throws into prominence these poetic embellishments and the consideration of Guṇas and Doṣas in their connexion, in conformity perhaps to a tradition from which the whole discipline appears to have received the significant designation of Alāmkāra-śāstra. We have attempted to explain in the preceding chapter that the comparative antiquity of this tradition or of this school of opinion cannot be denied ; and the presumption is not unlikely that a system of Alāmkāra or an Alāmkāra school¹ (if the term is allowed from the em-

1 The word 'School' is used here in a very general sense to indicate affiliation to a particular doctrine or system. Only Udbhaṭa

phasis it puts on the consideration of *alāmkāra* or the poetic figure as the principal element of poetry)² existed side by side with the Rasa school or the dramaturgic Rasa-system, and influenced it, as it was to a limited extent influenced by it. But this doctrine or system of Poetics is represented to us by a comparatively late writer like Bhāmaha, who was by no means its original founder.

The general doctrine of this Alāmkāra-system is almost co-extensive with what appears to have been the original standpoint of the Alāmkāra-śāstra itself as an objective, empirical, and more or less mechanical discipline ; for, despite the previous or synchronous existence of a system which elaborated the idea of Rasa in the service of the drama, there is nothing to contradict the hypothesis, which we have already indicated and which is confirmed by the very early existence of the Alāmkāra-system itself, that Sanskrit Poetics started apparent-

and Vāmana, we are told, had their groups of followers respectively designated Audbhātas and Vāmaniyas. But there is no evidence to show that the particular doctrines of Rasa, Alāmkāra, Rīti and even Dhvani were worked out in proper schools, consciously or unconsciously founded by a great writer and supported by his followers. At the same time it can hardly be doubted that in spite of mutual and inevitable contamination or appropriation, these doctrines or systems had a tradition and a history of their own which naturally differentiated them from one another ; and each writer conformed, in his fundamental principles, to some theory which threw into prominence one or other of these doctrines. One could say, for instance, that Abhinavagupta owes his allegiance principally to the Dhvani-system of Ānandavardhana, although he acknowledges the importance of Rasa or brings in Vāmana's ideas of Guna in his interpretation of those of Bharata. With these reservations, the word 'school' is meant here to denote the different systems which emphasise respectively the Rasa, Alāmkāra, Rīti or Dhvani theories.—Samudrabandha (p. 4) speaks of five Pakṣas or views about Kāvya, namely (i) of Udbhāta (ii) of Vāmana (iii) of Vakroktijīvita-kāra (iv) of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and (v) of Ānandavardhana. The Anumāna-pakṣa of Vyākti-sivaka is said to be unworthy of serious consideration.

2 Referring to Bhāmaha, Udbhāta and other older writers, Ruyyaka says: *tad evem alāmkāra eva kāyē pradhānam ill prācyānām matam* (p. 7).

ly from some theory of embellishment (*alamkāra*) which took into consideration the whole domain of poetic figures and confined its energies to the elaboration of more or less mechanical formulas with reference to the technique of expression.³ Just as there may be a theory of painting consisting of a collection of information regarding the techniques of tempera, of oil-painting, of water-colour, of pastel, on the proportion of the human body and on the laws of perspective, the art of poetry was supposed to comprise a collection of precepts relating to the forms of expression, its structural beauty, its damaging faults and its rhetorical ornaments, without going further into the speculative aspects of the problems involved. The whole aesthetic judgment was directed to these means of externalisation, and aesthetic pleasure was regarded objectively from the standpoint of extraneous facts which contributed to it. It cannot indeed be dogmatically stated that the necessity and inevitability of postulating an ultimate principle did not trouble these older writers; but the study must have begun with a method which resulted in the establishment of a series of more or less rigid definitions and categories elaborated to a degree of fineness. The question as to what constitutes poetry or poetic charm, the aesthetic fact, does not arise until Vāmana and the Dhvanikāra come into the field; for earlier authors like Bhāmaha (i. 23) and Daṇḍin (i. 10) propose to confine themselves chiefly to what they call the *kāvya-śarīra*² or the 'body of poetry', as distinguished from its

3 Vol. i p. 7. Sanskrit Poetry, more than ever in this 'classical' period of its history, appeared as the careful work of a trained and experienced specialist. The tradition of such poetry points naturally to the working of the rules and means of the art into a system. This, combined with a natural and characteristic love of adornment, which demanded an ornamental fitting out of thought and word, probably supplied the original motive-force which brought the study of Poetics into existence. The word "Alamkāra" (lit. embellishment), applied to the discipline itself, as well as to the poetic figure, which forms the main topic of discussion in the earliest extant works from Bhāmaha to Rudrata, would indicate that Sanskrit Poetics had probably grown out of a theory and practice of

ātman, its 'soul' or animating principle.⁴ The advantages of verbal arrangement with due regard to the expression of an agreeable sense and of clever clothing of the sense with

embellishment, which included and threw into prominence the whole domain of verbal and ideal figures of speech, those decorative devices by which poetic expression may be rendered attractive. It seems that originally *Ars Poetica* in India, as Japobi suggests, did not go further than being a series of advice to the poet in his profession, and consisted more or less in formulating prescriptions for the practical working out of poetry. It pointed out the faults to be avoided and the excellences to be attained, and described the poetical embellishments which should enhance the beauty of expression, insomuch as the whole study came to receive the designation of *Alamkāra-śāstra*, or the Science of Poetical Embellishment. This theme of the "education" of the poet became in later literature a separate study when the theoretical aspects of the problems involved began to occupy an important place in the discipline, and we find a group of writers devoting themselves entirely to the subject of *kāvya-sikṣā* which, having the practical and somewhat mechanical training of the poet in his art for its object, really represents the original standpoint of Poetics. Sanskrit poetics was probably raised to the rank of an independent discipline almost about the time when Sanskrit 'Classical' poetry was already overstepping itself in its development.

4 The metaphorical expression *kāvya-sarīra* with its implied *kāvya-dharmā* plays an important part in Sanskrit Poetics throughout its history. Its origin has been traced to the allegory of the *Vedā-purusa* in *Rigveda* vi. 58. 3 (तत्त्रात्रि श्रुगः), and Rājaśekhara indulges in an analogous poetic conception of the *Kāvya-purusa* (Spirit of Poetry) and his bride *Sāhitya-vidyā*. According to Rājaśekhara's somewhat fanciful description, the body of this *Kāvya-purusa* is composed of word and sense (*sabda* and *arthā*), the face made of Sanskrit, the arms of Prakrit, the hips and loins of *Apabhrāmṣa*, the feet of *Pājāca*, and the breast of mixed languages. This is evidently from the linguistic point of view. It is further added that his speech is rich in different modes of poetic expression (*uktīcānam*) ; moods and sentiments (*rasa*) make up his soul ; metres form the hair of his body ; his conversation consists of questions and answers and riddles ; and he is adorned by poetic figures like alliteration and simile. The later writers attempt to arrive at greater precision, first indicated by Vāmana, who makes 'diction' (*r̥iti*) to be the soul of poetry. That the external art of poetry can be systematised formed one of the fundamental postulates of Sanskrit Poetics ; but at the same time the necessity of some deeper principle to explain the manifold character of its content

poetical or rhetorical ornaments absorb the attention of these writers ; and whatever may be the theoretic basis of poetic charm, it is enough if it is realised by the objective beauty of ingenious expression.

The two important factors, which go to make up the *kāvya-śārīra*, i.e. the 'body' or external framework of poetry,

could not be ignored. Hence the attempt to find the 'soul' or the animating principle in the 'body' or external framework of poetry. Bhāmaha perhaps vaguely realised this when he proposed to take *vakrokti* as the underlying principle of artistic expression ; but Dandin goes a step further and designates the *Guṇas* as the 'life-breath' (*prāṇāḥ*) of the diction (*mārga* or *rīti*), which he sets up as the most important part of poetry. Vāmana is the first known writer to comprehend and state distinctly what this 'soul' is, and the Dhvanikāra takes the last step in completing this figurative idea by defining systematically the mutual relation of the 'body' and the 'soul' of poetry. The Dhvanikāra implies in ii. 7 that *vyaṅgya artha* is this *ātman*, the *guṇas* being compared to natural qualities like courage, and the *alāṃkāras* likened to external ornaments like bracelets which adorn the body. This view is apparently accepted by Mammaṭa (viii. 1) and taken as authoritative by all subsequent writers, while Nami-sādhu (on Ruḍraṭa xii. 2) gives a similar but not accurate explanation of Rudraṭa's opinion on the subject. The final extension of this metaphorical conception is thus set forth by Viśvanātha : *kāryasya Śabdārthau Śārīram, rasūdiś cātmā, guṇāḥ saundaryādirat, doṣāḥ kāṇṭavādirat, rītayo'ravara-saṃsthāna-viśeṣavat, alāṃkārāḥ kaṭaka-kuṇḍalādirat*, thus comprehending all the elements of poetry, discussed by previous writers, into this elaborate metaphor. Whatever may be the value of this metaphor as an index to the conception of poetry gradually evolved by Indian theorists, one point is clear, viz., that they all take, from Bhāmaha to Jagannātha, the *śabda* and *artha* as constituting what they call the 'body' of poetry ; and with this idea the theories start, ultimately ending in a search for its 'soul'. From another point of view, the *śabda* and *artha* form the central pivot round which all theories move (for they are all theories starting with *expression*) with particular reference to the question of the function *par excellence* operative in poetry. And as the study of Poetics itself, on the admission of some of its greatest exponents, drew its original inspiration from grammatico-philosophical speculations on speech, it is not surprising that enormous emphasis should be put on these two elements.

are supposed to be *sabda* (word) and *artha* (sense)⁵, and the *alaṁkāras* or poetic figures which adorn these are taken as forming the essential sign of a Kāvya. In other words, poetry consists of a verbal composition in which a definite sense must prevail, and which must be made charming by means of certain turns of expression to which the name of poetic figure is given. This general standpoint is implied by Bhāmaha at the very outset in connexion with his general discussion of the two kinds of figures based respectively on word and sense⁶:

rūpakaḍim alaṁkāraṁ bāhyam ācakṣate pare/
supāṇi tīnāṁ ca vyutpattiṁ vācāṁ vāñchānty alaṁkṛitī/
tad etad āhuḥ sauśabdyam nārtha-vyutpattir idṛṣī/
sabdābhidheyālaṁkāra-bhedaṁ iṣṭam dvayam tu nāḥ/,

This passage, quoted with approval in the *Vakroktiśīvita* (on i. 8) and the *Kāvya-prakāśa* vi, is difficult to translate, but the meaning is clear and may be freely rendered

5 See above footnote 3. *Sabdarthan sahitau kāvyaṁ*, Bhāmaha i. 16, from which, as Kuntaka indicates, the name *sūhitya* was probably given to poetry. The earliest use probably of this term *sūhitya* in Sanskrit Poetics occurs in Mukola (pp. 21 and 22) and in his pupil, Pratihārendurīja, while Rājaśekhara expressly uses the term *sūhitya-vidyā*. The orthodox etymology of the term, which derives it from the above definition of poetry, as the union of word and sense, is thus put by Rājaśekhara: *sabdarthayor yathāyat sah-abhāvena vidyā sūhitya-vidyā*, an interpretation with which Kuntaka agrees. This *Sūhitya* or alliance of word and sense is admitted as a fundamental postulate from a very early time, and with proper modifications, by all schools and authors. Cf Dāṇḍin i. 10, Vāmana i. 1. 1 (vṛtti). Rudrata ii. 1. Ānandavardhana admits as unquestioned: *sabdarthan nīvat kāvyaṁ, na vīpratipattiḥ iti darsayati*. The view is alluded to by Māgha in ii. 86b, and apparently by Kālidāsa in the first verse of *Raghu*⁷.

6 This distinction between *Alamkāras* of *Sabda* and of *Artha* began to be recognised, if not directly stated, from the time of Bhāmaha. Although Dāṇḍin is not explicit, he has the same distinctive view when he deals with *Arthālamkāras* in ch. ii and *Sabdālamkāras* in ch. iii. It is Bhoja who classifies *Alamkāras* into those of *Sabda*, of *Artha* or of both, defining and illustrating 24 of each in his *Sarasvatī-kāṇḍhā*⁸.

thus: "Others regard metaphor and the like to be external ornaments. They postulate that grammatical correctness adorns speech, and call it excellency of language, (implying that) there is no such corresponding correctness of sense. We, however, accept two kinds of ornaments, referring respectively to word and sense". Daṇḍin, who does not strictly belong to this school but who substantially agrees on this point with Bhāmaha, is more explicit in his statement, and lays down (i. 10) that the 'body' of poetry consists of a series of words regulated by an agreeable sense.

Although Bhāmaha is the oldest representative of this system whose work has survived, he was, as we have stated more than once, by no means its originator. The system, as we find it set forth in his work, is certainly not primitive, but indicates the clear existence of a developed teaching on the subject. Rājaśekhara, as we have noted (vol. i, p.1), gives us a long list of mythical names with which he identifies the original treatment of the various topics relating principally to the poetic figures. He assigns the elaboration of the poetic figures *anuprāsa*, *yamaka* and *citra*, *śabda-śleṣa*, *vāstava*, *upamā*, *atiśaya*, *arthā-śleṣa*, and *ubhayālaṅkāra* respectively to Praetāyana, Citrāṅgada, Śeṣa, Pulastya, Aupakāyana, Pārāśara, Utathya and Kubera. While the antiquity of the distinction between *śabdālaṅkāra* and *arthālaṅkāra* generally (in spite of the above passage of Bhāmaha's) and of *śabda-śleṣa* and *arthā-śleṣa* in particular may be seriously doubted, some of these poetic figures may be allowed to have been very early recognised, as Bharata mentions some of them and Bhāmaha acknowledges nearly all (excepting *citra* which we find in Daṇḍin and *vāstava* which we find in Rudraṭa). Medhāvin, cited by Bhāmaha, probably belonged to this school, and his is the only authentic name of an early exponent of this system.

With Bhāmaha's work, however, we emerge from the region of conjecture and doubt, and arrive at the first classic statement of a definite doctrine of Poetics. We must not yet

look to his work, nor to that of his follower Udhhaṭā, for a thoroughly critical system. We can deduce certain broad conceptions, but the practical object, underlying the speculation of this school in general, and its more or less normative character did not allow sufficient scope for purely theoretic treatment ; nor can we expect such treatment at this early stage. Bhāmaha, therefore, nowhere attempts a formal definition of poetry, nor does he state clearly the theory of Vakrokti and Alampkāra which, as we shall see, was first systematically enunciated by his follower, the Vakroktijivitākāra. The first chapter of Bhāmaha's work gives us some preliminary remarks about the general characteristics of poetry and its subdivisions, but a large part of it is taken up with the enumeration of the general faults which obstruct the proper expression of an idea.

Bhāmaha states at the outset the purposes of poetry (*kāvya-prayojana*) and the qualifications of a poet (*kāvya-hetu*), incidentally mentioning the 'sources' of poetry (*kāvya-yonayaḥ*). Regarding the first topic of the aim and purpose of poetry, it is not necessary to discuss the different views in detail, as they generally enumerate extraneous objects and throw little light on the general theory of poetry. In the older writers there is a more or less uncritical mention of fame (*kīrti*) for the poet and delight (*priti*) for the reader as the chief objects of poetry ; and herewith Bhāmaha (i. 2), Dāṇḍin (i. 105), Vāmana (i. 1, 5), Rudraṭā (i. 21, 22) and Bhoja (i. 2), though belonging to different schools of opinion, seem to be content. But it became customary to add,⁷ from the poet's standpoint, 'wealth', 'social success' and 'escape from ills'. From the reader's point of view, poetry is said to bring 'solace', 'instruction in knowledge' and 'proficiency in the arts and ways of the world' ; and these are sometimes summarily comprehended by the term *trivarga*, viz., 'profit, pleasure and

7 Bharata had already laid down this pleasure-giving function of the dramatic art as *kṛiḍanaka* (i. 11), *vinodakīrṭa* (i. 86).

8 E. g. Mammata i. 2, Hemacandra p. 2 etc.

virtue, to which later on the *caturvarga*, anticipated by Bhāmaha (i. 2), adds *mokṣa* or liberation of the soul. This is probably an attempt to bring poetry on a level with other arts or sciences which profess similar ends, and is in harmony with the deep-rooted idea of the functions of Śāstra. It is, however, pointed out by later theorists like Mammata and his followers,⁹ who in their turn develop Abhinavagupta's idea ([°]*Locana* p. 12), that the Kāvya, as distinguished from the scriptures and the sciences, is *kāntā-sammita*, i. e., like the teaching of a loving mistress, implying thereby that the pedagogic powers of poetry resolve themselves into a peculiar power of suggesting a condition of artistic enjoyment. The famous opening verse of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* makes this clear when it describes poetic speech as comprehending a creation ungoverned by nature's laws and consisting of pure joy. The *caturvarga* and the other material objects of poetry are mentioned in almost unbroken tradition; but with the elaboration of a full-fledged scheme of Poetics in connexion with the suggestion of Rasa, the purpose of poetry was brought into a level with the ultimate theory about its nature; and poetry was supposed to create a peculiar mood of aesthetic pleasure, conveyed generally by the philosophic term *ānanda*¹⁰.

9 Abhinava uses the terms *prabhu-sammita*, *jāyā-sammita* and *mitra-sammita*, which are accepted by Mammata (ed. B.S.S. 1917, p. 9). Later writers distinguish (e. g. *Ekāvalī* pp. 13-15) between the Vedas which are *prabhu-sammita*, the Itihāsa etc. which are *mitra-sammita*, and the Kāvya which is *kāntā-sammita*.

10 Abhinavagupta's comment on Bhāmaha i. 2 on this point is interesting ([°]*Locana* p. 12, partially copied by Hemaendra in his commentary, p. 3): *yathoktam—dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣeṣu vaicakṣay-yaṁ kalūsu ca / karoti kīrtim prītim ca sūdhu-līvya-rīṣeṣayam // iti, tathāpi prītir eva pradhānam. Anyathā prabhu-sammitibhyo vedā-dibhyo mitra-sammitibhyo cetiḥsūdibhyo vyutpatti-hetul-hyāḥ, ko'sya kāvya-rūpasya vyutpatti-hetor jāyā-sammitatva-lakṣaṇo viṣeṣa iti prū-dhāyēnānanda evoktaḥ. Caturvarga-vyutpatter api cānandaḥ pāryantikāḥ muhkyāḥ phalāḥ.* The essence of Rasa, which came to be considered as the most important thing in poetry, is said to consist of this *prīti* or *ānanda*; naturally *ānanda* or *prīti* became in later

Jagannātha completes the idea by delining it as a 'disinterested' or 'dissociated' (*alaukika*) pleasure, which depends upon a taste formed by repeated representation of beautiful objects, and which can be enjoyed by a man initiated into the poetic mysteries.

With regard to the other two questions, viz. the equipment of a poet and the sources of poetry, Bhāmaha appears to be cognisant of their importance. His remarks on these points are, however, brief as compared with those of Vāmana, who deals with the subject elaborately for the first time. It may be pointed out in this connexion that Sanskrit Poetics, consistently with the original idea of its having been a more or less mechanical discipline, gives a long list of the essential qualifications which a poet should possess and lays down elaborate rules for his 'education'. With the advance of the theoretical aspects of the science, this theme was, no doubt, made the object of a separate study by a group of writers who make it their business to instruct the poet in his profession ; but all early writers on general Poetics, more or less, touch upon the point. We shall have occasion to deal with this school of *kavi-śikṣā* ; but it will be convenient to indicate here briefly the earlier speculations on the subject. While not denying the supreme necessity of genius or poetic gift (*sat-karītva*, Bhāmaha i. 4) which consists in *pratibhā* (poetic conception), all writers, early or late, agree in emphasising the necessity of study and experience. Both Bhāmaha (i. 5) and Daṇḍin (i. 103-4) acknowledge *pratibhā* which is said to be natural (*naisargikī*) or inborn (*sahajā*) ; and Vāmana puts it into a formula that in *pratibhā* lies the seed of poetry, and defines it (i. 3. 16 *Vṛtti*) as an antenatal capacity of the mind¹¹ without which no poetry is possible, and if possible, it is only ridiculous, a dictum which is almost literally copied by

Poetics the chief object of poetry. Māṇmāṭa calls it *salala-prayojanam-
maulibhātām*.

11 *janmāntara-gata-saṃskāra-viseṣāḥ* laicit. Daṇḍin describes it as *pūrvā-vāsand-guḍānubandhi*.

Mammaṭa who, however, uses the more general term *śakti*.¹² Abhinavagupta (°*Locana* p. 29) defines it as intelligence (*prajñā*), capable of fresh invention (*apūrva-vastu-nirmāṇa-kṣama*), its distinguishing characteristic being the capacity of creating poetry possessed of passion, clarity and beauty (*tasya viśeṣo rasāveśa-vaiśadya-saundarya-kāvya-nirmāṇa-kṣamatvam*) ; and he quotes the authority of Bharata (vii. 2) who designates it as the 'internal disposition' of the poet (*antargata bhāva*). This agrees with the definition of *pratibhā* as *prajñā nava-navollekha-śālinī*, given in a verse cited anonymously by Hemacandra, but attributed by Kṣemendra (Aucitya-vicāra° ad sl. 35) to Abhinava's guru, Bhaṭṭa Tauta ; and it is recognised as canonical by later writers, to whom Abhinava and Mammaṭa were the final lawgivers, but who sometimes add that it is *lokottara* and capable of producing an indefinable charm variously termed *vaicitrya*, *vicchitti*, *cārutva*, *saundarya*, *hrdayatva* or *ramāṇiyatva*.

While these theorists believed in *pratibhā*, they also believed in "making a poet into a poet," and maintained the importance of what Daṇḍin calls *śruta* and *abhiyoga*, but what later writers call *vyutpatti* (culture) and *abhyāsa* (practice). Rudraṭa, therefore, thinks that *pratibhā* is not only *sahajā* or inborn, but also *utpādyā* or capable of attainment by *vyutpatti* or culture. The poet is thus required to be an expert in a long list of sciences or arts. The earliest of such lists is given by Bhāmaha in i. 9, where mention is made of the following studies as 'sources' of poetry,¹³ viz., grammar, prosody, lexicography, stories based on *Itihāsa*, ways of the world, logic and the fine arts. This substantially agrees

12 Used by Kudraṭa (i. 14-15), who distinctly gives two alternative terms *śakti* and *pratibhā* and by Abhinavagupta (°*Locana* p. 137) who says: *śaktih pratibhānam, varṇanīya-vastu-viśaya-nūtanollekha-śālitvam*.

13 Read *kāvya-yonayaḥ* (instead of *kāvya-yairvaśi* in the printed text), as indicated by Vāmana i. 3. 1 (*kāvyaśāgūṇi*) and Rājaśekhara viii (*kāvya-yonayaḥ*). Cf. Jacobi in *op. cit.* p. 224.

with Rudraja's list (i. 18), but Vāmaoa deals with the topic in greater detail in i. 3. 21-22, and requires the poet to be conversant with grammar, lexicon, metrics, arts, morals, erotics, politics, and, above all, the ways and means of the world. It is also sometimes implied that the poet must have studied the theory of poetry and made himself proficient in poetical exercise (*abhyāsa*). He must be clever at weaving metaphors and other poetic figures, at the trick of producing a double meaning, at manipulating complicated schemes of alliteration and rhyming, at following up quick composition, at making complete verses out of broken lines and sentences, and similar ingenious practices. When a new work is published, it is submitted to and approved by assemblies of experts, as we are told by Mañkhaka, Rājaśekhara and others. It was obviously expected to answer all the demands of theory, although it was by no means an easy test; for style, says an Indian stylist, is like a woman's virtue which cannot bear the least reproach. The public likewise possessed or were expected to possess a certain amount of theoretical knowledge; for the *rasika* or *sahṛdaya*, the man of taste, the true appreciators of poetry, must be, according to the conception of the Sanskrit theorists, not only well read and wise, and initiated into the intricacies of theoretic requirements, but also possessed of fine instincts of aesthetic enjoyment¹⁴. The poet naturally liked to produce an impression that he had observed all the rules, traditions and expectations of such an audience; for the ultimate test of poetry is laid down as consisting in the appreciation of the *sahṛdaya*. Thus, the poet is required to be true to his natural gifts and yet conform to the rigid demands of theory. The art of poetry in this way came to flourish in a learned atmosphere, and the theory of Poetics, as we shall see, naturally assumed a scholastic

14 On the subject of the "education" of the poet, see F. W. Thomas, *The Making of the Sanskrit Poet* in *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* p. 375 f.

and dialectic character in common with the whole scientific literature of ancient India. It is true that a certain amount of inevitable difference is always to be found between theory and practice; and, as on the one hand, we have gifted poets aspiring to untrammelled utterance, so on the other, there is a tendency to degenerate towards a slavish adherence to rules, which naturally resulted in a strong overloading of a composition by complicated or artificial expressions.

With these general remarks we may now turn to a brief consideration of other topics in the work of Bhāmaha¹⁵. Bhāmaha rests content by taking the Kāvya to consist of *śabda* and *artha* (*śabdārthau sahitau kāvyanī*), giving equal prominence to word and sense in poetry. But he implies by his treatment that the Kāvya should also be faultless (*nirdoṣa*) and embellished by poetic figures (*sālaṇikāra*). Then follows the classification of poetry (i) according to form, into verse and prose, (ii) according to the language employed, into Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa, (iii) according to the subject-matter, into fourfold division, so far as it deals respectively with incidents human or divine, incidents invented by the poet's imagination, or incidents based on the several arts or sciences, (iv) according to the conventional way of grouping compositions into fivefold recognised division, viz. *sargabandha* (*mahākāvya*), *abhineyārtha* (drama), *ākhyāyikā*, *kathā* and *anibaddha-kāvya* (i. e. detached poems like *gāthās* or individual *ślokas*). Bhāmaha's definition of *mahākāvya* is more or less conventional, and practically agrees with that to be found in Daṇḍin (i. 14f) and in the *Agni-purāṇa* (336. 24-32). With regard to *abhineyārtha*, he omits its treatment because others have treated of it already. Bhāmaha lays down a somewhat hard-and-fast line of demarcation between the *kathā* and the *ākhyāyikā*, a view which is not accepted

15 Bhāmaha's work consists of six chapters: ch. i on poetry generally (60 verses), ch. ii and iii on *Alaṇkāra* (160 verses), ch. iv on *Doṣa* (50 verses), ch. v on logical correctness or *Nyāya* (70 verses) and ch. vi on grammatical correctness (60 verses).

by Dandin and which Vāmana does not enter into as being too fine¹⁶. With regard to the formal classification of verse and prose, it may be remarked that poetry, according to the view of Sanskrit theorists, has a twofold aspect according as it consists of verse (*padya*) or prose (*gadya*), although some authors speak of a mixed kind (*unifra*), e. g., the drama in which both prose and verse occur. The doctrine that prose is the opposite, not of poetry but of verse, which began to be realised rather late in European critical theories, was very early admitted without question by Sanskrit authors with whom metre does not play the same part as it does in European poetry; for in India from the earliest time, it was usual to put down even the driest teachings in a metrical form¹⁷.

Bhāmaha, however, appears (i. 31-35) to be indifferent

16 Vol. i. p. 65. We have tried to show elsewhere (*The Kathā and the Ākhyāyikā in Classical Sanskrit* in *BSOS*, vol. iii (reprinted in *Some Problems*, pp. 65-79) that two or three well-defined stages are distinguishable in the development of these two species of the Kāvya in Classical Sanskrit, the earliest being represented by the characteristics given by Bhāmaha and the latest by those given by Rudraāa; and that while Bhāmaha cannot be taken as having accepted Bāṇa's two masterpieces as his prototype, Rudraāa has only generalised their important features into universal definitions of the *Kathā* and the *ākhyāyikā*. Lacôte in his *Essai sur Guṇḍhyā et la Brhatkathā* suggests (p. 282) that Dandin must have found that Guṇḍhyā did not observe the traditional distinction between the *Kathā* and the *ākhyāyikā* (e. g. in the original *Brhatkathā*, on Lacôte's showing p. 220, there was a narration by Natavāhanadatta of his own victories, which is contrary to the rule laid down by Bhāmaha). He was, therefore, led to reject it altogether. Bhāmaha, no doubt, refers to a *Kathā* in *Apabhṛṣṭa* in i. 28 but it is not known whether he was aware of the existence of the *Brhatkathā*.

17 One need not emphasise the point that Sanskrit theorists define poetry so as to include any literary work of the imagination in its scope, and absolutely refuse to make of rhyming or versing an essential. This tradition is so well established that the question is nowhere discussed and never doubted. Thus, the theorists include under the head of poetry romances like *Kūḍāmbaī* or *Harsa-carita* which are written for the most part in prose. Vāmana even quotes a dictum which says that prose is the touchstone of the poets (*gadyam kāvīnām nikāyāt sadantī*, cited in *Vṛtti* on 1. 3. 21).

to the literary value of *rīti* (roughly, 'diction'), to which Daṇḍin and his followers of the Rīti school attach so much importance. He thinks that the distinction made by the Rīti-theorists between *vaidarbha* and *gauḍa* is meaningless ; and though he does not use the terms *mārga* (Daṇḍin) or *rīti* (Vāmana), his statement would imply that he is speaking of *vaidarbha*- and *gauḍa-kāvyas* respectively, in which some had apparently seen differences of manner and treatment.¹⁸ As a necessary corollary apparently to this view, he does not think it worth while to devote much attention to the *guṇas*, which the Rīti-theorists take as forming the constituent excellences of *rīti*, and summarily mentions in another context (ii. 1-3) only three *Guṇas*, viz., *mādhurya*, *ojas* and *prasāda*, apparently rejecting Bharata's ten orthodox excellences. He does not, however, connect them directly with the Rīti, and thinks that they are distinguished according to the presence or absence, in varying degrees, of compound words, *ojas* employing long compounds, and *mādhurya* and *prasāda* not doing it. These *Guṇas*, in his opinion, are not qualities of any particular diction, but of the good Kāvya generally. It is noteworthy that this brief description of the *Guṇas* precedes in context the treatment of *Alamkāras*, implying probably that they are analogous to each other. It is also noteworthy that Bhāmaha does not employ the term *Guṇa* at all, except in another context in connexion with the Bhāvika *Alamkāra* which he, like Daṇḍin, designates as a *prabandha-guṇa*.

Bhāmaha then proceeds to define and discuss, with illustrations, the poetic figures or *alāmkāras*, to which he devotes two long chapters (ii. 4-95, iii. 1-56), consisting of nearly one hundred and fifty verses. Then come (ch. iv) the *doṣas* or demerits of composition (some of which are already dealt with in i. 37-56), and the whole subject is wound up.

18 As each of these types have certain distinguishing features Bhāmaha is of opinion that one need not condemn Gauḍa nor praise the Vaidarbha ; but he himself does not deal with these types which must have been well known in his time.

with two chapters (v-vi) on the logical¹⁹ and grammatical²⁰ correctness of poetry respectively. Now leaving aside these two requirements and the *Doṣas*, all of which are in a sense negative requirements, the only thing of the highest importance in poetry, in Bhāmaha's view, is apparently the *Alamkāra* or the poetic figure, which takes up the bulk of his treatment.²¹ Bhāmaha attempts to classify poetic expression into fixed rhetorical categories; and from this point of view his work possesses the general appearance of a technical manual, comprising a collection of definitions with illustrations and empirical canons for the benefit of the artist desirous of externalising his ideas. But in the course of his enquiry, it probably struck him that a philosophical or scientific classification of expressions is not possible; for, although every single expressive fact may be grouped together generically, the continuous variation of the individual content results in an irreducible variety of expressive facts. He attempts, therefore, to arrive at a synthesis by holding that there may be *modes* or *grades* of expression, of which the best mode is that which involves *vakrokti*²², by which a certain peculiarity or charm of expression is posited as the essential principle of all *Alamkāras*.

19 In which are discussed such *Nyāya-vaiśeṣika* topics as the *pramāṇa*, *prajñā*, *hetu*, *drṣṭāṇa* etc.

20 Giving practical hints for attaining grammatical correctness (*saṃśabda*), and corresponding to the last *adhikarana* of Vāmana's work.

21 Excluding subvarieties the *Alamkāras* mentioned or defined by Bhāmaha are 39 (+4) in number, viz. in this order: *anupr̥ṣṭa* (two varieties), *yamaka* (five kinds), *rūpaka* (two varieties), *dīpaka*, *upamā*, *prativastūpamā* (as a variety of *upamā*), *ākṣepa* (two kinds), *arthāntara-nyūsa*, *vyatireka*, *vibhūvāṇi*, *sāṃsokti*, *atīśayokti*, *yathā-saṃkhyā*, *utprekṣṭi*, *svabhdvokti*, *preyas*, *rasavat*, *ūrjasvi*, *paryāyokta*, *sāṃkīrtita*, *udātta* (2 kinds), *ślesha*, *apahūnati*, *vīśekokti*, *śirodhā*, *tulyayogitā*, *aprastuta-praśaṇṣū* *vyāja-stuti*, *nidarśanā*, *upamā-rūpaka*, *upameyopamā*, *sahokti*, *parīvṛtti*, *sasāṃdeha*, *anānvaya*, *utprekṣīvayava*, *sāṃsṛṣṭi*, *bhāvika*, *āśā* (according to some), as well as *hetu*, *sāṃkīrtita* and *vārtū* (to which the status of *Alamkāra* is denied).

22 It is true that in one place Bhāmaha speaks of the figure

The etymological meaning of the term *vakrokti* is "crooked speech"; and this meaning appears in the verbal poetic figure defined by Rudraṇa (ii. 13-17) and, after him, by all later theorists, who connote by this figure a kind of pretended speech based on paronomasia (*śleṣa*) or peculiarities of intonation (*kāku*). In Vāmana, on the other hand, *vakrokti* appears not as verbal figure (*śabdālāmīkāra*) but as a figure based on the sense (*arthālāmīkāra*); and it is defined as a metaphorical mode of speech based on "transference of sense" (*lakṣaṇā*). Bhāmaha, while admitting it, apparently in common with Daṇḍin (ii. 363), as a collective designation of *all* *Alamkāras*²³, uses the term to imply a selection of words and turning of ideas peculiar to poetry and abhorrent of matter-of-fact speech. Kuntaka, who develops this idea and builds a unique theory of *alāmīkāra* on its basis, makes this meaning clear when he indicates by such *vakratā* the peculiar charm (*vicchitti*) or strikingness (*vaicitrya*) which can be imparted to ordinary expression by the conception of the poet (*kavipratibhā*). When words are used in the ordinary manner of common parlance, as people without a poetic turn of mind use them, there is no special charm, no strikingness; and

bhāvika as the characteristic excellence of a composition as a whole, a view which coincides with that of Daṇḍin, as well as of Bhaṭṭi who (according to commentators) illustrates this figure in one whole canto (canto xii). It is defined as the representation of objects, whether past or future; as if they were present, the condition of the representation being that the story or theme must have picturesque, strange and exalted meaning (*citrodūtītādbhūtarthaṃ kathūyāḥ*) and must be capable of being enacted well (*svabhinītataḥ*), and that the words used must be agreeable (*śabdānukulataḥ*). Bhāmaha, however, does not appear to lay any special emphasis on *bhāvikatva* in Poetry, but deals with it as he does with any other poetic figure. No doubt, he speaks of *bhāvika* as a *prabandha-guṇa*, but Bhāmaha does not seem to have made any theoretical distinction between *Guṇa* and *Alamkāra* as such, and the word *guṇa* here should not be taken in any technical sense.

23 On this subject, see S. K. De, introd. to Kuntaka's *Vakrokti-jivita*, 2nd Ed. pp. xiv-xxv.

consequently it is not poetical in the sense in which Bhāmaha and his follower understand it. Such *svabhāvokti* or 'natural' mode of speech, which Dāṇḍin calls *ādyā alamkṛti* and distinguishes from *vakrokti*, is not acceptable to Bhāmaha²⁴ and to Kuntaka, who refuse to acknowledge *svabhāvokti* as a poetic figure at all: for these theorists apparently imply a distinction between the "artistic", or ornamental or extraordinary, on the one hand, and the "naturalistic", or unadorned or ordinary expression, on the other²⁵.

24 See Jacobī in *ZDMG* Ixv 130 f, and in *Sb. der preuss. Akad.* xxiv, 1922, pp. 224 f. Kuntaka also uses the term *vakrokti* as almost co-extensive with the term *alamkara* (p. xxx), and regards the so-called poetic figures as aspects of *vakrokti*.—Bhāmaha does not, as Kuntaka does, elaborately argue against *svabhāvokti*; he acknowledges it, but the terms by which he refers to it (ii. 93-94) would make one think that it is not as acceptable to him as it is to Dāṇḍin. Dāṇḍin would divide *Vālmīya* into *svabhāvokti* and *Vakrokti*, the latter including in its scope all the poetic figures. Bhoja (*Sarasvatī-k.*) would divide *Vālmīya* into *svabhāvokti*, *Vakrokti*, and *Rasokti*.

25 To Bhāmaha and Kuntaka, *svabhāvokti*, which consists in a description of the natural disposition (*svabhāva*) of an object, is obviously wanting in the requisite strikingness to be poetical; for they take it to be merely plain or unadorned description and imply that a poet should express things or ideas differently from the banality or prosiness of the *Sāstras* or of common life. But Dāṇḍin and later theorists, on the contrary, reckon *jīvī* or *svabhāvokti* among the poetic figures. On this point we quote what we said elsewhere (Introd. to *Vakrokti-jivita*, p. xix, fn 19). "Though formally the expression of the *svabhāvokti* may not differ from a statement or description in common life there is still a substantial difference. For the poet sees or conceives the very same thing not in the same way as common people. In the case of the latter, all things stand in some relation to his personal interests, which should be understood to connote also scientific interest in them as objects of knowledge. But for the poet the object has no connexion with his or anybody's interests, not even as an object of knowledge; he has a vision of the thing in itself in its true nature. This is what it partially understood by *lokātikrūnta-gocarā*, and Jagannātha makes it clear (ed. Bombay, 1915, p. 4) while explaining the term *lokottaravā* as an element of poetic charm. Literally *lokottara* means supermundane, but in the sense indicated above it may be translated roughly as 'disinterested' or 'dissociated'. Now, Dāṇḍin, adopting the traditional term *alamkāra* and applying it to the *svabhāvokti*, could not very

Bhāmaha, therefore, lays down, in his classification of the different kinds of Kāvya, that the subdivisions of poetry mentioned by him are admissible to that designation in so far as they possess *vakrokti* (i. 30); and this is made more explicit by declaring later on that whatever value might be attached to the function of Rīti in poetry, the *vakrokti* is desirable as an embellishment of poetic speech (i. 36), which he characterises elsewhere as *vakrā* (vi. 23). Therefore he calls upon the poet to be diligent in accomplishing this, as the *vakrokti* manifests the sense of poetry and as no embellishment of poetry is possible without *vakrokti* (ii. 85). It is not surprising, therefore, that he rejects figures like *hetu*, *sūkṣma* and *leśa* on the ground that they do not involve *vakrokti*.

It is curious, however, that Bhāmaha nowhere explicitly defines or explains the word *vakrokti*. Perhaps here we have the work of early theorisers who have not yet learnt to theorise systematically, but who are carried away more or less by their practical object of establishing definite norms and prescribing general formulas as a means of attaining literary expression. Or, perhaps the idea of *vakrokti* was traditional or already too well known in his time to require detailed explanation. At any rate, after enumerating and defining the poetic figures up to and including *atiśayokti*, he says generally *saiśā sarvaiva vakroktih* (ii. 85), with a hint (as it appears from the context) of identifying the *vakrokti* in substance with the idea involved in *atiśayokti*. Kuntaka appears

well accept Bhāmaha's statement that *vakratā* is the characteristic of all poetic figures, because *vakrokti* excludes the *svabhāvokti* (Daṇḍin ii. 362); but he tries to reconcile his own view with Bhāmaha's opinion by extending the latter's remarks regarding the *atiśayokti* (ii. 81) to all poetic figures, thus including the *svabhāvokti*. The Indian theorists have almost neglected an important part of their task, viz., to find a definition of the nature of the subject of a poem as the product of the poet's mind; this problem is the main issue of Western Aesthetics. Only *svabhāvokti* and *bhāvika* can be adduced as a proof that the Indian theorists were conscious of the problem, but did not attack it in its entirety, treating it only in some of its aspects". See also, on this point, Jacobi in *Sb. der preuss. Akad.* cited above, pp. 224 f..

to agree with Bhāmaha that some kind of *atiśaya* is involved in *vakrokti*, and thinks that the *atiśaya* is a necessary element in what he calls *vicitra-mārga*, where *vakrokti* *vaicitrya* prevails (i. 27). Daṇḍin probably arrives at the same conclusion in a different way when he speaks of all poetic figures as depending on *atiśayokti*, a view which is explained thus by one of his commentators: *alampārāntardāṇām* *api esa* (= *atiśayoktyalaṇikāraḥ*) *upakārī bhavati*. *atiśaya-janana* *atvā* *vinā* *bhūṣaṇatayā* *na syād* *ity abhiprāyah*. Ānandavardhana's remarks in this connexion are illuminating. He says that it is possible to include *atiśaya* in all poetic figures, as it has been successfully done by great poets, for the purpose of increasing the beauty of poetic composition; and citing Bhāmaha's idea of *atiśayokti* and *vakrokti* he remarks (pp. 208)²⁶: "There is an excellence of charm in that poetic figure in which the *atiśayokti* is established by the imagination of the poet; other figures are merely so called. Since it is able to enter into the body or composition of all poetic figures, it is, by assuming it to be identical with them, called their essence". The *atiśayokti*, therefore, is taken, in the words of Abhinavagupta's explanation, as the common token or generic property of all poetic figures (*sarvālaṇikāra-sāmāṇya-rūpam*), or as Mammā puts it, as their life-breath or essence (*prāṇatvenāvatīśhate*, p. 743). One can realise from this the close connexion between this important figure and Bhāmaha's notion of *vakrokti*.

Bhāmaha defines *atiśayokti* as *nimittato vaco* *yat tu* *lokātikrānta-gocaram* (ii. 81), which Daṇḍin paraphrases as *vivakṣā* *yā* *viśeṣasya loka-simātivartini* (ii. 214). It would seem, therefore, that the *atiśaya* in the *vakratā* of poetic figures consists essentially in this *lokātikrānta-gocarata*, and Abhinava makes this clear when he explains in this connexion (*Locana p. 208): *śabdasya hi vakratā abhidheyasya ca vakra-*

26 *tatratiśayokti* *yam alampārāntam adhīśhṭhāt kāvī-pratibhā-vahit
tarṣa* *āśvātātikāra-yogah*, *anyasya* *svālāṇikāra-mātratait* *et*. *Sarvālaṇi-
kāra-kāra-svākāraṇa-yogyo* *renābhedopacūḍit* *sarva* *sarvālaṇikāra-
rūpely* *eyam evārtho* *vagantayah*.

tā lokottīrṇena rūpeṇāvasthānam. From this it is reasonable to conclude that by *vakratā* Bhāmaha implies a kind of heightened or extraordinary turn given to expression (what Kuntaka would call *bhaṅgī* or *vicchitti*), which constitutes the charm or strikingness of poetic expression, as distinguished from common speech where facts are simply stated. We shall see that Kuntaka elaborates this idea by the peculiar theory of *vaicitrya* or *vicchitti* (which is taken as almost equivalent to the term *vakratā*) of word and sense as forming the basis of all poetic decoration (the so-called poetic figures being mere aspects of it), whereby the poet lifts ordinary speech to the level of extraordinary poetic utterance.

As a necessary corollary from the prominence given to *vakrokti* or *alāṃkāra* in poetry by this system, it follows that ideas of Rasa should be included in the scope of particular poetic figures. We shall see that Bhāmaha actually assigns this function to the particular figure *rasavat*, and if we are to accept Udbhaṭa's position as indicative of that of Bhāmaha, also to the figures *preyas* and *ūrjasvin*. By putting a technical interpretation on the word *vibhāvyate* in Bhāmaha ii. 85, Abhinavagupta attempts to make out that Rasa as well as *Alāṃkāra* originates in *vakrokti*; but this is probably an instance of the not-unusual but rather far-fetched ingenuity of the commentator. Regarding *vyaīgṛyārtha* or *dhvani*, the "suggested sense", which plays such an important part in later theories, Bhāmaha nowhere expressly alludes to this idea; but we can never dogmatically affirm that some kind of suggested sense was not known to him. He defines figures like *paryāyokta*, *vyāja-stuti*, *aprastuta-praśaṇīsā* and *saṃāsokti*, in all of which there is an indication of an implied sense. The *paryāyokta*, for instance, is defined as *paryāyoktaṇi yad auyena prakāreṇābhidhīyate* (iii. 8), and Udbhaṭa expands this with *vācya-vācaka-vṛttibhīyāṇi śūnyenāvagamātmanā*, in which there is a clear indication of an *avagāniyāṇā artha*²⁷. This

27 Cf. Ruyyaka's remarks on this figure. See also Bhāmaha's definition of *saṃāsokti*, ii. 79.

is also apparent from the criticism of Ānandavardhana, who does not agree, however, that in Bhāmaha's *paryāyokta* there is a predominance of the suggested sense, inasmuch as the expressed sense is not intended there to be merely subservient (pp. 39-40). In another place (p. 108), Ānandavardhana further remarks that Udbhaṭa has shown in detail that expressed poetic figures like *rūpaka* can sometimes be a suggested element, a case of what is explained by Dhvani-theorists as *alāṃkāra dhvani*. Thus, in the opinion of the great exponent of the *dhvani*-theory himself, Bhāmaha as well as Udbhaṭa (cf. "Locana p. 10) is not an *abhāva-vādin* or one who denies the existence of *dhvani* (as Mallinātha, p. 24, wrongly considers him to be), but an *antarbhāva-vādin* who includes the idea of *dhvani* in other elements of poetry. Discussing this point, Pratīhārendurāja appears to agree with Ānandavardhana; for, in his opinion, the *dhvani*, which is considered by some school to be the 'soul' of poetry, is not separately dealt with by these early writers because they include it in poetic figures (p. 79). In the same way, Jagannātha (pp. 414-15) remarks that although Udbhaṭa and others, who were earlier than the author of the Dhvani-system, never use the term *dhvani*, it is yet unreasonable to hold on that ground that the concept of *dhvani* was unknown to them, because they indicate some of its aspects in their definitions of figures like *paryāyokta*, *saṃāsokti*, *vyāja-stuti* and *aprastuta-praśaṇṣā*. To the same effect is the general statement of Ruyyaka (p. 3), who says that Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and other ancient writers would comprehend the suggested sense in the *Alāṃkāra* as an adornment of the expressed sense; in other words, they do not take it independently but as an accessory to the expressed sense, in the same way as they take *Rasa* as an accessory element. Following perhaps the tradition of Bhāmaha's *paryāyokta*, the younger Vāgbhaṭa defines (pp. 36-37) the figure as *dhvanitābhīdhanam*, and refers the curious reader to the treatise of Ānandavardhana for a detailed treatment of *dhvanitokti*; while Hema-

candra defines (p. 263) it more briefly as *vyaigyasyoktiḥ*. In all this, one can perceive an attempt to read the idea of *dhvani* into older authors like Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa and thus to find an orthodox authority for it from an early time ; but it is not unlikely that the general notion of a suggested sense, like the general notion of Rasa, was not unknown to these ancient authors, although it was only naïvely understood and never independently treated, being uncritically included as an element of some poetic figures.

(2)
UDBHĀṬA

The only writer of later times who develops Bhāmaha's notion of *vakrokti* is Kuntaka, the author of the *Vakroktijīvita* ; but for this exposition, it disappears from the writings of this school. Udbhaṭa, one of the earliest avowed followers of Bhāmaha, nowhere mentions it, although it is quite possible that we would have got a much more comprehensive idea of Udbhaṭa's standpoint from his lost *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa* or *Kāvyālāmīkāra-vivṛti*²⁸ than from his existing brief compendium of poetic figures. His *Ālamīkāra-saṅgraha*, as its name implies, consists merely of a collection of verses defining forty-one poetic figures (including three varieties of *anuprāsa*), and we are left absolutely in the dark regarding his views on general problems.

In his treatment of these poetic figures, Udbhaṭa follows

28 See vol. i. p. 46. The six chapters of Udbhaṭa's existing work deal exclusively with the poetic figures in the following order and divisions: I. *punarūktavād-ābhāsa*, *chekānuprāsa*, *vṛttynuprāsa* (with three *vṛttis*), *laṭānuprāsa*, *rūpaka*, *dīpaka* (3 kinds), *upamā*, *prativastupamā*. II. *ākṣepa*, *arthāntara-nyāsa*, *vyatireka*, *vibhāvanā*, *saṁśokti*, *atiśayokti* (4 kinds). III. *yathāsaṁkhya*, *utprekṣā*, *svabhāvokti*. IV. *preyasvat*, *rasavat*, *ūrjasvī*, *paryāyokta*, *saṁkhita*, *udātta* (2 kinds), *śleṣa*. V. *apahnuti*, *viśeṣokti*, *virodha*, *tulyayogitā*, *aprasūtapaśāṇī*, *vyāja-stuti*, *vidurśāṇā*, *saṁkara* (4 kinds), *upameyopamā*, *sahokti*, *parivṛtti*. VI. *sasāṁdeha*, *anauvaya*, *saṁśrṣṭi*, *bhāvika*, *kāvya-īṅga* (*hetu*) and *kāvya-dṛṣṭānta* (*dṛṣṭānta*).

Bhāmaha very closely, enumerating the figures in the same order and even borrowing literally the definitions of a large number of them. In the case of a few particular poetic figures, however, Udbhaṭā enters into distinctions which were probably unknown to Bhāmaha. Thus, he speaks of four forms of the *atiśayokti*, which Bhāmaha does not mention, but which agree substantially with the four out of the five varieties of that figure recognised by later writers. Bhāmaha spoke (ii. 6.8) of only two kinds of *anuprāsa*, viz., *grāmyānuprāsa* and *lāsiyānuprāsa*, which classification, Pratibhārendurāja thinks, is based on a tacit admission of the two *Vṛttis*, viz., *grāmyā* and *upanāgarikā*. Udbhaṭā, on the other hand, distinguishes three varieties of *anuprāsa*, called *chekānuprāsa*, *lāsiyānuprāsa* and *vṛttyanuprāsa*, the last of which appears to be classified again on the basis of the three *Vṛttis*, viz., *grāmyā* (or *komalā*), *paruṣā* and *upanāgarikā*. These *Vṛttis*, which consist primarily of suitable sound-adjustment with a view to alliteration, appear to have been first recognised, as Abhinavagupta points out, by Udbhaṭā, and from him known to Ānandavardhana (pp. 5-6). We shall see presently that Rudraṭā mentions five *Vṛttis* (ii. 19 f); but we find Udbhaṭā's views accepted by later theorists like Mammāja and Ruyyaka who, however, consider the whole question from the point of view of *Rasa*²⁹. Again, the grammatical basis of the divisions of *upamā* (of which there is only a hint in Bhāmaha ii. 31-33) first appears in Udbhaṭā (i. 35-40) in a form which establishes itself in later theory. It is true that Udbhaṭā does not in the present treatise devote, as Bhāmaha does, a special chapter to the question of grammatical correctness, nor does he allude to the theories regarding functions of words already hinted at by Bhāmaha (vi. 6f), yet in deference to the grammatical analysis of speech, he discusses at some length the various

29 These *Vṛttis* refer primarily to *anuprāsa* (alliteration, or sound-arrangement of letters), and has nothing to do with the four dramatic *Vṛttis* mentioned by Bharata (vi. 25, xx. 24f).

subdivisions of *upamā*, due to suffixes like *vat*, *kyac*, *kyanī*, *kvip*, *kalpap* and the like, indicative of resemblance ; and this analysis became almost standardised in later literature.

Regarding definitions of individual figures, minor differences, as well as further elaboration, are noticeable. Thus, Udbhaṭa's *tulyayogitā* corresponds to that of Mammaṭa, but Bhāmaha's figure of the same name is perhaps equivalent to Mammaṭa's *dīpaka*. The figures *dṛṣṭānta* and *kāvya-liṅga* (also called *kāvya-dṛṣṭānta* and *kāvya-hetu* respectively) are omitted by Bhāmaha, but defined and illustrated by Udbhaṭa for the first time. But Udbhaṭa is the only older writer who entirely omits the treatment of *yamaka*. Again, Bhāmaha recognises *śleṣa* involved in *sahokti*, *upamā* and *hetu*, and Daṇḍin speaks of *śleṣa* as coming in and increasing the charm of all figures. But the well-known controversy regarding the division of *śleṣa* into *śabda-śleṣa* and *arth-śleṣa*, together with the question of its relations to other poetic figures in which it may appear, seems to have started, as Ruyyaka notes, from Udbhaṭa's time ; and Udbhaṭa declares that in cases of combination, the *śleṣa* is stronger than the other figures to the extent even of dispelling their apprehension. We shall also see that Udbhaṭa is certainly more advanced in recognising *Rasa* and defining its place in the poetic figures, if not in poetry as a whole ; and he even goes so far as using the technical terms *bhāva* and *anubhāva*, which cannot be traced in Bhāmaha. The *sāṃsṛṣṭi* of two or more independent poetic figures is found indeed in Bhāmaha and Bhaṭṭi (as also in Daṇḍin and Vāmana), but Udbhaṭa does not refer to the two cases of such *sāṃsṛṣṭi* mentioned by Daṇḍin (ii. 360) and distinguishes it definitely from *sāṃkara* (pp. 63 and 72), of which he mentions four cases³⁰.

30 Vāmana gives the *sāṃsṛṣṭi* a limited scope, recognising only two varieties, *upamā-rūpaka* and *utprekṣāvayava*, in opposition to Daṇḍin ii. 258-60. Daṇḍin does not mention *sāṃkara*. Possibly Daṇḍin's *aṅgāṅgibhāva-sāṃsṛṣṭhāna* variety of *sāṃsṛṣṭi* comes, as Pratihārendu indicates, under Udbhata's *anugrāhyānugrāhaka* variety.

All this, however, means an advance, and not a deviation ; it indicates an aspect of the growth of scholastic activity, which delighted in indulging in fine distinctions and minute classifications, and not a departure from the original standpoint. To later writers, however, it is not Bhāmaha but Udbhaṭa who is the authoritative exponent of this system and whose views are entitled to great respect from all schools of opinion. Bhāmaha indeed commands veneration due to his antiquity ; but he was, in course of time, eclipsed by his commentator, and later theorists turn to Udbhaṭa's work as embodying the standard opinions on the subject. We have the testimony of Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta and Ruyyaka that some of the later speculations and controversies (e. g. those regarding *upamā*-divisions, or *sleṣa*) started from Udbhaṭa's time ; and Udbhaṭa (as also Daṇḍin and Rudraṭa) probably showed the way to minute analysis and differentiation of poetic figures, which play such an important part in later theories. We can understand what influence Udbhaṭa's teachings exerted in this respect when we bear in mind that they guided very considerably the enquiries of two important later lawgivers in Poetics, Mammaṭa and Ruyyaka, who fixed for the first time the definitions of most figures, analysed and arranged them on some general principle, and systematised their underlying doctrine. Although Kuntaka elaborated one part of Bhāmaha's teaching which he took as the basis of his own peculiar system of *vakrokti*, it was Udbhaṭa who properly carried on Bhāmaha's tradition and gave a systematic exposition of his work. Along with his contemporary Vāmana, Udbhaṭa may be taken without exaggeration to have been the founder of the Kashmirian school of Poetics which produced its finest fruit in Ānandavardhana ; for Udbhaṭa in Kashmir established the *alaṅkāra*-doctrine in Poetics at a time when Vāmana was skilfully constructing a theory of *rūp* on the basis apparently of Daṇḍin's teachings, and both of them prepared the way for Ānandavardhana.

Pratīhārendurāja's interpretation of Udbhaṭa is not always reliable as an indication of Udbhaṭa's standpoint, for the commentator flourished a little over a century later than the text-writer and frequently reads his own notions into the text. For instance, Udbhaṭa can be taken, as we have seen, to have been cognisant of a suggested sense, though he never speaks of *dhvani* or deals with it directly ; but Pratīhārendurāja refers to it in clearest terms and attempts by forced interpretation to make out that Udbhaṭa deliberately included it in the treatment of poetic figures. There is no doubt, again, that Pratīhārcndurāja was a great deal influenced by the views of the *Rīti* school of Vāmana. Discussing the mutual relation of *guṇa* and *alaṇikāra* (pp. 75 f), Pratīhārendurāja not only cites Vāmana but closely follows his exposition. To Bhāmaha, the distinction between *guṇa* and *alaṇikāra* was hardly of any theoretic importance, and Udbhaṭa appears to have been of the same opinion ; for Ruyyaka distinctly states *udbhajādibhis tu guṇālaṇikārāṇām prāyaśāḥ sāmyam eva sūcītam* (p. 7), and Hemacandra adds in the same way : *tasmād gādarikā-pravāheṇa guṇālaṇikāra-bheda iti bhāmaha-vivarane... bhaṣṭodbhaṭo'bhyadhāt* (p. 17). Vāmana, on the other hand, putting greater stress on *rīti* elaborately distinguishes between the *guṇas* and the *alaṇikāras* ; and Pratīhārendurāja apparently reads Vāmana's views into Udbhaṭa. Udbhaṭa omits all mention of *rīti* which Bhāmaha had only referred to in passing ; but Udbhaṭa speaks of three *vṛttis*, which are connected in particular with the figure *anuprāsa* but which correspond roughly to the three *rītis* of Vāmana, and like the latter, again, to the three *guṇas* recognised by Ānandavardhana and his followers.³¹ But even then it cannot be said that Udbhaṭa's *vṛttis* cover the same ground or possess the same functional value as the three *rītis* of Vāmana or the three *guṇas* of Ānandavardhana. Udbhaṭa, according to Abhinava-gupta (p. 134), regards the *guṇas*, again, as the properties of

samghaṭanā, but this *samghaṭanā* cannot be taken as equivalent to Vāmana's *rīti*³². In the same way, Pratibhārendurāja speaks of *rasa* as the 'soul' of poetry (p. 77), although there is nothing to warrant the supposition that Udbhaṭa, fully aware as he appears to be of the importance of this element, would regard it as anything but a subservient factor in some special poetic figures.³³

(3)

RUDRATA

Although influenced considerably by the Rasa-doctrine, Rudraṭa belongs properly to the Alāṃkāra school. He recognises the Rasas and devotes two fairly long chapters to it; but, as we shall see later on, the function he assigns to Rasa is more or less extraneous. On the other hand, what

32 Anandavardhana speaks of *samghaṭanā* as threefold, viz., *a-saṃsū*, *dirgha-saṃsū* and *madhyama-saṃsū*, according as there is the presence or absence, in varying degrees, of compound words. Each of these is suited, though not invariably, to a particular Rasa. But he thinks that the Guṇas are not of the nature of *samghaṭanā*, nor are they dependent upon *samghaṭanā*, but that the appropriateness of the *samghaṭanā* is determined by the Rasa and by the speaker and the subject (pp. 133-5). See Jacobi in *ZDMG*, lvi, 1902, p. 779, fn 6, and S. K. De, Anandavardhana on *samghaṭanā* in *Some Problems* pp. 91-94.

33 This point will be discussed in ch. iv below. Rājāekhara attributes some other doctrines to Udbhata and his school (*audbhāṭīḥ*), which cannot be traced in Udbhaṭa's existing work: (1) that a sentence has a threefold denotation (*vākyasya tridhābhidhū-vyūpāra iti audbhāṭīḥ*), (2) that *arthā* is of two kinds, viz., *vicūrita-sustha* and *anicūrita-ramāṇya*, the first found in the *Sāstras* and the second in *Kāvyas*. The *Vyākhyāviveka-rājākhyāna* attributes a similarly untraceable *Siddhānta* at p. 4. Such citations or association of earlier authoritative names with a particular view may be merely *pūjārtha*, which is not an unusual procedure with later commentators, as Sukthankar in *ZDMG* lxi, 1912 discusses. Pratibhārendurāja, for instance, attributes a strange opinion to Bharata that grammatical works and the like do not deserve the name of poetry because they are not acceptable as such in the absence of the necessary Guṇas.

he appears to consider as important in poetry is the *alaiukāra* or poetic figure, to which he devotes ten chapters which form indeed the bulk of his work. His work itself is named *Kāvyālaiukāra*, apparently after the works of Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa, and is so designated, as his commentator Namiśādhu admits (on i. 2), from the undoubted emphasis laid on *kāvyālaiukāras* or poetic figures as elements of poetry.

Rudraṭa, like other writers of this school, does not seem to attach much importance to the Rīti or its constituent Guṇas. He speaks, no doubt, of four Rītis (and not two, after Daṇḍin, or three, after Vāmana) viz., *pāñcālī*, *lāṭīyā*, *gaudīyā* and *vaidarbī*; but in his exposition he is not influenced by the views of the Rīti school. The classification of 'diction', he thinks, depends on the presence in varying degrees of short (*laghu*), middling (*madhya*) and long (*āyata*) compound words, or on their entire absence as in the case of the Vaidarbī which is, apparently for this reason, considered to be the best type. Bhāmaha, we have seen, adopts a similar principle of classification, not with regard to the Rīti but to the three Guṇas admitted by himself. The notion of Rīti, therefore, belongs, in Rudraṭa's opinion, altogether to the province of *śabda*, governed by fixed rules of verbal arrangement, or rather, of using compounds, and is therefore called the *saniāsavatī vṛtti* of *śabda*. Rudraṭa does not speak of *dhvani*, nor does he appear to have been cognisant of its function; but he implies a suggested sense (as also Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa do) ancillary to the expressed sense in a limited number of poetic figures, e. g., in figures like *paryāya* or *paryāyokta* and in the figure *bhāva* vii. 38-41.³⁴

34 The two illustrations that Rudraṭa gives under the figure are quoted in the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, and in the "Locana p. 45. Abhinava distinctly refers to Rudraṭa's *bhāvālāmukāra* as a case in which the *vyañgya* sense is subordinate. Abhinava thinks that Udbhaṭa would take *bhāvālāmukāra* as *preyas* (pp. 71-72). It is remarkable that Ruyyaka, in his review of Rudraṭa's opinion on this point, states that Rudraṭa admits the three kinds of suggestion mentioned by the Dhvani-theorists. He says that Rudraṭa implies *vastu-dhvani* in the figure *bhāva*;

Rudraṭa's detailed treatment of the poetic figures or *alāṅkāras*, however, is the distinguishing feature of his work and indeed justifies its title. It is not only elaborate and exhaustive, but also presents considerable difference of method and treatment, which distinguishes him from other earlier writers of this school, and which may lend plausibility to the supposition that he is not only later in time but is also probably following a tradition other than that of Bhāmaha and his followers. To Udbhaṭa's limited number of poetic figures Rudraṭa adds nearly thirty more independent figures³⁵, besides enumerating several subvarieties of most of the important ones, and devoting an entire chapter to *citra* (already discussed by Daṇḍin). Udbhaṭa (not to speak of Bhāmaha and Bharata) nowhere treats clearly of the distinction between ideal and verbal figures (i. e. figures relating to word and sense respectively), although such a distinction is implied by

alāṅkāra-dhvani in *rūpaka* etc; *rasa-dhvani* in *rasavat* and *preyas*. But it may be pointed out that excepting what is stated with regard to *vasṭu-dhvani* being traceable in Rudraṭa's *bhāṣa*, the remark does not apply. Rudraṭa does not mention, define or otherwise deal with the figures *rasavat*, *preyas* etc, nor does he speak of *pratīyamāna utprekṣā* referred to by Ruyyaka in this connexion (although he gives an example of implied *utprekṣā* in ix. 13). See on this point Jacobi in *ZDMG* lxxii, 1908, p. 295 fn 5.

35 The number in Udbhaṭa is 41, in Rudraṭa 68 (excluding sub-varieties). The sixteen chapters in Rudraṭa deal with the following subjects: (I) the purpose and object of poetry, the qualifications of a poet etc. (II) the four *rītis* (*pūñcūlī*, *līlīyā*, *gaurīyā* and *vaidarbhi*), the six *bhāṣās* (Prakrit, Sanskrit, Māgadha, Piśāca, Sauraseni Apabhramśa), and five *alāṅkāras* of *śabda*, of which *vakrokti* and *anuprāsa* are here treated, along with five *Vṛttili* of *anuprāsa*. (III) *yamaka*. (IV) *sleṣa* and its eight varieties, (V) *citra*. (VI) *śabda-doṣas*, including *doṣas* of *pada* and *vākyā*. (VII) four bases of *arthālāṅkāra* (*rūstava*, *upamya*, *atīsaya* and *sleṣa*), and 23 figures based on *rūstava*. (VIII) 21 figures based on *upamya*. (IX) 12 figures based on *atīsaya*. (X) 12 figures based on *sleṣa*, *śuddha* and *sāṅkīrṇya*. (XI) nine *doṣas* of *arthā*, and four *upamā-doṣas*. (XII) ten *rasas*, and treatment of *śringūra*. (XIII) *sambhoga-śringūra* etc. (XIV) *upralambha-śringūra*, and the *upājas*. (XV) characteristics of other *rasas*. (XVI) kinds of poetic composition, such as *kāthā* and *ākhyāyikā* and their characteristics.

Daṇḍin, who himself enumerates a very large number of poetic figures³⁷, very sagely remarks that if for some slight difference, a different figure is to be defined, there would be hardly any end to their infinite multiplication. This remark partly applies to Rudraṭa whose general scheme, as well as particular definitions, is open to such an obvious objection. One of the curious results of rigorously following this classification is that the same figure reappears as an *alamkāra* under different groups. Thus *sahokti* and *samuccaya* have two aspects, based respectively on *vāstava* and *aupamya*, while the figure *utprekṣā* appears similarly under *aupamya* and *atiśaya* respectively. Some of Rudraṭa's figures have been abandoned by later writers, while some have changed their names or have been modified³⁸. later speculation inclining rather towards the more orthodox expositions of Udbhaṭa or even of Daṇḍin; yet the general merit of Rudraṭa's analysis and definitions, testified to by the more or less implicit acceptance by later theorists like Mammaṭa³⁹, cannot be denied. They indicate not only a considerable advance in scholastic activity on Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa, but also remarkable independence, and consequent divergence of treatment in several notable cases.

Taking the verbal figures, Rudraṭa's *vakrokti*, based on paronomasia (*sleṣa*) and intonation (*kaku*), has nothing in common with that of his predecessors. The intonational *vakrokti* is indeed not accepted by some of his successors

37 Viz. 35 in ch. ii. and *yamaṇa*, *citra* and *prahṛikā* in ch. iii.

38 E.g., Rudraṭa's *bhīṣa*, *mara*, *sāmya* and *pīhita* are not defined by later writers (excepting Vāgbhaṭa in his *Kāvyañuṣṭiṣāṇa*), while his *hetu* is not admitted by Mammaṭa. Rudraṭa's *avasara* and *pūrva* (mentioned by the younger Vāgbhaṭa) appear to be the same as the second variety of Mammaṭa's (and Udbhaṭa's) *uddita* and the fourth variety of Mammaṭa's *atiśayokti* respectively.

39 Mammaṭa's indebtedness to Rudraṭa is discussed by Sukthankar in *ZDMG*, Ixvi, 1912, p. 478, as well as in many places in Nobel's *Beiträge* already cited. Kuyyaka, on the other hand, while drawing largely on Mammaṭa himself, is more indebted to Udbhaṭa.

(e.g. Rājaśekhara p. 31 and Hemacandra p. 234), inasmuch as it is supposed to depend on mere peculiarities of reading (*pāṭha-dharinatvāt*): but on the whole, Rudraṭa's definition of the figure replaced that of Vāmana's metaphorical *vakrokti*, survived Kuntaka's broader interpretation of *vakrokti*, and established itself as the only recognised figure of that name in later literature from Mammaṭa onwards. Again, Rudraṭa's classification of *amprāsa* is somewhat different from that of Udbhaṭa, the former basing it on the five *vṛttis* of letters (*varṇa*), viz., *madhurā*, *paruṣā*, *praudhā*, *lalitā* and *bhadrā*, and the latter admitting only three *vṛttis* (*paruṣā*, *upanāgarikā* and *grāuyā* or *komalā*) only in connexion with one of his three kinds of *amprāsa*, viz. *vṛttyanuprāsa*. The later writers follow Udbhaṭa, on this point. Udbhaṭa, again, omits the treatment of *yamaka*, in spite of the examples of Bharata and Bhāmaha before him, and in spite of the fact that Daṇḍin had already given one of the fullest treatments of that figure in the whole realm of Alāṃkāra literature. Rudraṭa perhaps ranks next to Daṇḍin in the fulness of his treatment, though there is considerable divergence in the details of classification of these two writers. In the same way, there is no reference to *citra* in Bharata, Bhāmaha or Udbhaṭa, although Māgha says (xix. 41) that it was in his time a figure indispensable in a Mahākāvya. Daṇḍin dilates upon some of its varieties, but Rudraṭa gives a much fuller exposition; and it is noteworthy that although Mammaṭa does not attach much value to such verbal ingenuity, yet in his discussion of this figure he quotes almost all the illustrations from Rudraṭa. In connexion with the faults concerning verbal figures, Rudraṭa points out several cases (vi. 29-33) where *punarukta* or tautology is not a fault; Udbhaṭa, as Nami-sādhu also notes, includes all these cases in the figure *punaruktavad-ābhūsa* or 'semblance of tautology'. Udbhaṭa, again, speaks of *śleṣa* apparently as an *arthālāṃkārā*, and divides it into *śabda-śleṣa* and *artha-śleṣa*, which correspond respectively to *abhaṅga* and *sabhaṅga-śleṣa* of later writers. Rudraṭa, on the other

hand, speaks of *śleṣa* as a *śabdālaṃkāra* which he carefully distinguishes (ii. 13) from the *arthālaṃkāra* of the same name, which he deals with separately in ch. x and which forms the basis of twelve independent figures. The verbal figure *śleṣa*, on the contrary, is elaborately classified according as it relates to *varṇa*, *liṅga*, *prakṛti*, *pratyaya*, *vibhakti* and *vacana* (iv. 12). RudraṄa thus avoiding the controversy carried on by later theorists as to whether the *śleṣa* is a figure of *śabda* or of *artha*.

Regarding *arthālaṃkāras*, RudraṄa mentions only four *upamā-dosas* (xi. 24), in contradistinction to seven of Bhāmaha and Medhāvin and six of Vāmana⁴⁰, viz., *vaiśamya*, *asamṛbhava*, *aprasiddhi* and *sāmānya-śabda-bheda*, the last defect including all cases of change of a word signifying common property (as construed with the *upameya* and the *upamāna*), due to the difference of *liṅga*, *vacana*, *kāla*, *kāraka* and *vibhakti*. We have already noted that Udbhaṭa enters rather minutely into the grammatical subdivisions of *upamā*, but this finds no place in RudraṄa's treatment, which includes them in a lump in *samāsopamā* and *pratyayopamā*. Again, Bhāmaba positively rejects *hetu* as a poetic figure, although Daṇḍin speaks of it as *vācām uttama-bhūṣaṇam*, including it under *kāvya-liṅga* (*kāraka-hetu*) and *anumāna* (*jñāpaka-hetu*). Udbhaṭa recognises only *kāvya-liṅga*, calling it also *kāvya-hetu* and distinguishing it from *drṣṭānta* which he calls *kāvya-drṣṭānta*. It is RudraṄa (vii. 82) who first defines and fixes its characteristics as finally accepted in Poetics. It is needless to cite any more instance : but what is said above will be enough to indicate, in the first place, that there is a considerable divergence of view between RudraṄa and his predecessors with regard to the nature and scope of individual figures and their classification ; and what is more important to note, it is easy to demonstrate that most of these differences are fundamental. We can reasonably assume, therefore, that RudraṄa, possessed as he is of great inventive power, either follows a

40 See vol. i. p. 60, fn 1.

system of classification and definition peculiar to himself, or follows a tradition of opinion different in some respects from that of Bhāmaha and his followers, although in general theory he belongs to a common school.

Although Rudraṭa's work is remarkable indeed for its careful analysis, systematic classification and apposite illustration of a large number of poetic figures, some of which have become more or less standardised, his direct contribution to the theory of Poetics cannot be valued too highly. Indeed, the practical nature and scope of his work, like that of Udbhaṭa's, leave hardly any room for discussion of general principles or of speculative aspects of the questions involved. Rhetoric rather than Poetics appears to be his principal theme, as it is of most writers of this system who concern themselves entirely with the elaboration of rhetorical categories in which they suppose the whole charm of poetry lies. Partly perhaps to his novelty of treatment and partly to his omission of discussion of ultimate principles is due the fact that Rudraṭa has hardly any direct follower in later literature, unless one cites Rudrabhaṭa who, however, utilises only his Rasa-chapters. Rudraṭa's name is not associated with the establishment of any particular system, although he shows great fertility and acuteness in his treatment of individual figures, which, in some cases, have been implicitly accepted by later writers on the subject. Rudraṭa is the last great exponent of the Alāṃkāra school, strictly so called; for after him the school began to decline and merge ultimately, like the two other sister schools relating to Rasa and Rīti, into the finally dominant Dhvani school.

(4)

The decline of the Alāṃkāra-system was probably synchronous with and perhaps hastened by the rise of the rival Rīti-doctrine. The first step towards this is indicated by the general trend of Daṇḍin's work. Daṇḍin who stands, as it were, midway between the Alāṃkāra and the Rīti

schools, admits, no doubt, the great importance of poetic figures (*alāṃkāras*) in a scheme of Poetics (ii. 1); but he takes them, along with the *guṇas*, as constituting the essence of what he calls the *mārga* (or *rīti*). As the characteristic of 'embellishing' poetic speech is possessed by both *Alāṃkāras* and *Guṇas*, both are, in his opinion, *Alāṃkāras* in a wider sense, the *Guṇas* being special embellishments of the *Vaidarhha Mārga*, while the *Alāṃkāras* are common to both the *Vaidarbha* and the *Ganda Mārgas*. *Vāmana*, who systematically established the *Rīti*-theory, goes further and says down that the *Guṇas* are essential (*nitya*) excellences, while the *Alāṃkāras* are not essential (*anitya*) but serve only to increase the beauty of a poem already brought out by the former.

With the advent of the *Dhvani*-theory, there was an elaboration of the concept of *Rasa* as the principal suggested element not only in the drama but also in poetry; and both the *Guṇa* and the *Alāṃkāra* naturally came to be subservient to it. But the *Guṇas* were supposed to reside in intimate relation to the *Rasa*, without which they could not exist and existing with which they only served to heighten its beauty. The *Alāṃkāras*, on the other hand, were supposed to be extraneous and artificial sources of beauty, just as ornaments are to the body. We shall have occasion to deal with these questions in greater detail in connexion with the views of the *Rīti*- and the *Dhvani*-theorists; it would be enough to indicate here that the later theorists, in their search for a fundamental principle, could no longer regard the discipline as co-extensive with an external theory of embellishment; and necessarily the *Alāṃkāra*, as well as the *Guṇa*, which appertain more or less to the objective beauty of representation, came to occupy a subordinate position as an element of poetry. It was held that the term *alāṃkāra* 'embellishment' should explain the question as to what is to be 'embellished' *alāṃkārya*; and as such it must confine itself, as the early formulators of the *Alāṃkāra*-system modestly yet wisely held, to the 'body' or framework of poetry; it must not attempt to explain its 'soul' or essence.

The *Alaṅkāra*-system, however, left its undoubted impress on later theories. The *Rīti*-systems of *Daṇḍin* and *Vāmana* amply recognise its influence by devoting considerable attention to the detailed discussion of various poetic figures ; and although no writer after *Ānandavardhana* seriously contends that the poetic figure is the only element worth considering in poetry, yet all of them acknowledge its importance and assign to it a place in their system. In spite of the emphasis which they put on *Dhvani* and *Rasa*, the new school, beginning from *Mammaṭa*, devote a large section of its work to the elaboration of various poetic figures, and the *Alaṅkāra*-chapter may justly claim to have been a thoroughly worked out theme. Here was given to Indian scholars rich material for subtle distinction and endless classification ; and with a hair-splitting care, befitting scholastic minds, all kinds of metaphors, similes, alliterations and other figures were minutely analysed and defined. Indeed, the multiplication of limitless varieties of poetic figures⁴¹, based on minute differences, as well as the making of a large number of subvarieties of each figure, went on through the whole course of the history of the discipline ; and down to the latest times, we find traces of new and ever new poetic figures.

The extent to which this specialisation is carried will be understood by taking a typical example. The beauty of a lady's face is described ; this can be done in several ways, resulting in a number of poetic figures, by taking the familiar comparison of the Sanskrit poet as the starting point. "Your face is like the moon"—*upamā* ; "the moon is like your face"—*pratīpa* ; "your moon-face"—*rūpaka* ; "is this your face, or is this the moon"—*sasaṇideha* ; "this is the moon, and not your

41 Excluding subvarieties, Bharata mentions only 4 *Alaṅkāras*, but in *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* we find 18, *Bhāmaha* 39 (+4), *Daṇḍin* 38, *Udbhaṭa* 41, *Rudraṭa* 68, *Vāmana* 31, *Mammaṭa* 61 (+6), *Ruyyaka* 75 (+4), *Vāgbhaṭa* II 63 (+6), *Viśvanātha* 77 (+7), *Jayadeva (Candrāloka)* 100, *Kuvalayānanda* 115. Hence *Ānandavardhana* says (p. 8) : *sahasraśo hi mahātmabhir anyair alaṅkāra-prakārāḥ prakāśitāḥ prakāśyante ca !*

face"—*apahnuti* ; "the moon is like your face, and your face is like the moon"—*upameyopamā* ; "your face is only like your face"—*ananyaya* ; "having seen the moon I remembered your face"—*smarana* ; "thinking it to be the moon, the *cakora* (a bird which is said to feed on moon-beams) flies towards your face"—*bhrāntimat* ; "this is the moon, this the *lotus*, thus the *cakora* and the bee fly towards your face"—*ullekha* ; "this is verily the moon"—*utprekṣā* ; "this is a second moon"—*atiśayokti* ; "the moon and the lotus are vanquished by your face"—*tulya-yogitā* ; "your face and the moon rejoice in the night"—*dīpaka* ; "the moon shines in night, but your face always shines"—*vyatireka* ; "in the heavens the moon, on earth, your face"—*drṣṭānta* ; "the moon reigns in heaven, your face reigns on earth"—*prativastūpamā* ; "your face bears the beauty of the moon"—*nadarśana* ; "the moon is pale before your face"—*aprasituta-praśanqī* ; "by your moon-face the warmth of passion is cooled"—*parīqāma* ; "your face beautifully spotted with black eyes and adorned with the light of smile"—*samāsokti*. Some of these turns of expression lose their force, or point to the translation, but this will roughly indicate the varieties of figures arrived at by nice distinctions, although these constitute only a few, of which comparison forms the basis. They are sharply separated from one another ; and although some of the distinctions may appear to us to be somewhat trivial or formal, we cannot refuse to recognise the amount of ingenuity shown in the matter. Even taking only one figure *upamā*, they subdivide it into a number of inferior varieties, most of which, however, are based on peculiarities of grammatical construction, but which Appayya Dikṣita, one of the latest writers on the subject, refuses to admit on this very ground in his treatise on poetic figures.⁴²

42 evam ayam pūrṇa-lupta-vibhāgo rākyā-samāsa-pratyaya-viśeṣa-gocaratayā Sabda-sāstra-vyutpatti-kaufala-pradarśana-mātra-prayojanā nāśivālāṅkāra-sāstre vyutpādyatām arhati. Citra-mīmāṃsā v. 27.

But the different theorists are not agreed in their exposition of the exact nature and scope of individual poetic figures. This difference is partly due to the inevitable change of viewpoints and gradual growth of ideas consequent upon the progress of the study itself, and partly to the favourite refining process which loved to indulge itself in niceties of distinction. The development of the conceptions of the different poetic figures in the writers of different schools affords an interesting field of study in itself, and cannot be comprehended in our limited scope⁴³; but one or two instances will make the process clear. The figure *ākṣepa*, which (generally speaking) consists of an apparent denial of something which is intended to be said for the purpose of conveying a special meaning, is variously analysed by different writers. Vāmana defines it as the repudiation of the standard of comparison, *upamānākṣepaś cākṣepaḥ* (iv. 3. 27). One interpretation of this, as given in Vāmana's own *Vṛtti*, is *upamānasyākṣepaḥ pratīṣedha upamānākṣepaḥ, tulya-kāryārthasya nairarthakya-vivakṣyām*; that is to say, the standard of comparison is rejected for the purpose of indicating that it is useless in the presence of the object described. This would be equivalent to the figure *pratīpa* of later writers. But Vāmana adds another explanation which indicates that the figure can also occur when the standard of comparison is only hinted at (*upamānasyākṣepataḥ pratipattir ity api sūtrārthaḥ*). This

43 No complete attempt has yet been made to study the development of the different conceptions of individual poetic figures from the earliest time to that of Jagannātha. Much material, however, will be found in Trivedi's and Kane's notes to their learned editions of *Ekāvalī* and *Sāhitya-darpana* respectively. J. Nobel has published a series of articles on some of the Alāmkāras studied in their development. His *Beiträge zur älteren Geschichte des Alāmkāra-Sāstra* (Diss. Berlin 1911) deals with the figures *dipaka*, *tulya-yogitā*, *vibhāvanā*, *viśeṣokti*, *aprastutapraśaṇī*, *samāsokti*, *nidarsana*, and *arthāntara-nyāsa*; while his articles in *ZDMG* Ixvi, 1912, pp. 283-93 and Ixvii, 1913, pp. 1-36 deal with *vyājastuti*, and *sahokti* and *vinokti* respectively, and in Ixxiii, 1919, pp. 189f with *prativastūpamā* and *dṛṣṭānta*.

would be equivalent to the *samāsokti* of some writers. Daṇḍin's definition of *ākṣepa*, on the other hand, is very wide; for, according to him, the denial (*prativedha*) need not be of what has been said (*ukta*) or of what is about to be said (*vakṣyamāṇa*), but it may be of anything whatever. Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭā and Mammaṭa limit the denial in so far as it concerns the *ukta* or the *vakṣyamāṇa*. They are followed by Ruyyaka, Vidyādhara and Viśvanātha, but a second kind is added, viz., the apparent permission of what is not wished for. Jagannātha refers (p. 421f) to both the views of Vāmana and Udbhaṭā, but adds that, according to a third view, which he takes to be the view of the Dhvanikāra, all suggestive negation or denial is the province of *ākṣepa*. This is supported by the fact that the *vīśeṣa* or special meaning to be conveyed by the apparent denial is never expressed but always left to be understood. It would, therefore, be classed by the Dhvanikāra under "poetry of subordinate suggestion" (*guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya*), for the expressed sense itself is charming here and the suggested sense is subordinated to it. It is probably in reference to such views that the *Agni-purāṇa* says down: *sa ākṣepo dhvanīḥ syāc ca dhvaninā vyājjyate yataḥ*. The case of *ākṣepa* will exemplify, to some extent, the way in which each poetic figure is not only minutely analysed, but elaborately classified into subvarieties by taking into account the different cases of its occurrence. Thus, *upamā* (simile) is classified into six complete and twenty-seven incomplete forms; the figure *utprekṣā* into thirty-two varieties, the *vyatireka* into forty-eight, the *virodha* into ten. The number of self-standing figures, together with their innumerable adjunct of subvarieties, goes on increasing as the study progresses, until it reaches to a number exceeding one hundred; and it is not surprising that in the later stages of its history, whole volumes like Ruyyaka's *Ālamkāra-sarvasva*, Jayadeva's *Candrāloku* or Appayya's, *Kavalayānanda* are dedicated exclusively to the special purpose of analysing, defining and illustrating the various poetic figures.

The simple basis of classifying the poetic figures, according as they appertain to the word or the idea, into *śabdālāñkāra* and *arthālāñkāra* (verbal and ideal figure) obtained throughout from Rudraṭa's time⁴⁴, but some writers add figures which are both of the word and the idea (*śabdārthālāñkāra*). The *Agni-purāṇa* appears to be one of the earliest known works to mention this third division, and the position is taken up by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatī-kāñjhābharaṇa* and *Śrīgūra-prakāśa*. A long controversy, however, has centred round the propriety of such a classification ; and it has been held that although, generally speaking, all figures are both of *śabda* and *artha*, the *raison d'être* of such divisions is the relative prominence given respectively to *śabda*, *artha* or both, on the dictum *yo'lāñkāro-yadāśritaḥ sa tad-alāñkāraḥ*. But this relation of *āśraya* and *āśrayin* (i. e. interdependence) is not accepted by all, and Mammaṭa maintains that *anvaya* (connexion) and *vyatireka* (disconnection or contrast) must form the test, which consists in considering whether the particular figure does or does not bear a change of synonymous words (*parivṛtti-sahatva*). If the figure disappears with the change of the word by its synonym, it is a verbal figure or *śabdālāñkāra* ; if not, it is an ideal figure or *arthālāñkāra*. The number of independent *Śabdālāñkāras* has never been large, the largest being probably the twenty-four mentioned by Bhoja. The older writers pay, as a rule, greater attention to this class, which apparently afforded ample scope to decadent classical poets for mere verbal jugglery ; but more recent writers like Ānandavardhana or Mammaṭa do not deal with it with so much care, on the ground that though such word-play brings about variety or *vairūḍyā* of expression to some extent, it does not help but only retards the comprehension of Rasa in a composition by entirely engrossing the reader's mind. The *Arthālāñkāras*, on the other hand, have always engaged more care and attention, and the favourite refining process has been systematically and

untiringly pursued in this sphere.⁴⁵ Their number, however, has always been subject to fluctuation; but it can be generally stated that while in the older writers the number is limited, in comparatively recent authors the multiplication is more marked. On the one hand, Bharata speaks only of four *Arthālāmkāras*; Bhāmaha, Udbhāta and Vāmana deal with about thirty to forty different figures; the number reaching its maximum perhaps in Rudraāa's sixty-eight. In Bhoja, Mammāta and Ruyyaka there is a reaction towards restriction and decrease; but in the latest stage of our history, the *Candrāloka* gives about one hundred, while the *Kuvalayānanda* adds a score more. Daṇḍin, himself a great sinner in this respect, very early protested against such endless differentiation, and Ānandavardhana agrees with him; but it appears to have afforded endless scope to the scholastic ingenuity of later theorists who, after the time of Ānandavardhana, finding hardly anything to systematise in respect of the essentials of theory, occupied themselves in elaborating the details.

As to the classification of the ideal figures (*arthālāmkāra*) according to their essential characteristic, Daṇḍin divides all figures into *svabhāvokti* and *vakrokti*; Vāmana makes an early attempt to take *aupamya* as the central principle; while Rudraāa groups them systematically under *vāstava*, *aupamya*, *atiśaya* and *sleṣa*⁴⁶. Mammāta has no definite principle of classification. Ruyyaka suggests one based on (i) *aupamya* (comparison) (ii) *virodha* (ineongruity) (iii) *śrīkhalā* (linked succession) (iv) *nyāya* (logical reason) (v) *gūḍhārtha-pratiti* (understanding of a concealed sense) (vi) combination of figures (*samsṛṣṭi* or *samkara*). Vidyādbara and Viśvanātha substantially follow this classification, only splitting up *nyāya* into *tarka-nyāya*, *vākyanāya* and *loka nyāya*; but Vidyānātha substitutes the word *sādharmya* for *aupamya* (or *sādṛṣya*) and speaks of *adhyavasāya* (complete identification) and *viśeṣaṇa-vacitrya* (strikingness of adjectives or attributes) as two other bases of

classification. Perhaps none of these classifications would be regarded as strictly scientific, for they mix broad heads indicating psychological factors (like similarity, contrast or contiguity) with mere formal bases of classification as *gūdhārtha-pratīti* or *apahnava*.

A development is also noticeable in the general conception of a *kāvyālāṅkāra* or poetic figure. It is true that a "poetic figure" corresponds to a certain extent to a "speech-figure" or to what is known as a figure of speech in a formal scheme; but later theorists explain that something more belongs to a poetic figure as such. The special charm, known as *vaicitrya* or *vicchitti*, peculiar to each composition, which rests ultimately on the conception or skill of the poet (*kavi-pratibhā* or *kavi-kauśala*) makes up the *kāvyālāṅkāra* as such, and gives it its distinguishing characteristic. This view would be entirely omitted in a treatise on rhetoric merely; and with this point of view it is misleading to describe the theory of *Alāṅkāra* as a theory of rhetorical categories only. Originally it might have been, more or less, a theory of externals, but the problem was complicated by the appearance of this new factor of thought, first introduced by Kuntaka and then elaborated in the sphere of individual figures by Ruyyaka, Jayaratha and others, the development of which will be traced hereafter in its proper place.

CHAPTER III

DANDIN AND VĀMANA

(*The Riti System*)

(1)

DANDIN

Dandin comes chronologically after Bhāmaha; and Vāmana, who comes after Dandin, was contemporaneous with Bhāmaha's commentator Udhbaṭa; but the Riti-system, which Dandin and Vāmana represent in Poetics, was probably older in tradition than Bhāmaha himself, who would not seriously concern himself with the distinction between *vaidarbha* and *gauḍa* Kāvya. It can be traced back to the time of Bāṇahhaṭṭa (first-half of the 7th century) who tells us that the Gauḍas were already notorious for *akṣara-dambara*, to which fact Dandin also alludes in his depreciation of the *gauḍa mārga*. It will be seen that although the terms *mārga* or *rīti* in the technical sense might not have been very ancient, both Dandin and Vāmana themselves indicate that some such system as they advocate was traditionally existent; and they appear to refer to and sometimes actually quote from unknown expositors of the past¹. It is probable that the Riti school, if we use this term to separate those writers who put an emphasis on *rīti* as the most important element of poetry, had an independent origin and history, and existed for a long time side by side with the sister schools, which threw into prominence the elements of *rasa*, *alāmkāra* or *dhvani* respectively.

We have already stated that Dandin is influenced, to some extent, by the teachings of the Alāmkāra school, and as such

1 e. g. under Vāmana i. 2, 11, 12-13; 3, 15, 21; iii. 1, 9, 25; iv. 1, 7 etc.

stands midway in his view between the *Alaṃkāra*-system of Bhāmaha and the *Rīti*-system of Vāmana. At the same time, there can be no doubt that in theory he allies himself distinctly with the views of Vāmana. In Vāmana, however, we find the system in its completely self-conscious form ; and here we have nothing of that vagueness or indefiniteness which characterises the rival *Alaṃkāra*-system of Udbhaṭa. With a clear-cut scheme and a definite central principle, Vāmana proceeds to set forth his system in the brief but concise *sūtra*-form ; and whatever may be the value of his speculations, there can be no doubt that Vāmana was the first writer to enunciate a definite theory which, before the *Dhvanikāra*, must have had great influence on the study of Poetics.

With regard to the commonplaces of poetic speculation,² Dāṇḍin's standpoint does not differ much from that of Bhāmaha ; and both start with the same notion of embellishing sound and sense, which, in their opinion, should constitute the 'body' of poetry. The classification of poetry into species of composition like the *sarga-bandha* (*mahākāvya*) etc., is almost identical,³ the only remarkable divergence occurring, as already noted, in the case of *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*, which rigid distinction is not admitted by Dāṇḍin.⁴ Poetry

2 Dāṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* consists of three chapters devoted respectively to (i) *Mārga-vibhāga*, (ii) *Arthālaṃkāra* and (iii) *Śabdālaṃkāra* and *Doṣa* (the last topic is separately given as ch. iv in the Madras ed.).

3 Under verse, Dāṇḍin mentions *sarga-bandha* (= *mahākāvya*), *muktaka* (single verse), *kulaka* (five verses), *koṣa* (unconnected verses of different authors), and *saṃghāta* (unconnected verses of the same author) ; under prose, he speaks *kathā*, *ākhyāyikā* and *campū*. Vāmana gives two divisions of both prose and verse, viz., *nibaddha* and *anibaddha* (connected and unconnected). He thinks that verse is of various kinds, but divides prose into three varieties, *vṛtta-gandhi* (savouring of verse), *cūrṇa* (having no long compounds and possessing sweet vocables), and *utkālikā-prāya* which is the opposite of *cūrṇa* (i. 3. 21-26).

4 The varieties of *kathā* mentioned by Hemacandra are *ākhyāna*, *nidarśana*, *pravahlikā*, *matallikā*, *māṇikulyā*, *parikathā*, *bṛhatkathā*,

is classified, according to its form, into prose, verse and mixed (*misra*), while language furnishes another *fundamentum divisionis* yielding four distinct groups, viz., *samskrta*, *prākṛta*, *apabhrāṃṣa*⁵ and *misra*,⁶ the last kind in both these divisions not being mentioned by Bhāmaha. The effect of combining these two principles of classification gives us four species of composition, viz. *sarga-bandha* (*mahākāvya*) in Sanskrit, *skandhaka* in Prakrit, *osara* in Apabhrāṃṣa, and *nāṭaka* in mixed languages, although it is not thought necessary to deal with them all in detail. The old division into *śravya* and *preksya Kāvya*,⁷ according as a composition appeals to the eye or the ear, is also referred to in i. 39; but regarding *preksya Kāvya*, by which dramatic composition is generally meant, Dañdin summarily refers to specialised treatises on the subject.

These speculations, of course, constitute the common stock-in-trade of Poetics, and find themselves repeated in a more or less similar form in most writers irrespective of the school or tradition to which they belong. Thus, Vāmana also gives us preliminary chapters on the divisions of poetry

khaṇḍa-kathā, *sakalakathā* and *upakathā* (pp. 338 f.). The last three are also admitted by Ānandavardhana (p. 141) and defined by Abhinava. The *Agni-purāṇa* 337. 20 defines *kathānikā*.

5 It is not known what Bhāmaha signifies by the term *apabhrāṃṣa*, but Dañdin gives to it a definite connotation as the language of the Ābhiras and others in the Kāvya, as distinguished from the Śāstra where it is the name applied to all languages other than Sanskrit. Nāmisādhu sententiously says: *prākṛtam eva apabhrāṃṣah*. Hemacandra adds to Apabhrāṃṣa another kind called *grāmyāpabhrāṃṣa*. Cf. Bharata xvii. 49, which makes it clear that the Apabhrāṃṣa was a *jāti-bhāṣā* and not a *desa-bhāṣā*. The Ābhiras were ancient settlers in the land and are mentioned by Patañjali (i. 252). See IA, 1918, p. 26.

6 The mixed variety of Kāvya is cryptically summed as *nāṭakādi tu misrakam*. But if mixed language is meant, it probably refers to what is now called Hybrid Sanskrit or mixed Sanskrit.

7 This division occurs again in Hemacandra, who divides *preksya Kāvya* into *pāthya* and *geya*.

(*kāvya-viśeṣa*), on the auxiliary aids or sources of poetry (*kāvyaṅga*), on the persons entitled to study the science (*adhi-kāri-nirūpaṇa*). Although belonging to a different school, Rudraṭa in the same way devotes two chapters (i and xvi) to these general topics of Poetics.

But in respect of the attention which Daṇḍin pays to the elaboration of poetic figures, his sympathy obviously allies him with the standpoint of the *Alaṅkāra* school. He shares the views of this school in his general opinion that a good *Kāvya* should be embellished by those decorative devices which go by the name of *alaṅkāra*. At the same time, it is important to note that while Daṇḍin believes, with all early writers, in the theory of embellishment, he differs in his view as to the means by which this embellishment should be realised; for he apparently holds that it is not the poetic figures only but the several literary excellencies, the *guṇas* (which are also designated *alaṅkāras* by him), that constitute the essence of the poetic manners (*mārgas*) or poetic diction, in the realisation of which alone the essence of poetry lies. Indeed, the marked emphasis laid on the *Mārga*, which is almost equivalent to Vāmana's *Rīti*,⁸ and on its constituent excellencies, known as *Guṇas*, to which the *Alaṅkāra* school is apparently indifferent, is a distinct feature of Daṇḍin's work, and places Daṇḍin in his fundamental theoretic attitude in the *Rīti* school. Although he does not go so far as Vāmana in setting up the *Rīti* as the essence of poetry, there can be no doubt that he attaches special importance to its literary value. It is true that Daṇḍin never uses the term *Rīti* throughout his work, but his employment of the term *Mārga* (i. 9, 40, 42, 67, 75, 101) or *Vartman* (i. 42, 92), implying 'mode,' 'manner', or style in the objective sense, may be taken as almost synonymous. His general definition of poetry, or rather its 'body' or framework, as *iṣṭārtha-vyavacchinnā padāvalī* (i. 10)—a series of words characterised by an agreeable sense or idea—naturally

8 Vāmana also uses the term *mārga* in iii. 1. 12.

leads him to consider, first of all, the question of appropriate expression of appropriate ideas, or in other words, to discuss the suitable arrangement of sound and sense for the purpose of producing poetic effect, which is technically denoted by the term *mārga* or *rīti*. Speech, he says, is diversified in its mode of expression (*vicitra-mārga*, i. 9; also i. 40), and he is aware of the fine distinctions which mark off one mode from another (i. 40) and result in a multifarious variety of modes. All these he broadly divides into two clearly distinguishable types, called the *vaidarbha* and the *gauḍa*, to the critical study of which his whole work is avowedly devoted. This classification is probably not Dāṇḍin's own but derived from some recognised tradition (i. 40), although Bharata, who mentions the *kāvya-guṇas*, does not refer to *mārga* or *rīti*, and Bhāmaha's analysis of the two types* (as well as of the *guṇas*) is somewhat different. Of the two types, Dāṇḍin gives preference to the *vaidarbha mārga*, which, in his opinion, results from a harmonious unification of the ten *guṇas* or excellences of composition, the *gauḍa* being the exactly opposite type.

The ten *Guṇas*, which are spoken of as the *prāṇāḥ* or life-breath of the *Vaidarbha Mārga* and which are said to be generally wanting in the *Gauḍa*,¹⁰ are therefore essential in a good composition. They are thus enumerated by Dāṇḍin:

9 Bhāmaha does not use the terms *mārga* or *rīti* but distinguishes between the *vaidarbha* and the *gauḍa* *Kāvya* as two types of poetry obtaining in two different places. Bāṇa has already told us that people of different places liked different poetic devices (*Harṣa-carita* i. 51. 7), with which statement, Dāṇḍin's remarks regarding the partiality of the *Gauḍas* to certain tricks and excellences agree. As Vāmana distinctly says, the *Ritis*, which took their names from localities, were probably analysed empirically from the styles which prevailed in these localities. With regard to *Guṇas*, Bhāmaha mentions them independently of the *Riti*. They are *mādhurya* and *prasāda* marked by the absence of compounds, and *ojas* by their presence. They would thus correspond to the *Ritis* of Rudraṭa. Bharata mentions ten *Guṇas* only as essential to a good *Kāvya*, and not in relation to *Riti*.

10 Dāṇḍin says: *esāṃ (i.e. of the ten Guṇas) viparyayah prāyo*:

(i) *śleṣa*, the quality of being well knit, the opposite being *śithila* or looseness.

(ii) *prasāda*, or lucidity, the opposite being *vyutpanna* or far-fetchedness.

(iii) *samatā*, or evenness (in the grouping of word-sounds), the opposite being *vaiśamya* or unevenness.

(iv) *mādhurya*, or elegance, consisting of alliteration of similar sound (*śrutyānuprāsa*¹¹) and absence of vulgarity (*agrāmyatva*)¹², respectively termed *vāg-rasa* and *vastu-rasa*. The name of the opposite of *mādhurya* is not given, but the opposite of *śrutyānuprāsa* is *ulbaṇa-varṇāvṛtti* (i. 35)¹³ and that of *agrāmyatva* is *grāmyatva*, the latter rejected in both the Mārgas.

(v) *sukumāratā*, or absence of harshness due to the use of soft vocables, the opposite being termed *niṣṭhura* or *dīpta*.¹⁴

(vi) *arthā-vyakti*, or explicitness of sense (common to both the Mārgas, the opposite *neyatva* or *neyārthatva* being rejected in both).

drṣyate gauḍa-vartmani. It implies that in his opinion the Viparyayas are generally found in the Gauḍa Mārga and not the ten Guṇas. The word *prāyas* is significant, and the older commentators draw attention to it. Thus, Taruṇavācaspati: *prayah-śabdaḥ arthavyakty-audārya-samādhyādayo guṇā ubhaya-sādhāraṇā iti darśayati*; Ḫṛdayaṅgama: *prāyo-grahaṇam sākalya-nivṛtyartham, tena arthavyakty-audārya-samādhi-guṇā ubhaya-niārga-tulyā iti ganiyate*. Some of the Guṇas, therefore, are common to both the Mārgas.

11 The *śrutyānuprāsa* is the name given to the grouping of similar sounds which exist between letters belonging to the same *sthāna*, such as *kaṇṭha*, *tālu*, *mūrdhau*, *danta* etc. It is thus distinguished from *varṇānuprāsa*. The subdivisions of *anuprāsa* are infinite; but Bhoja (ch. ii. 71f) gives an elaborate scheme of classification containing six main varieties, viz. *śruti*, *vṛtti*, *varṇa*, *pada*, *nāma-dvirukti* and *lāṭa*.

12 For the meaning of the terms *grāmyatva* and *rasa* occurring in this definition, see below ch. iv.

13 This implies "an excess of a wild variety of Anuprāsa" as V. Raghavan interprets it (*Śringāra-pr.* pt. ii, p. 283). For an historical analysis of the Guṇas of Daṇḍin and Vāmana, see this work of V. Raghavan (pp. 282-299).

14 *Dīpta* is explained by Daṇḍin as *Kṛcehrodyā*=hard to pronounce.

(vii) *uddāratva*, or elevation consisting of the expression of some high merit (common to both the Mārgas).

(viii) *ojas* or force due to the presence of compounds (common to both the Mārgas, but the Vaidarbha attempts a simpler kind of prose, while the Gauḍa attempts a heightened style both in prose and in verse, long compounds prevailing in the latter case).

(ix) *kānti*, or agreeableness due to conformity to general usage ; in other words, absence of the unnatural, the exaggerated or the grotesque, the opposite being *atyukti*.

(x) *saṁādhi*, or transference of the qualities or actions of one thing to another, i. e. metaphorical expression generally (common to both the Mārgas).

It will be noticed that the above enumeration of the literary excellences of diction, which differs greatly from that of Bharata¹⁵, is neither exhaustive nor strictly logical. The *artha-vyakti*, for instance, may well be included in the *prasāda*. The definition of *uddāratva* is rather vague, so also is that of *kānti*, in both of which Dāṇḍin apparently admits subjective valuations not clearly indicated. Again, the *mādhurya*, though defined primarily as a particular mode of word-arrangement, is regarded more or less as a subtle excellence which defies analysis¹⁶. A similar indefinable psychological factor is apparently admitted in the *saṁādhi*, the definition of which makes it difficult to distinguish from it poetic figures like *rūpaka* or metaphor, where there is also poetic superimposition of an object or its qualities on another. It is quite possible that from Dāṇḍin's point of view, the difference between the *saṁādhi-guṇa* and the *rūpaka-alāṃkāra* may consist in the fact in the Guṇa there is a transference only of the qualities or actions of one thing to another, while in the Alāṃkāra

15 See above pp. 12-15.

16 Dāṇḍin's treatment implies that he considers it both as a *śabda-guṇa* (illustrated in I.53) and as an *artha-guṇa* (illustrated in I.64), although this distinction is not mentioned by him (but cf. the word *vibhakta* in I.68).

either one *dharmin* itself is substituted for another, or the new *dharma* entirely supplants the existing *dharma*. But this process of poetic transference is essentially a mode of figurative expression resting finally on *lakṣaṇā*, and Vāmana would regard Daṇḍin's definition of the *samādhi-guṇa* as constituting the figure *vakrokti* which, in his opinion, consists in a similar transference based on resemblance.

It must also be pointed out that some of Daṇḍin's *Guṇas* refer to *śabda* (word), some to *artha* (sense), while others to both these elements. The *mādhurya* and *sukumāratā* are primarily *śabda-guṇas*, depending on the use of specific vocables, while between themselves the *mādhurya* requires sound-alliteration, and *sukumāratā* the prevailing use of tender vocables. But the use of words or syllables suggesting a vulgar sense must be avoided in *mādhurya*, a fact which precludes us from taking it strictly as a *śabda-guṇa*. Daṇḍin does not make a hard-and-fast distinction between *śabda-guṇas* and *artha-guṇas*, as his successor Vāmana does; but taking his definitions as they stand, it would appear that he probably regards some of them (e. g. *śleṣa*, *samātā*, *sukumāratā* or *ojas*, all of which refer to sound-effects) as constituting what later theorists would call *śabda-guṇas*, and others (e. g., *prasāda*, *artha-vyakti*, *udāratva*, *kānti* or *samādhi*) as constituting *artha-guṇas*; while *Guṇas* like *mādhurya* he would in the same way classify as belonging both to *śabda* and *artha*. Daṇḍin himself was perhaps conscious of the defective nature of his classification, and consequently added (i. 101-102) that in the midst of a general agreement regarding the usage of *Guṇas*, there always exist differences between writers and writers as regards the emotional value of their composition or their artistic presentation.

After dealing with the *Guṇas* in relation to the two opposite types of Mārga, Daṇḍin begins (ch. ii) the treatment of those poetic embellishments which are specifically called *Alamkāras* or poetic figures. It must be distinctly understood that the word *alamkāra* is used by Daṇḍin in the general sense

of that which causes beauty in poetry. *kāvya-sobhākarān dharmān alaṁkārān pracakṣate*, ii. 1. It appears to include in its wide scope both *Guṇas* and *Alaṁkāras* properly so called. Referring to his own discussion of the *Guṇas* in the previous chapter, in relation to the *Vaidarbha Mārga* of which they constitute the essence, Daṇḍin speaks of them in ii. 3 as *alaṁkāras*, and goes on to mention the figures as *sādhāraṇam alaṁkāra-jātam*. In other words, poetic figures are *Alaṁkāras* common to both the *Mārgas* (*sādhāraṇa*), while *Guṇas* are *Alaṁkāras* belonging exclusively to the *Vaidarbha*. He says, therefore, at the outset of his treatment of the poetic figures (ii. 3)

kāścin mārga-vibhāgārtham uktiḥ prag apy alaṁkṛlyāḥ/
sādhāraṇam alaṁkāra-jātam adya pradarśyate//

"For the purpose of classifying the *mārgas*, some *alaṁkāras* have been already spoken of (by me in the previous chapter); now are shown those *alaṁkāras* which are common (to both the *mārgas*)". *Tanṭavācaspati* rightly comments, on this verse¹⁷: "The *sleṣa* and the like are already spoken of as the ten *guṇas*. If it is objected, therefore, that they cannot also be called *alaṁkāras*, the reply is that the characteristic of an *alaṁkāra* consists in its capacity of embellishing, and that on account of this characteristic they (*guṇas*) are also *alaṁkāras*. The learned teachers have already said that the *guṇas* are indeed *alaṁkāras*. Hence *alaṁkāras*, like the *sleṣa*, which are essentially *guṇas*, were mentioned before to indicate the difference between the (two) *mārgas*; but now are enumerated those *alaṁkāras* which are common to the two *mārgas*." Daṇḍin, it may be pointed out, uses the word *alaṁ-*

17 *pūrvam sleṣādayo daśa guṇā ity uktam. Kathām te'laṁkāra ucyante iti cet, sobhākaratvam hi alaṁkāra-lakṣaṇam, tallakṣaṇa-yogāt te'pyalaṁkārāḥ.....guṇāḥ alaṁkāra eva ity ācāryāḥ.....tataḥ sleṣādayo guṇātmakālaṁkārāḥ pūrvam mārga-prabheda-pradarśandya uktiḥ, idāni tu mārga-dvaya-sādhāraṇā alaṁkārā ucyante.*

kriyā in same general sense in iii. 137 (or iv. 14 in Madras ed.). From what is said above it follows that Daṇḍin does not make a fundamental theoretic distinction between the *guṇa* and the *alaṁkāra* as such (as later writers from Vāmana onwards do), but apparently regards them both essentially as *alaṁkāra*, taking the word in its wider sense of that which embellishes ; the *guṇas* being of primary importance as essentials of a good diction, and the *alaṁkāras* (i. e. poetic figures) of subsidiary value as constituents of diction, both good and bad. It is noteworthy that Daṇḍin never makes a confusion in the use of the two terms, but invariably applies the former term to denote (except in one case in ii. 364) the literary excellences of diction (i. 42, 76, 81, 100), and the latter to designate the poetic figures to which the name is traditionally restricted (ii. 7, 116, 214, 220, 268, 300, 340, 359 ; iii. 141. *alaṁkāratā* in ii. 237, 287, 367). In this way he practically foreshadows, if he does not theoretically develop, the rigid differentiation of the *Guṇa* and the *Alaṁkāra* of the Rīti school.

The subsidiary *alaṁkāras*, consisting of poetic figures, are dealt with by Daṇḍin in two chapters (ii and iii), devoted respectively to the treatment of the verbal (*śabda-*) and ideal figures (*artha-alaṁkāras*). He does not expressly state this distinction, which is implied in his treatment, but he gives his general opinion that verbal tricks like those of *yamaka* are not especially attractive (*naikānta-madhuram*). He deals with them, however, in greater detail than his predecessor Bhāmaha. The *prahelika* (conundrum),¹⁸ for instance, which is merely alluded to in one verse by Bhāmaha, is elaborately discussed and illustrated by Daṇḍin (iii. 96-124) who mentions sixteen different kinds of this figure. He also gives a detailed treatment of *yamaka*, and defines with illustrations such

18 Some *prahelikās* are already mentioned by Bāṇa. Bhāmaha in a somewhat obscure verse states that a *prahelikā* is a serious composition possessing varied constituent meanings as well as the tricks of *yamaka*, and is so called in Rāmaśarman's *Acyutottara*. Daṇḍin men-

difficult tricks as *gomutrikā*, *ardha-bhrama* and *sarrato-bhadra*.

To the *Arthālampkāras*, however, Dandin naturally pays greater attention. He mentions by name (ii. 4-7) only thirty-five poetic figures¹⁹; but the special feature of his treatment, as contrasted with those of Bhāmaha and Vāmana, consists in his attempt to make a large number of subordinate varieties, the most remarkable instance being that of *upamā*, which has thirty-two subdivisions, of which eight at least have the value of independent figures to later writers. Dandin also anticipates Udbhaṭa in pointing out the importance of *śleṣa* as the cause of special charm in other figures (ii. 362), and agrees with Bhāmaha in holding that the *atīśayokti* is essential in all poetic figures (ii. 220). The term *vakrokti* is used only once and is reserved by him as a collective name of all poetic figures barring the *svabhāvokti*. According to Dandin's scheme (as indicated in ii. 362), the whole realm of poetic figures can be divided into two distinct groups, consisting of *svabhāvokti*, on the one hand, and *vakrokti*, on the other. By the former, which he characterises as the first or primary figure (*ādyā alaṇikṛtiḥ*), he implies a plain and direct description of things belonging to a genus (*jāti*), or of an action (ii. 16) kinds of *prahelikā*. Rudraṭa, like Dandin, deals with the *prahelikā* as well as the *citra-bandhas* in some detail. But Vāmana excludes them. Some of the *citra-bandhas* are mentioned by Bīja and Māgha. Under the general designation of *citra-kāvya*, they are discredited by Ānandavardhana, and their importance diminished in later Poetics. They became the subject of specialised treatises like the *Vidagdha-mukha-mandana* of Dharmadāsa Sūri (vol. i, pp. 283-84).

19 The figures dealt with in their order of treatment are: *svabhāvokti*, *upamā*, *rūpaka*, *dīpaka*, *āvṛtti*, *ākṣepa*, *arthāntara-nyāsa*, *vātireka*, *vibhāvanā*, *saināsokti*, *atīśayokti*, *utprekṣa*, *hetu*, *rūkṣma*, *leṣa* (or *lava*), *yachā-samkhyā* (or *samkhyāna* or *krama*), *preyas*, *rasavat*, *ūrjasvīn*, *paryāyokta*, *saṁhīta*, *Mātta*, *apahnuṇi*, *śleṣa*, *vīśokti*, *tulyā-yogitā*, *virodha*, *aprastuta-praśarpsā*, *vyāja-stutī*, *nidarśanā*, *sahokti*, *parivṛtti*, *asīs*, *saṁkīrṇa* and *bhāvika*. The verses ii. 4-7, which give a prefatory list of figures, are suspected to be an interpolation, but the list substantially agrees with the poetic figures dealt with in ch. ii.

(*kriyā*), of a quality (*guṇa*), or of an individual (*dravya*)²⁰. In this so-called natural description, there is apparently no scope for any artificial or ingenious mode of expression, and it should, therefore, be distinguished from all other poetic devices, figurative or otherwise, collectively designated as the *vakrokti*²¹. Among other figures, defined by Dāṇḍin for the first time, may be mentioned the *āvṛtti*, *leśa* (= *vyājokti* or *vyājastutī*), *sūkṣma* and *hetu* (the last included by Udbhaṭa in his *kāvya-liṅga*). He does not define *ananvaya* and *sasamṛdeha*, calling them *asādhāraṇopamā* and *samśayopamā* respectively, and includes *upamā-rūpaka* and *utprekṣāvayava* under *rūpaka* and *utprekṣā* respectively. With Bhāmaha, he alludes to *vārtī* (i. 85), which is apparently illustrated by Bhaṭṭi, but which disappears from later Poetics, being included perhaps in the scope of *svabhāvokti*. The *prativastūpamā* is not an independent figure in Dāṇḍin but a variety of *upamā*, while the *samāhita* of Dāṇḍin is different from the same figure of Udbhaṭa and Vāmana. These few instances would indicate that, compared with the work of his predecessor, Dāṇḍin's work attempts to present many new ideas. Possessing great inventive powers and gift of lucid exposition, as well as a notable degree of scholastic acumen, he endeavoured not only to refute and correct in many places the earlier views, but sometimes gave a new shape to them.

It will be convenient to examine here briefly the doctrine of *Doṣa*, which forms a counterpart of the doctrine of *Guṇa* enunciated by the *Rīti* school. Dāṇḍin mentions, after Bharata, ten flaws or *Doṣas* of literary composition (ch. iii. 125f, or ch. iv Madras ed.), but he defines them differently in most cases. They are in name and substance identical with Bhā-

20 These terms are to be taken in the sense they have in grammar (and not as they have in philosophy).

21 This interpretation is supported by Dāṇḍin's commentators (see Madras ed. pp. 201-2). We have already dealt with the question in our *Introd. to Vakrokti-jīvita*, 2nd Ed. pp. xiv f. See above pp. 48f.

22 See above pp. 9-11. Also Jacobi in *Sb. der preuss. Akad.* xxiv,

maha's first list of Doṣas noted above²², with the only exception of the eleventh fault of defective logic, which is recognised by Bhāmaha but vigorously rejected by Daṇḍin as a fault difficult to judge and unprofitable to discuss. But even with reference to this fault, Daṇḍin agrees with Bhāmaha in the enumeration of its six subdivisions. With regard to Bhāmaha's second list of faults, which concern the inner essence of poetry they would correspond in general to the Doṣa (or rather the opposites of Guṇa) which Daṇḍin mentions as being absent in the Vaidarbha Mārga and as generally characterising the opposite Gauḍa Mārga. We have noted that some of these Guṇa-viparyayas are expressly named by Daṇḍin. They are (i) the opposite of *slesa*, called *śīhila* (ii) the opposite of *prasāda*, called *vyuṭpanna* (iii) the opposite of *samatā*, called *valṣamya* (iv) the opposite of *sukumāratā*, called *dīpta* (v) the opposite of *kānti*, called *atyukti* (vi) the opposite of *artha-vyakti*, called *neyatva* and (vli) the opposite of *mādhurya* (unnamed). These form seven faults as against ten of Bhāmaha, but Daṇḍin speaks of the excellences *udāratva*, *saṁādhi* (and probably *ojas*) as having no opposites (or corresponding faults), inasmuch as they are common to both the Mārgas. Daṇḍin does not regularly deal with Upamā-doṣas.

But Daṇḍin does not enter into the question first raised by Bharata as to whether the Doṣas in Poetics are positive entities or mere negations of Guṇas. Bharata holds that Guṇas signify nothing more than the negative condition of *doṣābhāva*, so that Doṣas are, in his opinion, positive entities, from which the Guṇas are known by implication. It is clear from Daṇḍin's treatment, however, that he mentions in ch. iv the external faults apparently as positive entities, after the manner of Bhāmaha; while the essential faults are taken as negations of some of the Guṇas of the Vaidarbha Mārga and consequently as positive characteristics of the Gauḍa Mārga. He attempts to avoid the controversy by making use of the distinction of

1922, pp. 222-3. On Daṇḍin's idea of Doṣa see V. Raghavan, *Śāṅgrā-prakāśa*, pt. ii, p. 234f.

(2)

VĀMANA

Vāmana's work²⁴, in comparison with Dañdin's, shows further progress and elaboration of the ideas discussed above. Indeed, what is vague and unsystematic in Dañdin appears fully developed and carefully set forth in Vāmana, who may thus be fittingly regarded as the best representative of the Riti-system. To Vāmana belongs the credit of being the first writer on Poetics who, before the Dhyanikāra and Ānandavardhana, gave us a well thought-out and carefully outlined scheme of Poetics, no longer naïve or tentative, which

came to be defined generally as *rasāpakarṣaka* (Viśvanātha); but specific *rasa*-*doṣas* also came to be defined and discussed. The question whether the *Doṣa* is *nitya* or *anitya* (already raised by Bhāmaha and Rudraṭa) is solved by supposing that a *Doṣa* may sometimes become a *Guṇa* if it helps (and not hinders) the development of the *Rasa*. Mammāja and most later theorists accept the distinction of *Doṣas* relating to *pada*, *rākyā* and *artha*; but they speak also of *rasa*-*doṣas* and *ālambikāra*-*doṣas*. The later opinion regarding the respective character of *Guṇa* and *Doṣa* appears to be that each of them conveys a positive meaning, in spite of the fact that some *Doṣas* approach the condition of *guṇābhāva* and some *Guṇas* approach the condition of *doṣābhāva*. Even Dañdin in ch. iv separately mentions ten *Doṣas* which he does not regard as constituting the opposite of any of his *Guṇas*.

24 Instead of having *adhyāyas* first and *adhikarayas* thereunder, Vāmana reverses the order of older *sūtra*-writers and divides his work into five *adhikarayas*, each of which consists of two *adhyāyas* (excepting the first and the fourth which contain three each), the whole work thus having five *adhikarayas* and twelve *adhyāyas*. The arrangement of these *adhikarayas* is as follows. I. *śārīra*: dealing with the object of poetry, persons qualified to receive instructions in the subject, the Riti and its subdivisions, the subsidiary aids and divisions of poetry. II. *doṣa-darsana*: treating of the defects or flaws of composition. III. *guṇa-vivecana*: considering the *Guṇas* or excellences of composition. IV. *ālambikārikā*: devoted to the definition and illustration of poetic figures. V. *pratyugikū*: settling forth the poetic conventions and propriety of poetic usages, and *sabda suddhi* (corresponding to the last chapter of Bhāmaha's work), explaining grammatical solecism.

in spite of its theoretic defects, is in some respects unique and valuable.

The enquiry as to what is the 'soul' or essence of poetry is for the first time definitely posed and systematically worked out by Vāmana; his predecessors, to whom the 'body' of poetry was more important, never having troubled themselves with this question. Vāmana lays down in clear terms: *rītir ātmā kāvya* 'the Rīti is the soul of poetry' (i. 2. 6); and working out this figurative description he points out (on i. 1. 1) that the word (*śabda*) and its sense (*artha*) constitute the 'body', of which the soul is the Rīti²⁵. He defines the Rīti as *viśiṣṭapada-racanā* or particular arrangement of words. This particularity (*vaśiṣṭya*) of arrangement, again, rests upon certain definite combination of the different Guṇas or fixed excellences of composition. For instance, of the three kinds of Rīti proposed by Vāmana, the Vaidarbha unites all the ten Guṇas, the Gaudī abounds in *ojaś* and *kānti*, the Pāñcāli is endowed with *mādhurya* and *saukumārya*. This is how Vāmana would distinguish the different Rītis from one another. On these three Rītis poetry takes its stand, just as painting has its substratum in the lines drawn on the canvas (on 1. 2. 13). The Vaidarbhi is of course recommended, for it contains all the excellences; and as the genius of each diction is peculiar to itself, Vāmana rejects the view that the other two inferior dictions ought to be practised as steps leading up to the Vaidarbhi. He argues that the proper

25 Vāmana says (i. 1. 1) that the word *kāvya* applies in strictness to word and sense embellished with Guṇa and Alambāra, but it is employed in the secondary sense (*bhaktiyā*) to mere word and sense. By Kāvya-śārīra he means elsewhere (i. 3. 10) *itiṣṭita* or the content or subject-matter of poetry. But the first chapter of his work is designated Śārīra; and on i. 2. 6 he says that the word *śārīra* must be understood after the word *kāvya* in the Sūtra, meaning thereby that Kāvya consisting of word and sense is the Śārīra, of which the Ātman is Rīti. For the history of the concept of Rīti see V. Raghavan, *Some Concepts*, pp. 131-172; Prakash C. Lahiri, *Concepts of Rīti and Guṇa*, Dacca University 1937.

diction cannot be attained by one who begins with the improper. If the weaver practises weaving with jute, he does not attain proficiency in the weaving of silk. It will be seen from this analysis of the three kinds of diction that the Vaidarbhi is the complete or ideal one which unifies all the poetic excellences, whereas the other two encourage extremes. The one lays stress on the grand, the glorious or the imposing, the other on softness and sweetness, whereby the former loses itself often in bombast, the latter in prolixity. It will be noticed also that the names of the different Rītis are derived from those of particular countries, and Vāmana expressly says in this connexion (i. 2. 10) that the names are due to the fact of particular excellence of diction being prevalent in the writings of particular countries²⁶. This makes it probable that the theory of diction, peculiar to this school, originally arose from the empirical analysis of the prevailing peculiarities of poetic expression in different places, and furnishes another proof of the general *a posteriori* character of the discipline itself.²⁷

26 *vīdarbha gauḍa-pāñcālegu satrasyaīh karibhīr yathā-svarūpam upalabdhavād tat-samākhyā, na punar detaīh kīñcid upakriyate kāvyādhām.*

27 In the absence of proper data, it is not possible to determine when the distinction between the Eastern and Southern styles—Gauḍa and Vaidarbha—was first recognised. We have already noted that Bāṇa speaks of people of different localities affecting different tricks of style, some putting stress on sound, some on sense, while others indulging in a play of fancy. In Dañdin's time the distinction must have been fully established. Jacobi (*Māhārāṣṭrī*, -pp. xvi) suggests that the simpler Vaidarbha style was a reaction against the older and more ornate Gauḍa-style (which Dañdin disfavours), and that it came into existence probably in the 3rd century A.D., being known to us from Hāla's *śaptasāsī* (5th century A.D.). It is possible to argue, on the contrary, that the Gauḍa-style itself is a sign of further development or decadence, exhibiting a tendency to a more elaborate style (as opposed to an earlier and simpler Vaidarbha-style) which we find, as a matter of practice, asserting itself more and more in later decadent Sanskrit Kāvya. Cf. Keith, *Classical Sanskrit Literature* p. 50.

It should be observed that the term *Rīti* is hardly equivalent to the English word 'style', by which it is often rendered but in which there is always a distinct subjective valuation. Although *artha* (i. e. sense or idea) is admitted as an element by Sanskrit writers, the *Rīti* consists essentially of the objective beauty of representation (of the intended idea), arising from a proper unification of certain clearly defined excellences, or from an adjustment of sound and sense. It is, no doubt, recognised that appropriate ideas should find appropriate expression ; or in other words, the outward expression should be suitable to the inward sense. Bharata goes further and formulates that in the drama the expression should also be in keeping with the temperament and character of the speaker to whom it is attributed. But at the same time, the *Rīti* is not, like the style, the expression of poetic individuality, as it is generally understood by Western Criticism, but it is merely the outward presentation of its beauty called forth by a harmonious combination of more or less fixed literary 'excellences.' Of course, the excellences are supposed to be discernible in the sense or import, as much as in the verbal arrangement, but this subjective content is not equivalent to the indefinable element of individuality which constitutes the charm of a good style. If we accept the nomenclature of a modern analyst of style²⁸, we may say that the Sanskrit authors admit what he would call the 'mind'-in-style, as a subject of technical formulation, but not the 'soul'-in-style, which is elusive and which they leave to individual writers to evolve in their own way.

28 Walter Pater's essay on Style in his *Appreciations*. V. Raghavan (*Some Concepts*, p. 140) demurs to our views ; but it does not help to refer to Demetrius or Aristotle ; for we are not concerned here with European classical literature but with modern literature, as viewed by Walter Pater or Benedotte Croce. It is not until we come to Kuntaka that poetry is brought in strict relation to poetic individuality (*kavisvabhāva*) or poetic conception (*kavi-pratibhā*). This is admitted by Raghavan himself.

Vāmana, therefore, teaches that the Guṇas are essential in poetry, as they go to make up the Rīti, which is the 'soul' of poetry. The objection of the author of the *Ekhāvalī* (p. 51) is that to conceive the Guṇas, on the one hand, as the principal element and therefore as something fit to be adorned (*upaskāryā*) and to call them, on the other hand, properties that adorn poetry (*upaskāraka*), involves contradiction in terms. This raises only a scholastic quibble which does not bear serious examination. The Guṇas are, no doubt, spoken of as *śabdārthayor dharmāḥ*, but this, as the commentator points out, is a loose or popular use of the term; for, strictly speaking, they are concerned directly with Rīti (*guṇā vastuto rīti-niṣṭhā api, upacārāc chabda dharmā ity uktam* p. 69, ed. Benares), which is described as *guṇātmā*. To the objection that these entities have no absolute existence, Vāmana replies that their existence is vouched by their cognition as such by men of taste (*sāṃvedyatvāt* iii. 1, 26, on which comm.; *sahṛdaya-sāṃvédanasya viṣayatvāt*), and that these excellences are not found in all cases of recitation but depend upon the presence or absence of certain well-defined characteristics (iii. 2, 28 and Vṛtti).

Like Dañdin, Vāmana enumerates the Guṇas as ten, which appears to have been the standard number from Bharata's time, but he really doubles the number by clearly differentiating between the *śabda-guṇas* and the *artha-guṇas*, and regarding each Guṇa as belonging respectively to *śabda* and *artha*. In other words, each Guṇa is looked at from two different points of view, and the distinction thus proposed between verbal and ideal excellences comes in, as technically put, according as the word or the idea is the denoter (*vācaka*) or the denoted (*vācya*). We find in Vāmana, for the first time, the definite classification of Guṇas of *Śabda* and *Artha* respectively. This sharp distinction, no doubt, clears away some of the vagueness surrounding definitions of Bharata's and Dañdin's individual Guṇas; and Vāmana, though widely differing from his predecessors in the peculiar connotation

he attaches to some of them, is careful in distinguishing the allied Guṇas from one another. In most essentials Vāmana undoubtedly continues and expands Daṇḍin's somewhat unsystematic scheme, but his definitions bear in some cases an altogether different complexion, and justify us in presuming that Vāmana develops his ideas from elsewhere, as he himself often supports his analysis by verses quoted from unknown sources (c. g. under iii. 1. 9, 25 ; 2. 15 etc.).

His scheme of the Guṇas may be tabulated thus:

Śabda-guṇa	Artha-guṇa
i. <i>ojas</i> , or compactness of word-structure (<i>gāḍha-bandhatva</i> , where <i>bandha</i> = <i>pada-racanā</i> iii. 1. 4)	i. <i>ojas</i> , or maturity of conception (<i>arthasya pravṛḍhiḥ</i>)
ii. <i>prasāda</i> , or laxity of structure (<i>śaithilya</i>)	ii. <i>prasāda</i> , clearness of meaning (<i>artha-vainīlāya</i>) by avoidance of superfluity (<i>anupayogi-parivarjanāt</i> , as Abhinavagupta explains)
iii. <i>śleṣa</i> , or coalescence of words resulting in smoothness (<i>masṛṇyatvam</i> , <i>yasmin sati bahūny</i> . <i>api padāny ekavad bhāsante</i>)	iii. <i>śleṣa</i> , or coalescence or commingling of many ideas (<i>ghaṭanā</i>)
iv. <i>samatā</i> , or homogeneity of manner, i. e., of construction (<i>mārgābhedaḥ</i> , <i>yena mārgenopakramas tasyātyāgalī</i>)	iv. <i>samatā</i> , or non-relinquishment of proper sequence of ideas (<i>prakramābheda</i>)
v. <i>samādhi</i> , or symmetry due to orderly ascent and descent, i.e. when the heightening effect is toned down by softening effect, and vice versa (<i>ārohāvaroha-krama</i>)	v. <i> samādhi</i> , or grasping of the original meaning arising from concentration of the mind (<i>artha-dṛṣṭih samādhi-kāraṇatvāt</i>)

Śabda-guṇa

vi. *mādhurya*, or distinctness of words (*pr̥thak-padatva*) due to absence of long compounds (*samāsa-dairghya-nivṛtti*)

vii. *saukumārya*, or freedom from harshness (*ajara-thatva*)

viii. *udāratā*, or liveliness in which the words seem as if they are dancing (*yasmin sati nṛtyantīva padānti*) i. e. *pada-vicchedāt?*

ix. *artha-vyakti*, or explicitness of words whereby the meaning is easily apprehended (*jhaṭitya-artha-pratipatti hetutva*)

x. *kānti*, or brilliance, i.e. richness of words (*aujjvalya*)

Artba-guṇa

vi. *mādhurya*, or strikingness of utterance (*ukti-vacitrya*), i. e. in an impressive periphrastic manner for special charm

vii. *saukumārya*, or freedom from disagreeable or inauspicious ideas (*apārusya*)

(viii. *udāratā*, or delicacy i. e. absence of vulgarity (*agrāmyatva*)

ix. *artha-vyakti*, or explicitness of ideas which makes the nature of things clear (*vastu-svabhāva-sphutatva*)

x. *kānti*, or prominence of the *rasas* (*dīpta-rosatva*)

It will be seen from this brief enumeration that Vāmana's Guṇas differ considerably from those of Bharata or Dāndīn. Vāmana's *ojas*, for instance, would correspond to Dāndīn's *slesā*, while Dāndīn's *mādhurya* is split up into *pr̥thak-padatva* and *agrāmyatva*. Vāmana brings in the idea of *Rasa* in the *artha-guṇa kānti* (cf. Bharata's *kānti*), thereby admitting it in one of the essentials of poetry, while Dāndīn acknowledges it in some of the non-essential poetic figures. Vāmana's *artha-guṇa artha-vyakti* would be regarded by Dāndīn as an instance of *svabhāvokti alamkāra*. But it must be observed that Vāmana's scheme, while being more systematic and thus marking an advance on the speculation of Dāndīn's, is hardly satisfactory as a whole. The somewhat pedantic classification of Guṇas, into external and internal, verbal and

ideal, is in itself open to objections and has been controverted by later theorists²⁹. The distinctions are sometimes unconvincing, and it is natural to suspect that they are made for the sake of symmetry of having two sets each of ten excellences. Taking the individual Guṇas, it appears that Vāmana himself was perhaps conscious of the defective nature of some of his definitions, although he must have elaborated the ten Guṇas according to some current convention. For instance, his *śabda-guṇa prasāda* is merely a negation of his *ojas*; Vāmana himself admits this and adds the qualification that the *prasāda* is an excellence when appearing along with *ojas* and not by itself, for when it appears by itself it is clearly a defect. If it is objected that there cannot be a combination of two such contradictory Guṇas, Vāmana replies that such a combination is a fact of common experience. Vāmana's *śleṣa* is rejected by Mammata as an independent excellence, inasmuch as it is only a particular form of *ojas*. In the same way, the *saukumārya* is not admitted by later theorists on the ground that it is merely the negation of the defect of harshness, just as Vāmana's *udāratā* is a negation of vulgarity (*grāmyatva*). His *saṃādhi* as an *artha-guṇa* is different from Dandin's *saṃādhi*, but it is hardly an 'excellence.' It is supposed to consist in comprehending the original meaning, but this happens in the case of all compositions; for there can hardly be any poetry, worth the name, of which the meaning is not comprehended. These and other objections are brought forward by Mammata and his followers, who protest against this needless multiplication and differentiation of the Guṇas, and who sum up the literary 'qualities,' which they admit as an embellishment of the principal sentiment (Rasa) of the composition, under three broad categories, differentiated on entirely psychological grounds, viz., *ojas* (energy), *prasāda* (lucidity) and *mādhurya* (sweetness).

29 c. g. Mammata viii, Hemacandra pp. 195-200, Māṇikya-candra pp. 191f, Jagannātha 62f etc.

It is also noteworthy that the Rīti-system assigns to some of the Guṇas functions which other systems assign to Alambikāras or poetic figures. Vāmana's *artha-guṇa kānti* corresponds to figures like *rasayat* of the Alambikāra-system,³⁰ while Dāṇḍin's *samādhī* in some cases will be equivalent to the *rūpaka* and analogous metaphorical figures. Vāmana's *artha-guṇa artha-vyakti* is nothing more than the *svabhāvayokti* of Dāṇḍin, and Dāṇḍin's *kānti* only defines the limit, as Hemacandra puts it, to the figure *atiśayayokti* (*seyam atiśayayokter yantrānā, na punar guṇāntaram*). On the basis of Bhāmaha's *vakrokti*, the later writers of the Alambikāra school, we shall see, postulate *ukti-vaicitritya* as the fundamental principle of all figurative expression, but this is comprehended merely as one of the excellences by Vāmana's definition of the *artha-guṇa mādhurya*.

It will be clear from the above, as well as from the elaborate review of the Guṇa-doctrine by Hemacandra (pp. 195-200) and Māṇikyacandra (pp. 191f) that the writers of the Rīti school, especially the followers of Dāṇḍin and Vāmana, differ widely in their attempts at defining and classifying the Guṇas, and that such attempts are open to criticism. Some of Bharata's definitions, on the other hand, do not always agree with those either of Dāṇḍin or Vāmana. For instance, Bharata's *ojas*, which consists in the use of high-sounding compound words of varied strikingness, may correspond to Dāṇḍin's *ojas*, but Hemacandra states that the essence of this Guṇa consists in imparting loftiness to an object which is low or treated with contempt. Again, Bharata's *prasāda*, corresponding to Dāṇḍin's *samādhī*, is a metaphorical mode of expression, which Vāmana would include in his peculiar definition of the *vakrokti*-figure, and which comes generally under *lakṣaṇā* or *upacāra* of later theorists. Bharata's *udārā* differs considerably from Vāmana's *udāratā* which does not comprehend, as Bharata's *udāra* does, the *Rasas* and *Bhāvas* in its scope; but it corresponds partially to Vāmana's

30 For this reason Vāmana does not define the *rasayat* as a figure.

artha-guṇa kānti. At the same time, it would seem that, in spite of such minor discrepancies, Bharata's scheme of the Guṇas as a whole is developed to its furthest possibilities by Vāmana. That there are inevitable differences in the definition of particular Guṇas in the earlier writers on the subject, and that the whole doctrine, despite the care of its exponents, is still unsatisfactory, only indicate the fruitlessness of the efforts of early theorists in comprehending all the literary excellences of a composition within the hard-and-fast limits of a few categories, on the interpretation of which they spend so much ingenuity but on which they cannot in the nature of things arrive at any absolute agreement.

Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra in their review of this doctrine cite the opinion of an authority³¹, called Maṅgala who, we are told, agrees with Bharata in his definition of *ojas* and maintains with Vāmana that Daṇḍin is not right in emphasising it in the *Gaudī Rīti* inasmuch as it is common to all *Rītis*. The only other reference to this writer is made by Rājaśekhara, who cites some opinions of this writer agreeing substantially with those of Vāmana, and quotes at p. 14 a dictum from Maṅgala which occurs in a slightly different form in Vāmana i. 2. 1. From these citations by Rājaśekhara it appears that Maṅgala, if he is not earlier in date than Vāmana, belongs most probably to the same school of opinion. There can hardly be any doubt that the system existed even before Vāmana gave a definite form to it; and Vāmana's systematic formulation certainly obtained for it a large number of adherents and followers, so that important later authors like Rājaśekhara, Hemacandra and Jayaratha cite with respect the opinions of the Vāmanīyas, just in the same way as they cite the Audbhāṭas, the followers of Vāmana's contemporary and rival Udbhāṭa.

31 Vāmana himself quotes some verses giving us ancient definitions of the various *śabda-guṇas* (under iii. 1. 25).

After the Guṇas, Vāmana deals with the poetic figures or Alāṃkāras as elements of subsidiary importance. This definite differentiation of Guṇa from Alāmkāra we meet for the first time in Vāmana; for Bhāmaha was indifferent to it. Dañdin does not accept it, and Udbhaṭa appears to have denied any difference³². At the outset Vāmana states, no doubt, that poetry is acceptable from embellishment (*alaṃkāra*) ; but he is careful to explain embellishment, not in the narrow sense of poetic figure, but in the broad and primary sense of beauty or charm (*kāvyaṃ grāhyam alāmkārāt, saundaryam alāmkārah*). He also points out that it is only in the secondary instrumental sense that the term *alaṃkāra* or embellishment is applied to simile and other poetic figures (*alaṃkṛtir alāmkārah, karāṇa-vyutpattyā punar alāmkāra-sabdo'yaṁ upamādiṣu vartate*). In this view, Vāmana apparently develops logically Dañdin's teaching; but Vāmana does not make the presence of poetic figures a necessary condition. What makes poetry acceptable, in his opinion, is the presence of charm or beauty (i. e. Alāmkāra in its broad sense of Saundarya) which he does not define and which is in some respects undefinable³³. The Rīti and its constituent Guṇas come in as a *sine qua non* in the production of this beauty, but the poetic figures only contribute to its heightening. This distinction between the Guṇa and the Alāmkāra as to their respective position in a formal scheme of Poetics, which is vaguely hinted at by Dañdin, is fully developed for the first time by Vāmana (iii. 1. 1-3). The Guṇas, being essential to the Rīti, are defined as those characteristics which create the charm of poetry (*kāvya-sobhāyāḥ kartārō dharmāḥ*) —a function which is assigned to both Guṇas and Alāmkāras by Dañdin—but Alāmkāras are such ornaments as serve to enhance the charm already so produced (*tad-atiśaya-hetavah*).

32 The distinction was established by the *Dhvanyāloka*.

33 Vāmana simply says that this beauty is to be attained by avoiding Doṣas and employing Guṇas and Alāmkāras (*sa doṣa-guṇā-alaṃkāra-hānādānābhyām*).

The Guṇas are said to be *nitya* (permanent), implying that the Alāṃkāras are *anitya* (*punar alāṃkārā anityā iti gamyate eva*, *Kāmadhenu* com. p. 71), for there can be charm of poetry without the Alāṃkāras but no charm without the Guṇas (*tair vinā kāvya-śobhānupapatteḥ*). In other words, the Guṇa stands to poetry in the *samavāya*-relation (see *Kāmadhenu* on iii. 1. 4), while the Alāṃkāra in *samyoga*-relation, *samyoga* being explained as mere conjunction and *samavāya* implying inseparable connexion or inference (*nitya-saṃbandha*)³⁴. To put it in the usual figurative language, the Guṇa is related to the 'soul' of poetry (viz. *Rīti*), while the Alāṃkāra rests merely on the 'body' (viz. *śabda* and *artha*). The Alāṃkāra, without the Guṇa, cannot of itself produce the beauty of a poem, but the latter can do so without the former. But Vāmana justifies at the same time the existence as such of the Alāṃkāra as an element of poetry, and supports a phase of poetry, which is indeed admitted by Ānandavardhana but not properly dealt with by him, and which is elaborated only by his follower Ruyyaka who, however, takes his inspiration on this point from the *Vakroktijivita-kāra*.

Vāmana's treatment of the poetic figures is in some respects peculiar to himself in its general outline, as well as in the specific definition of individual figures. Vāmana is the only old writer who deals with the smallest number of poetic figures³⁵. He recognises only two kinds of *śabdālāṅkāra*, viz., *yamaka* (rhyming) and *anuprāsa* (alliteration). He rigidly excludes *prahelikās* and *bandhas*. With regard to

34 This is criticised by Mammaṭa viii, p. 470; for he maintains that Guṇas like *ojas* and Alāṃkāras like *anuprāsa* and *upamā* reside in the relation of inference (*samavāya-sthiti*).

35 They are in their order of the treatment: *yamaka*, *anuprāsa*, *upamā*, *prativastupamā*, *samāsokti*, *aprastuta-praśamsā*, *apahnuti*, *rūpaka*, *slesa*, *vakrokti*, *utprekṣā*, *atīṣayokti*, *samdeha*, *virodha*, *vibhāvanā*, *anavaya*, *upameyopamā*, *parivṛtti*, *krama*, *dipaka*, *nidarśana*, *arthāntara-nyāsa*, *vyatireka*, *viśeṣokti*, *vyāja-stuti*, *vyājokti*, *tulya-yogitā*, *ākṣepa*, *sahokti*, *samāhita*, and *samsṛṣṭi* (including *upamā-rūpaka* and *utprekṣāvayava*);—30 figures excluding *Samsṛṣṭi*.

the *arthālamkāras*, he lays down in general terms that the *upamā* or comparison lies at the root of all poetic figures, which are defined in relation to it and to which is given the collective name of *upamā-prapañca*³⁶. The importance of *upamā*, involved in other figures, is recognised from Bhāmaha's time ; and consequently this figure, which is the source of all the figures grouped together by later writers as *sādṛṣya-mūla* or *aupamya-garbha* *Alamkāras*, is always given a place of honour at the beginning of most treatises on Sanskrit Poetics³⁷ ; but Vāmana goes to the extreme of defining all figures with reference to the idea of comparison, or in terms of the relation of the *upamāna* and the *upameya*. On account of this fundamental postulate, his definitions of some of the figures differ widely from those given by other writers ; and he has also to exclude such figures as *paryāyokta*, *preyas*, *rasavat*, *ürjasvin*, *udātta*, *bhāvika* and *sūkṣma* which he does not define. He gives a peculiar definition of the figure *vakrokti* as a mode of metaphorical expression. His *vīśeṣokti* would correspond to the *rūpaka* of Jagannātha, and his *ākṣepa* to the *pratipa* or *samāsokti* of some later writers. Vāmana defines *apahnuti* as the concealment of one thing by a similar thing with a view to impose the character of the latter on the former ; in other words, the *upameya* is denied its nature and the *upamāna* is established in its place. Dāndin states that denial of something and the representing of some other thing in its place constitute the figure which need not be based on *aupamya* ; and following him, some later writers (e. g. Viśvanātha) speak of a second variety of

36 The commentator explains: *prativastu-pramukhānām alamkārāṇām upamā-garbhatvād upamā-prapañca illi vyapadeśah kṛtaḥ* (on iv. 3. 1).

37 *upamaivāneka-prakāra-vaicittiryenālāmukāra-bijabhbūteti prathamam* *nirdistā*, Ruyyaka p. 26 ; *sādṛṣya-viśeṣitā-viśeṣat rūpaka-dipakā-dyanekālāmukāra-bijatayopamāyāḥ prathamāyā nirūpaṇam*, Mallinātha p. 195. Although *Upamā* need not be involved in all poetic figures, Vāmana appears to accept only those figures which are based on poetic comparison, as it imparts a special charm to them.

apahnuti in which there is no *gamyamāna aupamya* or implied comparison³⁸.

(3)

This brief summary of the views of the leading authors of this school will shew that the Rīti-teachings mark a great advance on the Alāmkāra-doctrine in many respects. There are many points which are common to both these systems; but, by clearly defining and working out the doctrine of Rīti as that distinct characteristic of poetry which sharply separates it from dry philosophical or technical writings, the Rīti school seems to have first suggested and started the enquiry (only hinted at by Bhāmaha's theory of *vakrokti*) as to what constitutes the essential charm of poetry, and anticipated the theory of *vicchitti* (or *ukti-vaicitrya*) elaborated later by Kuntaka and other adherents of the Alāmkāra-doctrine. The Dhvānikāra pays an indirect compliment (iii. 52) to the Rīti school for having first perceived, however dimly, the true nature of poetry, although he does not agree with its peculiar theory of Rīti. The Rīti school also goes a step further than the Alāmkāra school in including Rasa among the necessary characteristics (in Kānti as an *Artha-guṇa*). It is possible that Vāmana's partiality for the drama, which he considers to be the best form of composition and from which he supposes other forms of poetry to proceed (i. 3. 30-32), led him to realise the importance of Rasa, already worked out as fundamental in the drama by the dramaturgic Rasa school, and to incorporate it in one of the essential properties of poetry (iii. 2. 15 and *Vṛtti*). But, at the same time, it was perhaps his idea to make his definition of poetry comprehensive enough to cover a larger field and include those instances, e. g., which develop no Rasa. The *kāvya-sobha*, a term which he probably borrows from Daṇḍin (ii. 1), or *saundarya* which conveys the same general idea as

38 Cf *Uddyota*, ed. Candorkar, p. 39.

the word 'beauty', is regarded as the ultimate test of all poetry : and this beauty, in his opinion, agreeing with the common-sense view of the matter, is realised by carefully worked-out diction, which avoids the damaging flaws by adopting primarily the so called literary excellences, as well as the poetic figures for the secondary purpose of heightening the effect thus produced.

But the Riti-system, in spite of Vāmana's well-reasoned formulation and the advocacy of his followers, never appears to have wielded very great influence, and its existence was comparatively short-lived³⁹. There is no doubt that like the Rasa and the Alampkāra-systems, it left its impress on later theories, but it never found a serious champion after Vāmana among latter-day writers, and its theories never found unqualified acceptance. Its general doctrine of Riti began to be discredited and severely criticised from Ānandavardhana's time as too crude an explanation of the nature of poetry : and Mammata, the foremost authority of the latest school, ingeniously combats and sets aside the leading views of Vāmana.

It may, however, be noted that some of the broad principles enunciated by the Riti school have been tacitly recognised by later theorists. The importance of Riti or diction, as such, became established as a stock-idea in Poetics : but it was accepted with grave modifications. It was accepted by the Dhvani school in so far as it contributed to the development of the *rasa-dhvani*, and its chief characteristic was supposed to consist in an arrangement or disposition of words or letters for that purpose⁴⁰. This modification naturally diminished the value of all discussion and elaborate

39 A commentator on Vāmana, named Sabadeva, tells us that Vāmana's work went out of vogue, and its tradition was restored by Bhatṭa Mukula (1) who obtained a copy of the work. See notes to the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, ed. Gackwad Oriental Series, p. 5.

40 *varaṇa-saṃghaṭanā-dharmatva*, Ānandavardhana p. 5; see also ii. 8-11.

classification of the Rītis into different types, and the function of the three Rītis of Vāmana was made practically equivalent to the three Guṇas admitted by the authors of the *Dhvanyāloka*; but they do not yet appear to have lost all interest with later theorists. Even those writers, who do not subscribe to the doctrine either of the Rīti school or of the Dhvani school, pay considerable attention to this question. Thus, Rudraṭa adds *lāṭi* to the enumeration of the three Rītis of Vāmana, although by Rīti Rudraṭa means a definite usage of compound words. The *Agni-purāṇa* accepts this fourfold classification, but the distinction is supposed to lie not only in the length or shortness of the sentences but also in the qualities of 'softness' or 'smoothness', as well as in the prominence of metaphorical expression (*upacāra*). Bhoja, who carries the elaboration still further, adds two more types of Rīti to the *Agni-purāṇa*'s four, viz. *māgadhī* and *āvantikā*, the former being an intermediate diction between Vaidarbī and Pāñcālī, and the latter forming only a *khaṇḍa-rīti*, i. e. a defective or incomplete type. Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* gives us the same three Rītis as Vāmana does, but in his *Karpūra-maṇjarī* he appears to speak of three Rītis, respectively named *vacchomī* (from *Vatsagulma*⁴¹), *māhī* (*māgadhī*) and *pañcāliā* (*pāñcālī*). The older Vāgbhaṭa mentions only two Rītis, viz., *pāñcālī* and *lāṭiyā*, the one having some compound words and the other having none; but the younger Vāgbhaṭa accepts the three Rītis of Vāmana and classifies them on the basis of the three excellences, *mādhurya*, *ojas* and *prasāda*, which were the only three Guṇas recognised since Mammaṭa's time. The Dhvanikāra does not discuss this question, but Ānandavardhana appears to assign equal functional value to the three *vṛttis* of Udbhaṭa and the three *rītis* of Vāmana, a view which Mammaṭa enunciates thus: *etās tisro vṛttayo vāmanādīnāmī mate vaidarbī-gauḍī-pañcālyākhyā rītayo matāḥ*.⁴²

41 In Vidarbha; so this is really Vaidarbī.

42 But a distinction has always been theoretically maintained.

Abhinavagupta, however, thinks (p. 6) that the three Ritis of Vāmana, which, in his opinion, characterise an elevated, soft and middling theme respectively through a peculiar combination of the Guṇas, have, together with Udbhaṭa's Vṛttis, no separate existence from Guṇas and Alambikāras. Attention, therefore, was naturally directed to the Guṇas and Alambikāras more than to the Riti itself, of which they formed, in Vāmana's opinion, the constituent elements; and the Riti, if recognised at all, was recognised as consisting in a particular disposition of words, letters or syllables which favours the development of Rasa, and stands in the same relation to it as (in the usual figurative conceit) the conformation of the 'body' to the 'soul' (*pada-samghaṭanā*

between the *vṛtti* and the *riti*. The Vṛttis, originally styles of dramatic composition (Bbarata iii. 25), have been included by Udbhaṭa (i. 4 f.) under *anuprāsa* or alliteration, as they are formed by a special arrangement of letters for conveying different ideas, suitable (Abhinavagupta adds, "Locana pp. 5-6) to different Rasas. Ruyyaka, therefore, says: *vṛttis tu rasa-viṣayo vyāpārah, tadvāl punar varṇa-racaneha vṛttih*, pp. 20-21. The Riti, on the other hand, is mostly a matter of objective adjustment of the different 'excellences' of a composition, although admitting *artha* as an element of consideration; while the Vṛtti concerns itself with the psychological effect produced by the arrangement, as well as by the sense of which that arrangement is a vehicle. One and the same Riti may conceivably produce different Vṛttis, and the same Vṛtti may be produced in different Ritis, although a fondness for symmetry led the theorists to assign a distinct Vṛtti to each Riti. Ānandavardhana expressly distinguishes between the dramatic Vṛtti and the poetical Vṛtti by saying that the former is dependent upon the sense, the latter upon the expression: *vācyāfrayo yo vyavahāras tā etāḥ kaufikādyaḥ vṛttayah, vācakāfrayāḥ copanāgarikādyaḥ*. They enhance the beauty of drama and poetry respectively by being used according to the drift of the Rasa in the composition: *vṛttayo hi rasādī-tātparyeṇa saṃniriggaḥ kām api nātyasya kāryasya ca chāydmāvahanti* p. 182. Rājaśekhara (Kav. mīm. p. 9) sums up the differences wittily and concisely, if not accurately: *tatra vesa-vinyāsa-kramah, pravṛttih, vilāsa-vinyāsa-kramo vṛttih, racana-vinyāsa-kramo ritih*. On the concept of Vṛtti generally see V. Raghavan, *Some Concepts* p. 182-93; *Sṛāṅgāra-pr.* pp. 196-215.

rītir aṅga-saṅsthā-viśeṣavat/ upakartrī rasādīnām. Viśvanātha ix. 1). It follows from this that the respective functions assigned to Guṇa and Alambāra are not in relation to the Rīti but to Rasa, which is one of the fundamental elements of poetry with the later schools. We have already noted that, after Ānandavardhana, the Guṇas are taken as inseparable attributes and causes of excellence (*aṅgino rasasya utkarsa-hetavaḥ acala-sthitayo gnuṇāḥ*, Mammaṭa viii. 1) of the Rasa or the principal poetic mood in the composition (and not, as Vāmana thinks, of the Rīti). The poetic figures, on the other hand, are only attributes of *śabda* and *artha*⁴³, which constitute the 'body' of poetry, and therefore heighten the poetic mood or Rasa in an indirect way (*ibid.* viii. 2). Vāmana's ideas about 'poetic charm' are also taken as axiomatic, but they appear in later theories in a somewhat different form as the *vicchitti*, or *vaicitrya*, or *kavi-prāṇdhokti* underlying all figurative expression.

In spite of these and other important contributions to the general theory of Poetics, it is obvious that the fundamental doctrine of the Rīti school could not have been accepted in its entirety. Nor could it have competed against that of the Dhvanikāra, because Vāmana comprehended poetry only from the formal point of view, whereas the former showed a deeper insight into its inner nature. The more or less objective definition of the Rīti, given by this school, was hardly enough to satisfy the search for ultimate principles. Viśvanātha, following the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana in this respect, states this objection when he says that the Rīti is a particular kind of formal arrangement, a peculiar disposition or posture of parts ; what is called the 'soul' or

43 Mammaṭa, we shall see, takes the Guṇa as directly related to the Rasa as the *aṅgin*, and if we sometimes speak of them as belonging to *śabda* and *artha*, we do so only figuratively (*upacāreṇa*) ; but Jagannātha (pp. 33-35), going back to Vāmana's old position, combats this view and thinks that this usage is not figurative.

essence of poetry is something quite different⁴⁴. Again, the analysis of the several types of diction shows considerable ingenuity indeed, but it was found almost impossible, as Dandin himself admitted very early (i. 101-2), to label and classify all the modes of poetic expression with definite and unalterable characteristics. As the Rīti school, therefore, tended to make invidious and essentially unprofitable (except as empirical facts) distinctions between the Vaidarbhi, Gaudī and other kinds of diction with regard to whose exact significance there was bound to be inevitable difference of opinion, it naturally provoked criticism and opposition. In the same way, the endeavour to exhaust and classify all the literary excellences and flaws within clear-cut bounds on the basis of more or less formal analysis, was sure to prove unconvincing ; and a protest against minute differentiation or endless multiplication of the Guṇas was rightly and definitely propounded by Mammāja who (following Ānandavardhana, pp. 79 f.) reduced the number to three only, viz. *mādhurya*, *ojas* and *prasāda*, in relation to the ultimate factor of the poetic sentiment. The attempt, therefore, to stereotype the entire poetical output into so many ready-made dictions and fixed excellences, was bound ultimately to be discarded in favour of other and more penetrating principles. We shall see in the next few chapters that such a principle in poetry came to be recognised in the suggested element of Rasa, which was being already elaborated in the service of the drama and which was utilised by the Dhvani-theorists as one of the most important aesthetic foundations of poetry.

44 *yat tu vāmanenoktam—rītir ātmā kāvyasya- iti, tan na, rītēḥ samghātanā-viśeṣatvāt, samghātanāyāt cāvayava-saṃsthāna-rūpatvāt, ātmanas ca tad-bhinnatvāt*, p. 18 ed. Durgaprasada, 1915. (It will be noticed that Viśvanātha here speaks of Rīti as a kind of *saṃghātanā*.)

CHAPTER IV

LOLLĀTA AND OTHERS

(*The Rasa System*)

(1)

While the orthodox schools of Poetics were elaborating systems of *Alamkāra* and *Rīti*, there flourished several writers who discussed the question of the dramatic Rasa after Bharata, and formulated explanations of the latter's much discussed *sūtra* on the subject¹. Their exposition, however, concerned the dramatic art, and their theories did not as yet come properly within the sphere of Poetics, which was entirely dominated by the *Alamkāra*- and *Rīti*-systems. The aesthetic importance of the Rasa, therefore, was never realised, as we shall see, until it was taken up and worked into Poetics by the *Dhvanikāra* and his followers. The dramaturgie Rasa school, however, had in the meantime elaborated several theories of Rasa and brought it into prominence as an element of the drama ; and in this way it succeeded, to a certain extent, in reacting upon and influencing the orthodox theories of Poetics, which appear to have possessed, even at an early period a limited acquaintance with Rasa, and which actually accord it a place, however small, in their general systems of *Alamkāra* or *Rīti*.

This will be obvious from a reference to the views of *Bhāmaha* and *Daṇḍin* on this subject. To *Bhāmaha*, the most important element in poetry is *alamkāra* or *vakrokti*. He does not seem to possess any clear notion of the function of Rasa in poetry, the only direct reference to it occurring in the definition of the figure *rasavat* which, in his opinion, must manifest the Rasas clearly (*rāsavad darśita-spaṣṭa-śringārādi-*

1 See above p. 20. The *Sūtra* runs thus: *vibhāvānubhāva-vyavhicāri-saṇyogād rasa-niṣpattiḥ*.

rasam, iii. 6). The Rasa is thus included in the scope of a particular figure only and given a very subordinate place in his system². Bhāmaha seems to have been aware of the existence of the *śringāra* and other dramatic Rasas; but the speculations regarding the origin and function of Rasa do not appear to have started in his time; and, in common with Daṇḍin, he never thought it necessary to use the technical terms *vibhāva*, *anubhāva* etc., so familiar to later writers on this subject. In Bhāmaha's opinion, the Rasa need not be invariably present in poetry, but it may sometimes be delineated in some poetic figure. In i. 21, no doubt, Bhāmaha lays down that a *Mabākāvya* must separately depict all the Rasas; and in v. 3 he speaks of the *kāvya-rasa* as mitigating the rigour of the *śāstras*, a sentiment which is endorsed by Rudraāa (xii. 1-2) and which probably inspired the dictum of Abhinavagupta that the *śāstra* is *prabhu-sammita*, while the *Kāvya* is *jāyā-sammita*. The term *kāvya-rasa* is used here probably to indicate 'the flavour of poetry' in an untechnical sense; but even if we read, with Abhinavagupta ('Locana' p. 182), a technical meaning into it, it only shews that the earlier authors were content with assigning a pleasing but extraneous function to Rasa in poetry,³ although all the Rasas may be developed in the drama (i. 21).

2 Commenting of Bhāmaha's central verse on *vakrokti* (ii. 85), *saiśā* *sari* *sva* *vakroktiś* *anayārtho* *vibhāvye*, Abhinavagupta attempts to read into it his own idea of the importance of Rasa and interprets *vibhāvye* technically as *pramadodyānair* *vibhāratām* *nlyate*, *viseṣeṇa* *ca* *bhāvye*, *rasamayīkriyata* *iti*. He apparently makes Bhāmaha mean that by *vakrokti*, the sense of poetry is rendered into a suitable factor of Rasa, so that by using the word *vibhāvye* with the technical meaning given to it Bhāmaha would imply that the Rasa as well as *Alamkāra* originates in *vakrokti*.

3 Such a distinction appears to be implied also in Daṇḍin ii. 292; and one can differentiate two meanings of *rasa* (see below): (1) *kāvya-rasa*, the flavour of poetry or the aesthetic delight produced by it, and (2) *rasa* in the technical sense of *nātya-rasa*. It is worthy of note that in the latter sense it is very rarely used in earlier classical poetry (except

The same remarks with regard to the recognition of Rasa apply more or less to Dāṇḍin; but Dāṇḍin seems to have been more alive to its importance than Bhāmaha. Like Bhāmaha, Dāṇḍin allows the Rasas to be included in figures like *rasavat*, which appear to have been the only means by which they could permit the Rasa to play any rôle in their systems. It may be contended⁴ that Dāṇḍin gives prominence to Rasa by including it in one of the essential excellencies (Guṇas) of the dietion (Rīti), viz., in *mādhurya*, which is defined as the establishment of Rasa in the word and in the object (vāci vastuny api rasa-sthitih, i. 51); but from ii. 292 it appears that Dāṇḍin means by the term Rasa in the *mādhurya-guṇa* to connote absence of vulgarity (*agrāmyatva*)⁵, and does not contemplate the inclusion of Rasa in the technical sense⁶. The *mādhurya-guṇa*, according to Dāṇḍin (i. 51-7), may appear in two different aspects, in so far as it creates *vāg-rasa* and *vastu-rasa*, the former consisting of repetition of similar sounds (*śrutyānuprāsa*)⁷ and the latter connoting absence of

perhaps in Māgha). This *kāvya-rasa* in its essence is not very different from Bhāmaha's *vakrokti*; for it is possibly a kind of heightened expression inconsistent with commonplace utterance. The word *rasa* must be taken in this untechnical sense when one meets with it in early classics and in such expressions as *rasavat* or *rasāvaha* in Dāṇḍin.

4 Jacobi in *ZDMG* Ivi, 1902, p. 401 fn.

5 Strictly speaking, *grāmya* is not 'vulgar' in its usual restricted sense, although Dāṇḍin seems to bring under its connotation the *asīla* or the indecent. It means 'the low', 'the rustic', or 'the common', as opposed to the noble or the refined, and probably corresponds to the French word *vulgaire*.

6 This is made clear by the *Hṛdayāṅgama* commentary on this point: *mādhurya-guṇe pradarśitaḥ śabdārthayor a-grāmyatayā jāto raso vākyasya bhavati, alāṃkāratayā nirdiṣṭām rasavattvam aṣṭa-rasāyattam* (p. 167), the last part of the passage calling attention to the fact that the only cases where the eight (dramatic) *rasas* are admitted by Dāṇḍin occur in connection with his inclusion of the *rasas* in figures like *rasavat*. In i. 64 Dāṇḍin speaks of *agrāmya artha* as *rasāvaha*.

7 See above p. 80, fn 11. Dāṇḍin speaks of *anuprāsa* as *rasāvaha* in this sense in the same context (i. 52).

vulgarity (*agrāmyatā*). Thus, Hemacandra explains (p. 198) the Rasa in Daṇḍin's *mādhurya*, according as it resides in the *vāk* or *vastu* in this way: *śruti-varṇānuprāsābhyaṁ vāgrasah.....agrāmyābhidheyatayā tu vastu-rasah*⁸. Thus, the Rasa in Daṇḍin's *mādhurya* has a distinct connotation which separates it from the technical dramatic Rasa of the Rasa school⁹.

At the same time it cannot be affirmed that Daṇḍin was entirely ignorant of the concept of Rasa as elaborated by Bharata and his followers. He declares (i. 18) that a Mahākāvya should invariably depict *rasa* and *bhāva*: so does Bhāmaha (i. 21). His treatment of the figures *rasavat*, *preyas* and *ūrjasvin* (ii. 280-87) gives a much clearer indication of his undoubted acquaintance with the eight recognised Rasas, all of which he enumerates by their respective names, and four of which (viz. *śringāra*, *raudra*, *vīra* and *karuṇa*) he illustrates as elements of the poetic figures under discussion. If we are to accept Abhinavagupta's statement¹⁰,

8 With this explanation Māṇikyacandra agrees: *śruti-varṇānuprāsābhyaḥ vāg-rasah, agrāmyatayā tu vastu-rasah, itthāpi raso dvedhā* (p. 189, ed. Anandāśrama).

9 A similar untechnical use of the term *rasa* (which, however, Daṇḍin does not explain, as he does in this case) is to be found in iii. 149 (or iv. 26, Madras ed.) where the phrase *gītāṇi rasah* (= *vāgrasah*) is interpreted by Taruṇavācaspati merely as *sādhutvam*. The modern commentators, misled, no doubt, by their own idea of the importance of Rasa, read into Daṇḍin their own ideas on the subject. Daṇḍin nowhere speaks of the suggestion of Rasa (*rasa-dhvani*) as the 'soul' of poetry, but Hemacandra, commenting on i. 10, reads this into Daṇḍin. The *artha-rasa* in i. 62 seems also to have a distinct reference to *agrāmyatā*.

10 On Bharata vi, partially reproduced by Hemacandra p. 57f. The text of Abhinava's valuable commentary on Bharata's *rasa-sūtra*, so far as it is relevant to the theories on Rasa discussed below, has been published as an appendix to S. K. De, *Theory of Rasa* in Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume (Orientalia, vol. iii 1922). It is cited below as "Abh. on Bh.," with references to the pages of the article, which has been largely utilised in this chapter. It is reprinted in S. K. De, *Some Problems*, pp. 219-35.

Daṇḍin's conception of Rasa is similar to that of Bhaṭṭa Lollāṭa (which we shall deal with presently), and he believes therefore in the development of Rasa as an effect from the *vibhāvas* and *anubhāvas*. Daṇḍin's somewhat meagre treatment hardly justifies us in making a definite assumption on this point, but we may assume that Daṇḍin apparently speaks of Rasas like *śringāra* or *raudra* being developed as effects from such permanent moods as *rati* or *krodha*. For, speaking of the figure *rasavat* which should possess the characteristic of manifesting the Rasas, he gives an example of the manifestation of *śringāra* in such a figure with the remark: *ratīḥ śringāratāṇi gatā / rūpabāhulya-yogena* (ii. 281). Similarly, with reference to the development of *raudra* from *krodha*, he says: *ity āruhya parāṇi koṭīṇi krodho raudrātmatāṇi gataḥ* (ii. 283). But the Rasa in these figures is subordinate to the expressed figure itself of which it serves as a means of embellishment (*alaṁkāratayā smṛtam*) ; in other words, the Rasa is developed not for its own sake but as increasing the beauty of expression. It would seem, therefore, that Daṇḍin was, to some extent, cognisant of *rasa* and *bhāva*, but he could not give it a place in his system except as an embellishment of the language or of the sense ; and this objective view of the function of Rasa, if we may presume it in these early authors, was apparently responsible for this subordinate position given to it by the *Alaṁkāra* and *Rīti*-systems.

Although Vāmana improves upon Daṇḍin's system in other respects, he does not seem to have gone further in the treatment of Rasa. His idea of making all poetic figures an aspect of metaphorical expression precludes him from defining the figure *rasavat*, but he attempts to include Rasa in one of the essential (*nitya*) characteristics of poetry, viz., in the *arthā-guṇa kānti*, which he defines as an 'excellence of sense' in which the Rasas should be conspicuously present (*dīpta-rasatvam kāntih*, iii. 2. 15). The suggestion for this inclusion of the Rasas

in one of the excellences was probably found in Bharata's definition of the *kānti-guṇa*, or more directly in Bharata's peculiar definition of the *udāra-guṇa*; but it is clear that this certainly marks an advance upon the treatment of Dāṇḍin and Bhāmaha, who include the Rasa in some of the non-essential figures.

Udbhaṭa adheres in the main to the views of Bhāmaha and deals with Rasa as an element of the some of the figures like *rasavat*. One verse, however, which occurs in the text of Udbhaṭa published by Jacob in *JRAS*, 1897, p. 847:

*rasādyadhiṣṭhitam kāvyaṁ pīvad-rūpatayā yataḥ/
kathyate tad rasādinām kāvyaātmavām vyavasthitam//*

apparently designates Rasa as the essence or 'soul' of poetry, without, however, setting up an aesthetic system on its basis. But the verse is quite out of place in the context in which it occurs¹¹, and in the text published by the Nirnay Sagar Press, it is wanting, although given as a quotation (with a *tad āhuh*) in the accompanying commentary of Pratihārendurāja (p. 77). Misled by Jacob's text, Jacobi supposes¹² that Udbhaṭa was the first writer to consider the question as to what constitutes the 'soul' of poetry and to regard Rasa as such. It is clear, however, that the verse in question is not Udbhaṭa's, and cannot be reconciled either with its immediate context or with Udbhaṭa's general standpoint, as well as with 'his' definition of *rasavat*. It cannot be denied at the same time that Udbhaṭa betrays an acquaintance with some theory of

It This verse (vi. 17) occurs after the figure *kāvya-liṅga* (vi. 16), after the definition of which one should expect its illustration, which is given in the verse vi. 18 next after the verse in question. If Jacob's text is accepted, then the verse *rasādyadhiṣṭhitam* (vi. 17) would be abruptly thrust in between the definition of *kāvya-liṅga* and its illustration. As a matter of fact, it occurs in Pratihārendurāja's commentary on *kāvya-liṅga* and is erroneously incorporated in Udbhaṭa's text by the editor.

12 *ZDMG*, 1962, p. 396.

Rasa and its technicalities using, as he does, terms like *vibhāva*, *sthāyin*, *sañcārin* (iv. 4) and *anubhāva* (iv. 2), and enumerating, after Bharata, the eight orthodox *nātya-rasas* with the addition of a ninth Rasa (viz. *śānta*) in the category. But Udbhaṭa takes all this into account as an embellishment of an expressed figure like *rasavat*¹³; the Rasa is not considered on its own account, but because it helps to emphasise or constitute the charm of a particular figure. Hence Pratīhārendurāja remarks that the question as to the nature of Rasa and Bhāva, and as to how far they may stand as the very 'soul' of poetry is not discussed by Udbhaṭa at all, partly for fear of prolixity and partly because it is irrelevant¹⁴.

Rudraṭa, on the other hand, seems to be the earliest writer who explicitly includes Rasa in his treatment of Poetics, and devotes four chapters to its discussion. At the beginning of his work, he praises the poets who have won eternal fame by composing Kāvyas enlivened by Rasa. In ch. xii he speaks of ten Rasas (adding *preyas* and *śānta* to the orthodox eight of Bharata)¹⁵, describing *śringāra* (love) and the charac-

13 Udbhaṭa's definitions of *rasavat* etc. differ from those of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin; and he admits a new figure, namely, *saṁāhita*. In his view, *preyas* consists of development of emotions like love to the extent of a Bhāva and not Rasa; *rasavat* occurs when Rasas are fully developed through *sva-śabda*, *sthāyin*, *sañcārin*, *vibhāva* and *anubhāva*; *ūrjasvi* is development of improper or incongruous (*an-aucitya-pravṛtta*) Rasa or Bhāva, which would correspond to *Rasābhāsa* of later writers; *saṁāhita*=calming down of Rasa, Bhāva or their Ābhāsa.

14 Udbhaṭa might have been one of the commentators on Bharata, and was probably conversant with Bharata's text, as his citation of a half-line (iv. 5, though it is doubtful if this is at all a *kārikā*-verse of Udbhaṭa's) from Bharata vi. 15 and use of technical terms like *vibhāva* etc. would indicate. But it does not prove that Udbhaṭa belonged to the school of Bharata. On the other hand, Udbhaṭa in his theoretical standpoint was undoubtedly a follower of Bhāmaha.

15 If Udbhaṭa iv. 5 is a *kārikā*-verse (and not wrongly incorporated into the text from Pratīhārendurāja's commentary), then Udbhaṭa was

teristics of the hero and heroine in that connexion. The next two chapters take up the two kinds of *śringāra* (*sambhoga* and *vipralambha*—love in union and in separation) and questions cognate to each. This treatment is rounded off by a short chapter describing the nature and character of the diction (*rīti*) suitable to each¹⁶. It is not clear, however, as to what significance Rudraṭa attaches to Rasa as an element of poetry, for he is entirely silent with regard to the theoretical aspect of the question. Out of the sixteen chapters into which his work is divided, only four chapters deal with Rasa not theoretically but descriptively, while the rest of his work is taken up with the details of the poetic figures on which obviously he puts greater emphasis. Speaking of the necessity of making a poem *sarasā* from the standpoint of the reader, he says (xii, 1) that to those, who enjoy Rasa but shrink shy of Śāstra, instruction in the *caturvarga* is easier to impart through the medium of delectable writing; and this is the chief motive, in his opinion, for inspiring the sense of poetry with Rasa. Rudraṭa starts with *śabda* and *artha* as the two constituents of poetry, and elaborates his views about poetic figures as embellishment of these elements; but he does not discuss how the Rasa comes into his system, a fact which may lead one to suspect that these chapters on Rasa were probably later engraftment extraneous

to the first writer to admit *sānta* into Bharata's category of eight Rasas. The *preyas* Rasa of Rudraṭa is probably suggested by the poetic figure *preyas* admitted by Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Udbhaṭa. Rudraṭa appears to allude (as Nāmī-sādhu rightly comments) to Bharata by the term *ācūrya* in xii. 4.

16 Rudraṭa defines *Rīti*, as we have already seen, with reference to the employment of compound words. He recommends the Vaidarbhi and Pāśicalī *Rītis* in the cases of the four Rasas, *preyas*, *karuṇa*, *bhayānaka* and *adbhuta*, and the *Lālīyā* and *Gauḍīyā* in the case of *raudra*, there being apparently no fixed rule with regard to the remaining Rasas. He uses the term *aucitya* in this context, which anticipates the theory of *Aucitya* first elaborated by Ānandavardhana in connexion with the delineation of Rasa.

to, if not inconsistent with, his general standpoint. Rudraṭa, in his theoretical tendencies, has no affinity with the Rasa school, but belongs to the *Alaṃkāra* school, a fact which would distinguish him from Rudrabhaṭṭa, the keynote of whose system is to be found in the idea of Rasa. We have to this effect the testimony of Ruyyaka and Jayaratha. Ruyyaka says¹⁷ that Rudraṭa laid special stress on *alaṃkāra*, in which were comprised the three kinds of suggestion (*dhvani*), including the suggestion of Rasa, and that in figures like *rasavat*, the *rasa* and *bhāva* implied are taken as elements which heighten the charm of the expressed idea¹⁸.

The older writers on Poetics, therefore, before the advent of the Dhvani-theorists, content themselves with the working out of the outward form of expression, the 'body' of poetry, and hardly trouble themselves with the question of an ulterior aesthetic principle, the 'soul' of poetry ; nor do they identify, as some later writers do, this 'soul' with the psychological factor known as Rasa. Vāmana, no doubt, starts the question and offers to solve it by declaring that the diction or *Rīti* is this 'soul' ; but we have seen that in Vāmana's view, the *Rīti* is not the expression of poetic individuality but the objective beauty of representation called forth by a definite adjustment of certain fixed literary excellences. The older writers, therefore, put the greatest emphasis on the *alaṃkāra* (or poetic figure), or on the *rīti* (or diction in the objective sense), the advantages of which were considered sufficient for poetry ;

17 cd. Kāvyamālā p. 5. Samudrabandha agrees with this view.

18 Nami-sādhu, explaining Rudraṭa xii. 2, states that in the opinion of his author, *sabda* and *artha* constitute the 'body' of poetry, the poetic figures take the place of artificial ornaments, while Rasa resembles natural qualities like prowess and beauty (*rasū tu saundaryūdaya iva sahajā gunāḥ*). But there is nothing in Rudraṭa which will support this description of his standpoint, especially as Rudraṭa can scarcely be supposed to look upon poetic figures, which are of great importance in his view of poetry, as mere artificial embellishments of poetry. See above pp. 59-60, 61.

and, cognisant as they were of that aesthetic delectableness which must be present in all poetry and which in Sanskrit goes by the name of *rasa*, they could not harmonise it well with their theory of externals and treated it more or less as an embellishment of the language by including it in poetic figures or by allowing it to form an element of one of the excellences of diction. This was the only way in which they could recognise *Rasa*. It is partly for this reason that the Dhvanikāra (iii. 52) condemns earlier theories as crude and insufficient for the purpose of explaining the nature of poetry, and expounds his own system in which the suggestion of *Rasa* (*rasa-dhvani*) plays such an important part.

(2)

The reason why *Rasa* was, even thus perfunctorily, admitted into the older systems appears to have been the fact that Bharata's treatment of *Rasa* in the drama had already established itself, having been further elaborated by a number of commentators and writers on the subject, and it naturally influenced, to a limited extent, the enquiry of early thinkers. We have already noted that Bharata's famous *sūtra* on *Rasa*¹⁹ by its ambiguity taxed the ingenuity of his followers and led to a great deal of controversy regarding its true interpretation ; and as each writer tried to explain it in his own way, it gave rise to a number of theories on *Rasa*. There are four such theories associated with the names of Lollāta, Śāṅkuka Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Abhinavagupta ; but Jagannātha (*Rasa-gaṅgādhara* p. 28) speaks of eight different interpretations.

Bhaṭṭa Lollāta appears to have been one of the earliest formulators of such an explanation. His work is unfortunately lost, and very little can be gathered from the brief review

19 Viz. *vibhāvānubhāva-vyābhicārī-samyogdd rasa-nispattiḥ* (see above p. 20), the different theories starting with the different explanations given of the terms *samyoga* and *nispatti*. Besides the vagueness of these two terms, it is noteworthy that term *sthāyi* or *sthāyi-bhāva* does not occur in this dictum.

of his opinion in Abhinavagupta's commentary on Bharata²⁰, which is copied more or less by all subsequent writers who deal with Lollāṭa's views²¹. But it is clear even from this summary exposition by an adverse critic that Lollāṭa, in explaining Bharata's *sūtra*, took the *vibhāva* as the direct cause (*kāraṇa*) of Rasa, which therefore is an effect (*anukārya* or *utpādya*), and the term *niṣpatti* of Bharata should be explained as *utpatti* or *puṣṭi*. The Rasa, found in characters like Rāma, is attributed to the actor, who imitates the characters in form, dress and action, and thereby charms the spectator. Mammaṭa and his followers make this interpretation of Lollāṭa's view more clear by saying that the permanent mood or *sthāyin* is directly connected (*mukhyatayā vṛttiyā=sākṣāt saṃbandhena*) with the hero like Rāma, but it is recognised as existing in the actor through a clever imitation of the original character, this imitation being apparently the source of the charm to the spectator. The Rasa, therefore, resides in the hero; but the objection is that it is not clear how a mental state which belongs to the hero can be transferred to the actor, and how the spectator can be charmed by a feeling which does not exist in him. The spectator's mere apprehension of the feeling imitated by the actor cannot produce even a semblance of the original feeling and consequent delight in the mind of the spectator; otherwise such a delight would be brought about even on witnessing a love-affair in the ordinary world, as distinguished from the world of poetry²². It is

20 Abhinava's review of the opinions of Lollāṭa, Śaṅkuka and Bhaṭṭa Niyāṭa, which is followed by Mammaṭa and all later writers, is extensively reproduced by Hemacandra (pp. 57-56) and Māṇikyacandra (pp. 40f, ed. Ānandaśrama). This portion of Abhinava's commentary will be found in the article already mentioned above on the *Theory of Rasa* (reprinted in S. K. D., *Some Problems of Sanskrit Poetics*, Calcutta 1959). Detailed references, therefore, are not as a rule given here.

21 See for instance, Mammaṭa ch. iv, Hemacandra p. 57, Mallinātha on Vidyādhara p. 85, Govinda on Mammaṭa p. 63 etc.

22 Govinda criticises Lollāṭa's view thus: *tad apeśalam, sāmājikeśu*

also argued that this cause-and-effect theory of Lollāta cannot satisfactorily explain the relation of the *vibhāvas* etc. to the Rasa. An effect may exist even when its efficient cause is destroyed ; but as the life of the Rasa is circumscribed by the exhibition of the *vibhāvas*, it disappears when the latter disappear, a fact which goes to prove that the Rasa must not be taken as an ordinary *laukika* effect²³. Again, the cause and the effect cannot be contemporaneous ; if the Rasa is supposed to be an effect, its relish cannot be, as it actually is, contemporaneous with the appearance of the *vibhāvas*. Hence Viśvanātha remarks (p. 86) that if the Rasa is an effect, having for its cause the perception of the *vibhāvas*, then at the time of the relish of Rasa the *vibhāvas* would not be perceived ; for we do not find the simultaneous perception of a cause and its effect. The perception of the touch of the sandalwood unguent and the perception of the pleasure produced thereby cannot take place simultaneously, however rapidly the one may succeed the other.

Sāṅkuka, the next important writer on this subject mentioned by Abhinavagupta and others²⁴, therefore rejects this interpretation of the *utpatti-vādins*, who are said to follow, in their peculiar theory, the Mīmāṃsā school of philosophers. Lollāta's view does not deal with Rasa as a matter of the spectator's feeling. Sāṅkuka, on the other hand, thinks that the Rasa is not *produced* as an effect, but *inferred* by the spectator, and the inferred feeling is relished by him as Rasa. The permanent mood of the hero is inferred to exist in the actor (though not actually existing in him) by means of the *vibhāvas* etc., cleverly exhibited by him in acting, so as to produce an illusion of identity with the

tadabhāve sattra camatkārānubhava-virodhāt, na ca tajjñānam esa camatkāra-hetuh, laukika-śrāgārāddi-darjanendri camatkāra-prasāṅgāt (ed. Kāvyamālā 1912, p. 63).

23 Govinda p. 69, Maitinātha pp. 87, 93-4.

24 The reference to Sāṅkuka's views is to be found in Mammata and others, as cited above in fn 21.

feelings of the hero²⁵; and the mood thus inferred, being sensed by the spectator through its exquisite beauty, adds to itself a peculiar charm²⁶, and thus develops into a relishable condition of his own mind which is called *Rasa*. The realisation of *Rasa*, therefore, is a process of logical inference, and the *niśpatti* of Bharata's *sūtra* is explained as *anumiti*, the *vibhāvas* standing to *Rasa* in the relation of *anumāpaka* or *gamaka* to *anumāpya* or *gamyā*. But the mood itself, though inferred in this way from the relation of logical major and middle terms, is yet cognised as different from the objects of ordinary inference, being inferred, as it were, by force of its connexion with the *vibhāvas*, which factors, though artificial in themselves, are not then recognised as such. This cognition or knowledge is characterised as being based on what is called *citra-turaga-nyāya* (or the analogy by which a horse in a picture is called a horse), and should be differentiated from the true ('he is Rāma'), the false ('he is Rāma' with a following negation 'he is not Rāma'), the doubtful ('he may or may not be Rāma') knowledge, as well as from the knowledge of similarity ('he is like Rāma')²⁷. The theory, however, has been discredited by later schools on the ground (as Govinda concisely puts it²⁸) that it disregards the well-recognised fact that the inference of a thing can never produce the same charm as direct cognition. It has also been pointed

25 *rāmādyabheda-bhāvitena naṭe-tat-prakāśitair eva vibhāvādibhir-anumitāḥ*, Mallinātha p. 85.

26 *vastn-saundarya-balād rasaṇīyatvena sthāyinūm anyānumeyavailakṣaṇyāt* Govinda p. 65, practically paraphrasing Mammaṭa.

27 As interpreted by Mammaṭa as well as Abhinava p. 241. Hemacandra expanding the exposition of Abhinavaputra and Mammaṭa puts it in this way: *na cātra nartaka eva sukhīti pratiptattiḥ, nāpyayam eva rāma iti, na cāpyayam na sukhīti, nāpi rāmalī syād vā na vāyam iti, na cāpi tat-saḍśam iti, kiṃ tu sāmyā-niṣṭhyā-saṃśaya-sādṛṣya-pratītibhyo vilakṣaṇā citra-turagādi-nyāyena yaḥ sukhī rāma asāvayam iti pratiptitir asī* (p. 59).

28 *pratyakṣam eva jñānam sa-camatkāraṇam nānumitīyādir iti loka-prasiddhīm avadhiyānyathā-kalpane mānābhāvalī*, p. 65.

out that the Rasa is not capable of being cognised by the ordinary means of arriving at knowledge, for the feeling of a hero like Rāma, being past, cannot be cognised directly by the organs of sense belonging to the present²⁹. The *anumāna*-theory is criticised elaborately in connexion with the theory of 'suggestion', coming topically within the province of the suggestion of Rasa (*rasa-dhvani*). We shall have occasion to deal with this aspect of the theory in its proper place; but the general argument with which it is sought to be discarded is that the *vibhāvas* cannot be taken as the middle term in proving the *sthāyin*, because the former do not stand in the same relation to the latter as the middle term (*sādhana*) does to the major term (*sādhya*), but are simply its suggestors (*vyañjaka*).

The *vibhāvas*, therefore, do not constitute either the efficient cause (*kāraka-hetu*) or the logical cause (*jñāpaka-hetu*) of Rasa, as held respectively by Lollaja and Sañkuka. Apart from technicalities, Lollaja's view appears to be that the spectator ascribes to the well-trained actor the same mental state as belonged to the hero, and his apprehension of this imparted feeling *produces* a similar feeling in his mind, causing delight. Sañkuka thinks that the well-trained actor so cleverly simulates the action of the hero that the spectator apprehends the actor to be identical with the hero, and *infers* from this illusion the actual feeling of the hero in his own mind, being moved by the extraordinary beauty of the represented action. In both these theories, however, the difficulty remains, viz. that if Rasa is an objective entity, produced or inferred, how can it bring about a subjective feeling of relish in the audience in whom these factors (*vibhāvas* etc.) are presumably absent? If, on the other hand, it is supposed that the Rasa exists in the audience also, the question still remains as to how the particular feeling of a particular hero (like Rāma, who is different from or superior

to the spectator himself) can be relished or realised as his own by the spectator? These objections are thus ably set forth by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka³⁰, as interpreted by Abhinavagupta in his *Locana* (pp. 67-8): "If the *rasa* is perceived as belonging to another person, then it is a case of *tāṭasthya* i. e. one would not himself be personally affected by it. It is also not perceived as belonging to oneself out of poetry dealing with the deeds of heroes like Rāma. If it is perceived as belonging to oneself, then origin of *rasa* in self is admitted. But this is not reasonable, for there is nothing there which can operate as a *vibhāva* for the audience. If it is objected that the generalised idea of the beloved (*kāntātva*), which lies dormant and awakens in us germs of latent impressions, operates in the capacity of a *vibhāva*, then how can it be applied to the description of a deity and the like? The recollection of one's own beloved does not intervene in one's consciousness. How can *vibhāvas*, like the construction of a bridge over the sea, which form the attributes of an extraordinary hero like Rāma, become generalised (in the mind of an individual spectator)? One does not recollect only Rāma's energy, because it has no resemblance (to one's own energy). The *rasa* is not perceived when one learns it from a verbal composition, because a man would learn it in the same way from the direct observation of a pair of lovers. If it is assumed that *rasa* is produced, then a man would feel disinclined to tragedy, inasmuch as he finds only pain following upon the production of the pathetic mood (*karuṇa*) "³¹

30 Another objector to Śaṅkuka's view appears to be Bhaṭṭa Tauta, whose opinions are summarised by Abhinava (who refers to him simply as *asmad-upādhyāya*) in a passage which is substantially reproduced by Hemacandra at p. 59 under Bhaṭṭa Tauta's name. See also Māṇikya-candra p. 43 who draws also upon Abhinava's exposition of Tauta's view.

31 *Raso yadi para-gatata�ā pratiyate, tarhi tāṭasthyam eva syāt. Na ca sva-gatata�ā rāmādi-caritamayāt kāvyād asau pratiyate. Svātma-*

Bhāṭṭā Nāyaka, therefore, attempts to refute these earlier theories and set up a peculiar doctrine of aesthetic enjoyment (*bhoga*) which makes the relish of Rasa possible. He argues (as interpreted by Mammāṭa and others) that (i) Rasa cannot be produced as an effect, because the causes (namely, the *vibhāvas*), being non-realities, cannot bring about a real effect; (ii) it cannot be inferred, because the real character (e. g. Rāma), not being before the audience, his feeling does not exist, and what does not exist cannot be inferred (*na tattvato rāmasya smṛtiḥ, anupalabdhaivāt*). Nor is it a case of revelation (*abhivyakti*) of something potentially existing (*sakti-rūpa*); for in that case, the potential emotions, once awakened, would occupy their field of action in diverse degrees, thus contradicting the nature of Rasa as one. Moreover, there would be the same difficulty as to whether the Rasa is revealed in oneself or in another person. To solve these and other difficulties, Bhāṭṭā Nāyaka (as interpreted by Ahhinavagupta) maintains that Rasa is enjoyed in connexion with the *vibhāvas* through the relation of the enjoyer (*bhojaka*) and the enjoyed (*bhojya*). This school³² postulates three different functions of a word, namely, *abhidhā* (already admitted by the Mīmāṃsakas and grammarians), *bhāvakaṭva* and *bhojakaṭva*, and thus ascribes to a poem threefold potency of its own, namely, the powers

gata-tvēna ca prāśītāu svātmanī rasasyoṭpattīr evābhyaupagatā syāt, sā cāyuktā, sāmājikāṇ praty avibhāvatvāt. Kāntātvaṇ sādhāraṇāṇ vāsanā-vikāsa-hetur vibhāvanāyāṇ prayojakāṇ cet, devatā-varṇanādāu sad api katham? Na ca sva-kāntā-smarāṇāṇ madhye saṃvedyate. Aloka-sāmānyādānāṇ ca rāmādīnāṇ ye samudra-setu-bandhādayo vibhāvās te kathāṇ sādhāraṇāṇ bhaṭṭeṣuḥ? Na cotsāhādi-māṭraṇ smāryate, ananurūpātavāt. Sābdād apl tat-pratipattāu na rasopajanaḥ, pratyakṣād iva nāyaka-mithuna-pratipattāu. Utpatti-pakṣe ca karuṇa-syotpādād duḥkhitve karuṇa-prekṣāsu punar apravṛttiḥ syāt, tan na.

32 Bhāṭṭā Nāyaka's views are set forth and criticised by Abh. on Bh. p. 244, "Locana" p. 68, Mammāṭa ch. iv, Hemacandra pp. 61 f., Govinda p. 66.

of denotation, of generalisation and of enjoyment.³³ The *abhidhā* is not merely the actual Denotation of a word, but is given an extended meaning so as to include *lakṣaṇā* or Indication in its scope (*abhidhā lakṣaṇaiva*),³⁴ thus embracing the two functions already analysed by previous speculation. It is meant probably that the Denotation (as postulated by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka) also gives to the expressed sense a metaphorical significance as the basis of Rasa. The *bhāvakatva* (or *rasa-bhāvanā*), which, as Abhinavagupta suggests, is apparently derived from Bharata's general definition of *bhāva*, is described as the power of generalisation which makes the *vibhāvas* as well as the *sthāyi-bhāva*, sensed in their general character without any reference to their specific properties. The *vibhāva*, Sītā, for instance, is understood through this power not as a particular individual but in the general character of a woman, and the *sthāyi-bhāva* (here Rāma's love towards her) is taken as love in general without any reference to the agent or the object. In this way the audience can appropriate the *vibhāvas*, as well as the *sthāyi-bhāva*, as universal. After the Rasa is thus generalised, comes its enjoyment. By the third function of *bhojakatva*, the *sthāyin* is enjoyed in this general form, accompanied by the *vibhāvas*, sensed also in a general form; and this enjoyment is described as a process of delectation similar to the enlightened, self-sufficient and blissful knowledge, arising (in the language of the Sāṃkhya philosophers, which is borrowed by these theorists) from the prominence

33 T. R. Cintamani would prefer the terms signification, idealisation and illumination.

34 T. R. Chintamani (*JOR* i, 1927, p. 275 fn) would read *abhidhā-vilakṣaṇaiva*. He thinks that having been a Mīmāṃsaka, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka would not include *Lakṣaṇā* in *Abhidhā*. But K. P. Trivedi (*Ekāvalī* p. 425) reads as we do: *abhidhā lakṣaṇaiva*. V. Raghavan appears to agree (*JOR* vi, 1932, p. 211 fn) that *Abhidhā* is "here used not in its restricted sense of Sakti but in its larger and more general meaning, viz., the poet's expression as a whole."

of the attribute of goodness (*sattva*) in a man, and different from what is known as wordly happiness, being divested of personal relations or interests. It is differentiated from the two kinds of knowledge, *anubhava* and *smarana*; and consisting of the qualities of melting, pervading and expanding the mind, it is compared to the indescribable bliss of divine contemplation (*brahmāsvāda-sacivāḥ*). According to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, therefore, Rasa consists in the *sthāyi-bhāva* or the permanent mood, experienced in a generalised form in poetry and drama through the powers of *abhidhā* and *bhāvakatva*, and enjoyed by a blissful process, known as *bhoga*, till it is raised to a state of pleasurable relish, which is not wordly (*a-laukika*) but disinterested and which is akin to the philosophic meditation of Brahma.

It will be noticed that these different theories about Rasa, though applied to drama and poetry, are yet generally tinged with the doctrines of the various schools of Indian philosophy. Lollāta, it is clear, is a Mīmāṃsaka who believes in the far-reaching function of the Denotation of a word and thinks that it is capable of expressing all other implied or suggested sense in the shape of the Rasa. Śāṅkuka, on the other hand, is a Naiyāyika or logician who would demonstrate the Rasa by means of syllogistic reasoning. He believes that the implied Rasa can be reached by the logical process of inference from the expressed sense, although he has to admit that the inferred mood is cognised differently from the objects of ordinary inference, being sensed by the spectator through the force of its exquisite charm. In Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka we mark a further development. In his theory there is not only a transition from what may be called the objective to the subjective view of Rasa, and an understanding that the whole phenomenon should be explained in terms of the spectator's inward experience, but also the fact that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka in his peculiar theory of aesthetic enjoyment (*bhoga*) is substantially following the teachings of the Sāṃkhya philosophers.

We need not enter here into the details of Sāṃkhya psychology or metaphysics, but we may indicate briefly the application of its main teachings to the conception of poetry and the artistic delight resulting from it³⁵. The purpose of evolution in Sāṃkhya is the attainment of *bhoga* (experience of pleasure and pain) and *apavarga* (spiritual emancipation through right knowledge). The enjoyer of Rasa in poetry is like the knower of Brahma, but the aesthetic attitude is different from the philosophic. The aesthetic attitude is indeed one of *sanjivit* (or *cit-svabhāvā*), i.e., pure contemplation dissociated from all personal interests, and results in *viśrānti* or composure; but in the philosophical attitude there is complete detachment or aloofness from pleasure and pain and egoistic impulses, for the knower becomes impersonal by transcending his *buddhi*. This comes about through the predominance of the *sāttvika guṇa* in both cases; but in the spiritual attitude the *buddhi*, which contains in it *vāsanās* or acquired impulses, modifying its intrinsic *sāttvika* character, is purged of all its egoistic tendencies, and the true knower, realising the intrinsic disparateness of *prakṛti* and *puruṣa*, transcends the empirical plane. Such complete detachment is not possible in the aesthetic attitude. The world of poetry, being idealised, is different from the natural world and does not evoke egoistic impulses; for the objects contemplated in poetry have no reference to any one in particular but are entirely impersonal. These impersonalised forms, therefore, afford to the enjoyer of poetry escape from the ills which arise from personal relations, but they are the means only of temporary release from the natural world, for he cannot, like the ordinary man, transcend his *buddhi* altogether. The three stages in the appreciation of poetry which lead ultimately to the aesthetic experience of Rasa indicate that the apprehension of the meanings of words

35 M. Hiriyanna, Indian Aesthetics, in *Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference*, Poona, vol. ii, has dealt with the subject at some length.

(*abhidhā*) is not important in itself but only as a means of apprehending the generalised conceptions which are unrelated to any one in particular, the *bhāvavatva* being the process of such generalising, by which the factors of the feelings, as well as the feeling itself, become impersonalised. These idealised creations of poetry lead to enjoyment or *bhoga*, which implies that the condition produced is one of pleasure, as distinguished from the case of the natural attitude which is not always pleasurable, as well as from the spiritual attitude which is neither pleasurable nor painful.

(3)

If we may judge from the somewhat elaborate criticism levelled against Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's theory, it seems to have produced a greater impression than earlier theories, and paved the way, no doubt, for the later theory of Ahhinavagupta to whom belongs the credit of explaining the new aesthetic system of the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana.

The Dhvanikāra, however, in his exposition of *rasa-dhvani* and *rasa*, seems to have been greatly influenced by the Dramaturgic Rasa school. Bharata had declared that the business of the drama was to evolve one or more of the eight Rasas ; and therefore a more or less elaborate psychology of human sentiments had been analysed in the service of the dramatic art even before poetic theories began to be seriously discussed. Bharata's ideas on these psychological processes and on Rasa, which is the final internal experience consisting in the consciousness of a certain condition of the ego, were elaborated by his commentators and followers, until the Dhvanikāra, followed by Ānandavardhana and Ahhinavagupta, came into the field. From the earlier drama and dramatic theory, the idea of Rasa was naturally taken over to poetry and poetic theory ; and as the transition from naïve to sentimental poetry was accomplished, the theorists went a step further and erected Rasa into one of its essential foundations. Ānandavardhana is quite explicit on this point.

when he says (p. 181): *etac ca rasādi-tātparyena kāvya-nibandhanam bharatādāvapi suprasiddham eva.* In other words, what was already well established in the drama by Bharata and others thus found its way into poetry, profoundly modifying, as it did, the entire conception of the Kāvya³⁶. From his extensive literary and philosophical studies as well as from his interest in the work of Bharata and his followers, Abhinavagupta goes further and lays down: *nātyāt samudaya-rūpād rasah, rasa-samudayo hi nātyam; na nātya eva ca rasah kāvye'pi nātyāmāna eva rasah kāvya-rathah.* These theorists realised that no system of Poetics, as no system of Dramaturgy, can ever ignore the feelings, moods and sentiments, and must find an important place for Rasa, the manifestation of which is as much the business of poetry as of the drama. Gradually stress came to be laid on the emotional mood, as well as on the imaginative thought, which the poet succeeds in communicating to us; the outward expression, on which the older writers pinned their faith so much, being regarded only as a means of suggesting or pointing to the implicit significance of such a mood in poetry.

The insufficiencies of the earlier theories on Rasa are obvious and are therefore rightly criticised by Abhinavagupta; but it was a happy idea to elaborate the theory in such a way as not only to supply these deficiencies but also to fit it well into the theory of 'suggestion' or *dhvani* formulated by the new school. It is not necessary for us here to enter into the details of the Dhvani-theory, which will be treated in its proper place; but we may for convenience and continuity of treatment indicate here generally how the idea of Rasa was worked up into them. The Dhvani school, in its analysis of the essentials of poetry, found that the contents of a good poem may be generally distinguished into two parts. The one

36 Rudrabhaṭṭa states (i. 5) in the same way that Bharata and others have already discussed Rasa in connexion with the drama, while his own object is to apply it to the case of poetry. Cf M. Lindenau, *Rasalehre*, p. 2.

is that which is expressed and includes what is given in so many words ; the other content is not expressed but must be added to it by the imagination of the reader or listener. The unexpressed or suggested part, which is distinctly linked up with the expressed and which is developed by a peculiar process of suggestion (*vyāñjanā*), is taken to be the 'soul' or essence of poetry. To the grammarians and learned writers, it perhaps seemed paradoxical to state that the very essence of poetry was that which was not even expressed. On the other hand, some form of symbolical speech, in which wisdom demands that one should express oneself more in hints and suggestions than in actual words, was always in vogue, and the poets had been more or less partial to the method of speaking in metaphor or wrapping up their ideas in transparent allegory. But suggestive poetry is something different from the merely metaphorical, which Vāmana had already amply recognised and on which the *Alaṁkāra* and the *Riti* schools had put so much emphasis. The metaphorical or the allegoric, however veiled it may be, is still in a sense expressed and must be taken as such ; but the suggestive is always unexpressed, and is therefore a source of greater charm by its capacity of concealment. This unexpressed or inexpressible is called into being by a particular function of suggestion, appertaining to words and their meanings, which this school postulates.

Now the unexpressed, through the suggestive power of sound or sense, may be an unexpressed thought or matter (*vastu*), or an unexpressed figure of speech (*alaṁkāra*), but in most cases it is a mood or feeling (*rasa*) which is directly inexpressible. The *Dhvani* school, therefore, took up the moods and feelings as an element of the unexpressed and tried to harmonise the idea of *rasa* with the theory of *dhvani*.³⁷ It was realised that poetry was not, as Dāyādin thought, the

37 Āṇandavardhana himself says (*Dhv.* p. 163) that his object is not merely to establish *Dhvani* but also to harmonise it with *Rasa*.

mere clothing of agreeable ideas in agreeable language ; the feelings and moods play an important part in it. But the feelings and moods are in themselves inexpressible. We can give a name to them, but naming a mood or feeling is not equivalent to expressing or developing it. At best, therefore, we can suggest it. What the poet can directly express or describe are the *vibhāvas* etc.; but with the help of these expressed elements which must be generalised and conceived, not as they appear in the natural (*laukika*) world, but as they may be imagined in the world of poetry, the poet can awaken in us, through the power of suggestion inherent in words and their meanings, a particular *alaukika* (dissociated) condition of the soul in which the relish of the feeling is possible. It is true that the poet cannot rouse the same mood or feeling as, for instance, Rāma whom he describes felt, but he can call up a reflection of it, which is similar in some respects ; and the condition of the reader's soul in the enjoyment of such feeling is in poetry and drama the relish of Rasa, which can be brought into consciousness only by the power of suggestion inherent in words or ideas.

Here comes in the new colour given to the Rasa-theory by the exponents of the Dhvani school. They interpret Bharata's central dictum to mean that the Rasa is *suggested* by the union of the *sthāyin* with the *vibhāvas* through the relation of the suggested (*vyañgya*) and the suggestor (*vyañjaka*) ; the *niṣpatti* of Bharata, therefore, should mean *abhivyakti*,

The elaboration of the Rasa-theory, however, by this school in the direct tradition of Lollāṭa, Śaṅkuka and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, is associated by Mammaṭa and others with the name of Abhinavagupta³⁸. Commenting on Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's theory, Abhinava points out that there is no need, as there is no authority, for assuming the two powers of *bhāvakatva* and

38 There is some difference in the general theoretical positions of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta which will be noticed later.

bhogikarāṇa ; for they are implicitly included in the idea of *rasa-vyañjanā* and its ultimate *āsvāda*. Bharata's dictum *kāvyaṛthān bhāvayantī bhāvah* implies that *bhāvakatva* is an inherent capacity of all *bhāvas*, as the means of bringing into consciousness the seose of poetry, the term sense indicating here the principal sense consisting of the relish of Rasa. Hence the *sthāyin*, together with the *vyabhicārin*, being *bhāvas* themselves, bring into existence through this inherent power the extraordinary relishable seose of poetry, cognised in a general or impersonalised form. In this way, the *sthāyin* may be regarded as the *bhāvaka* or *nispādaka* of Rasa ; and this so-called *bhāvakatva*, according to Abhinava, consists in nothing more than a suitable use of *Guṇa* and *Alamkāra* (*samu-cita-guṇālamkāra-parigrahātmakam*) for the ultimate purpose of awakening Rasa through the suggestive power of word and sense. Thus, partially admitting *bhāvanā* or *bhāvakatva* but explaining it somewhat differently, Abhinava turns to the other power assumed as *bhoga* or *bhogikarāṇa* by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. He remarks that beyond *prāṇī* or perception of Rasa, he is not aware of any other process called *bhoga*. If it is relish or enjoyment, it is already admitted as the essence of Rasa, and nothing is gained by giving it a new name. Abhinava thinks that the *bhoga* supposed by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is nothing more than the *āsvāda* or relish of Rasa, based on permanent moods like *rati* etc., and made possible by the suggestive power of poetry. It falls naturally, therefore, within the domain of suggestion and need not be taken as a separate function (*bhogikarāṇa-vyāpāraś ca kāvyaātmaka-rasa-viśayo dhvananātmaḥ*).

This *prāṇī* of Rasa, Abhinavagupta maintains, results from its *abhiṣyakti* or manifestation by the power of suggestion, and consists of a state of relish known as *rasanā*, *āsvāda* or *carvāṇa*. What is manifested is not the Rasa itself, but its relish ; not the mood itself but its reflection in the form of a subjective condition of aesthetic enjoyment in the reader. This taste or relish partakes, no doubt, of the nature of cogni-

tion ; it is nevertheless different from the ordinary *laukika* forms of the process, because its means (viz. the *vibhāvas*) are not to be taken as ordinary or *laukika* cause³⁹. Although Rasa requires these three factors for its manifestation and cannot exist without them, it cannot yet be regarded as an ordinary effect, and the cause-and-effect theory is inapplicable ; for in the transcendental sphere of poetry, it is

39 This will make it clear why the Rasas like *karuṇa*, *bibhatsa* and *bhayānaka*, which cause pity, disgust or horror, can be termed Rasas in which enjoyment is essential. The relish of Rasa is supposed to be an extraordinary bliss, dissociated from personal interests, and not to be likened to ordinary pleasure and pain in which personal or egoistic impulses predominate. The mind is so entirely lost in its contemplation that even when the sentiment of grief or horror relished in such a state, pain is never felt, and even when felt it is a pleasurable pain. This fact is borne out by the common experience that when grief is represented on the stage, the spectator says 'I have enjoyed it'. Hence Abhinavagupta says: *saṁājikānām harṣaika-phalam nātyaṁ na śokādi-phalam*. Viśvanātha similarly remarks (iii. 6-7 and Vṛtti) that those very things which are called causes of pleasure and pain in the world (e.g. banishment of Sītā in the forest), when consigned to poetry and drama, possess the right to be called, in consequence of their assuming such an impersonalised form, *alaukika vibhāvas* etc., and from them only pleasure ensues, as it does from bites and the like in amorous dalliance. If pain were really felt, no one would have been inclined to poetry and drama (*kim ca teṣu yadi duḥkham na ko'pi syāt tad-unuukhalī*). It is also maintained that tears constitute no proof that anything but pleasure is felt in poetry ; for the tears that are shed by the reader are not those of pain but those of sentiment. Jagannātha's remarks in this connexion are interesting. He says (p. 26) that the shedding of tears and the like are due to the nature of the experience of particular pleasures, and not to pain. Hence in a devotee tears arise on listening to a description of the deity ; in this case there is not the slightest feeling of pain. Such is the power of detachment which poetry produces that even unpleasant things like sorrow generate dissociated pleasure ; and this pleasant relish of impersonalised or idealised artistic creations should be distinguished from the ordinary experiences of life.—The *Nātya-darpaṇa*, however, sets forth a theory (pp. 158-59) that Rasa has a touch of sorrow in it, and Bhoja in his *Śringāra-prakāśa* says: *rasā hi sukha-duḥkhāvasthā-rūpāḥ*. See V. Rāghavan. *Number of Rasas* (Adyar 1940), p. 155.

said, the connexion between cause and effect gives place to an imaginative system of relations, which has the power of stirring the reader's soul into *Rasa*. The resulting *Rasa* cannot be identified with the constituent *vibhāvas*, for the latter are not experienced separately, but the whole appears as *Rasa*, which is thus simple and indivisible. At the time of relish nothing else but the *Rasa* itself is raised to our consciousness. The writers on Poetics are fond of explaining this phenomenon under the analogy of a beverage which, made up of black pepper, candied sugar, camphor and other ingredients, gives us yet a taste different from that of its constituents. The result, therefore, is an indissoluble unity of taste from which every trace of the constituent elements is obliterated.

Abhinavagupta goes a step further also in maintaining that the permanent mood (*sthāyin*) inferred from its *laukika* causes (e.g. women, garden etc.) remains in the hearts of the appreciating audience in the subtle form of latent impressions, the idea of *vāsanā* or latent impression having been already admitted by the philosophers. On reading a poem or witnessing a drama, this permanent mood, remaining in the form of latent impression, is suggested by the depicted *vibhāvas* etc., which cease to be called *laukika* causes but go by the name of *vibhāvas* etc. in poetry and drama, and which are taken in their general form without specific connexions. The *vibhāvas*, therefore, are generalised or impersonalised in the minds of the reader, and do not refer to particularities, not through the power of *bhāvakatva*, as supposed by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, but generally through the suggestive power of sound and sense and specifically through a skilful use of *Guṇa* and *Alamkāra* in poetry, and clever representation in the drama. In the same way, the *sthāyī-bhāva*, which is the source of 'Rasa'⁴⁰, is also generalised, because the germ of it is already

40 The *sthāyin* is so called because, in spite of its being transient like all feelings, its impression in the form of *vāsanā* or *samskāra* is

existent in the reader's mind in the form of latent impressions ; and this, together with the beauty of the generalised representation of the *vibhāvas* etc., removes all temporal and spatial limitations. The mood is generalised also in the sense that it refers not to any particular reader but to readers in general, so that the particular individual, while relishing it, does not think that it is relished by him alone, but by all persons of poetic sensibility. This subjective relish in the mind of the spectator or reader is known as *Rasa* in poetry and drama.

To state it briefly and without any technicality, there is in the mind a latent impression of feelings which we once went through (or which we acquired from previous births), and this is roused when we read a poem which describes similar things. By universal sympathy or community of feeling we become part and parcel of the same feeling and imagine ourselves in that condition. Thus the feeling is raised to a state of relish, called *rasa*, in which lies the essence of poetic enjoyment. It will be noticed that these theorists presuppose latent impression of experience (*vāsanā*) and universal sympathy (*sādhāranya* or *sādhāraṇikarana*). Those who have not experienced the feeling of love, for instance, and have therefore no impression of experience left in them, as well as those who have no sense of community of human feelings, can never relish *Rasa*. The *vāsanā*, we are told, is natural (*naisargikī*) and may have been left in our mind through the *sāṃskāra* of previous births, but it may also be acquired by more or less permanent, being called up when the *Rasa* is cognised. Cf *Prabhā* p. 61: *anṭṭhakarana-pravṛtti-rūpasya ratyāder āśu-virāśatve'pi saṃskārātmanā cirakāla-sthāyitvād yāvad-rasa-pratīti-kālam anusāṃdhā-nāc ca sthāyitram*. But possibly it was originally called *sthāyin* because it constituted the permanent mood or sentiment in the composition, which nothing akin to it or opposed to it could overcome, but which could only be strengthened by other *bhāvas*. But the *sthāyin* itself is not *rasa* ; it must be *vṛykti-visiṣṭa* and *vibhāvādi-melaka*, and thus made *carācāpoyogi* or relishable. Govinda p. 62. The ultimate relish of *rasa* is free from the contact of the *sthāyin*, as it is of the *vibhāvas*.

study and experience. The writers on Poetics, therefore, are merciless in their satire on dull grammarians and old *Mimāṃsakas*, to whom such relish of Rasa is denied, and they declare unanimously that the *rasika* alone is capable of realising the *rasa*; for Rasa is not an objective entity which can reside in the hero or the actor, but a subjective condition realised by the reader's own capacity of aesthetic enjoyment. Thus, a degree of culture, experience and aesthetic instinct is demanded in the critic, the *rasika* or *sahṛdaya*, in conformity with this subtle conception of poetry. As Abhinavagupta puts it, *adhikārī cātra vimala-pratibhāna-sāli-hṛdayaḥ*, and describes such a *sahṛdaya* ('Locana p. 11) as *yeṣāṁ kāvyānuśilanābhyaśa-vaśād viśadibhūte mano-mukure varṇanīya-tanmayibhavana-yogyaśc te hṛdaya-saṃvādabhājāḥ sahṛdayāḥ*.

It may be pointed out here that this subtle conception of Rasa makes it difficult to express the notion properly in Western critical terminology. The word has been translated etymologically by the terms 'flavour,' 'relish,' 'gustation,' 'taste,' 'Geschmack' or 'savour'; but none of these renderings seems to be adequate. The simpler word 'mood', or the term 'Stimmung' used by Jacobi may be the nearest approach to it, but the concept has hardly any analogy in European critical theories. Most of the terms employed have association of subtle meanings of their own, and are therefore not strictly applicable. For instance, the word 'taste' or 'relish' though literally correct, must not be understood to imply aesthetic judgment, 'good or bad taste,' but must be taken to indicate an idea similar to what we mean when we speak of tasting food. At the same time, this realistic description must not lead us to drag it down to the level of a bodily pleasure; for this artistic pleasure is given as almost equivalent to the philosophic bliss, known as *ānanda*, being lifted above worldly joy.

This peculiar condition of the mind, the *rasa*, is realised, according to Abhinavagupta, through the characteristic func-

tion of *vyañjanā* or suggestion inherent in word and sense. The idea is elaborated by later theorists who take pains to shew that it does not come under the province of Denotation (*abhidhā*), nor of Import (*tātparyā*), nor of Indication (*lakṣaṇā*), nor of Perception (*pratyakṣa*) nor of Inference (*anumāna*), nor of Reminiscence (*smarana*), which means of knowledge are admitted by philosophers and grammarians. Into these technicalities which properly come under the discussion of the *vyañjanā-vṛtti*, we need not enter; but it may be noted here that Abhinava describes this *abhivyakti*, which is taken as synonymous with *carvaṇā*, as *vītavighna-pratīti* or realisation freed from obstacles. Jagannātha and the author of the ^o*Prabhā* commentary on *Kāvya-pradīpa* describe *vyakti* as *bhagnāvaranā* cit. Both these terms constitute a link connecting the present theory with the teachings of the Vedānta. The dismissal of the *avidyā* and the elimination of *kāma* and *karman* (interest and activity) lead us to a point of detachment where we realise the intrinsic identity of self with Brahma and apprehend the bliss or *ānanda* resulting from such a realisation. The idea of Vecāntin's *Mokṣa*, which consists of a condition, not to be produced but to be made manifest by the removal enveloping obstacles, finds an analogy in the idea of the manifestation of *Rasa*, implied in its *abhivyakti*, which consists not in the expression of anything new but in the revealing of something already existing. The *brahmāsvāda* is likened to the *rasāsvāda* because in both cases the intimate realisation comes after the limitations of the ego-centric attitude are transcended, and all separate existence is merged in the unity or harmony realised. This happens in the case of *rasāsvāda* when the poetic sentiment, which remains in his heart in the form of latent impression, is made to shine forth, and the spectator's mind is purged of all egoistic impulses by the force of the idealised or generalised creations of poetry, consisting of the *vibhāvas* etc, which are therefore termed *vighnāpasārakas* or removers of obstacles. It is, therefore,

alaukika, being unlike the taste of interested worldly happiness and being incompassable by the ordinary processes of knowledge. Its essence consists in its relish or taste, *āsvāda*, *carvāṇā*, or *rasanā*; but it is a relish in which the Rasa alone, apart from its constituent elements, is raised to consciousness. It is, therefore, described as a relish in which the contemplation of anything else but Rasa is lost (*vigalita-vedyāntara*), or which is free from the contact of aught else perceived (*vedyāntara-sparśa-śūnya*), like the state of mind lost in the philosophic contemplation of Brahma. It is not capable of proof or designation and cannot be made known, because its perception is inseparable from its existence; or in other words, it is identical with the knowledge of itself. The only proof of its existence is its relish itself by the *sahṛdaya* or the man of taste (*sakala-sahṛdaya-hṛdaya-saṃvedana-sākṣika*); and the *sahṛdaya* to whom alone this bliss is vouchsafed, is like the *yogī* or devotee who deserves this preference through his accumulated merits (*pūṇyavantah pramīṇvanti yogivad rasa-saṃnītīm*)⁴¹.

This, in its general outline, is the Rasa-theory as finally fixed by the Dhvani school; and all later writers, from

41 The artistic attitude is, therefore, different from the natural, and more akin to the philosophic. But art affords only a temporary release from the ills of life by enabling one to transcend his personal relations or practical interests, and restores equanimity of mind (*vīśrānti*) by leading him away from the common world and offering him another in its place. This is an attitude of pure pleasure, of disinterested contemplation (*samāsīt*), but not of true enlightenment which comes to the knower who, no longer on the empirical plane, transcends completely the sphere of pleasure as well as of pain. The attitude is variously termed *camatkāra-nirvēśa* (awakening of poetic charm), *rasanā* (relish), *āsvāda* (taste), *bhoga* (fruition), *samāpatti* (accomplishment), *lāja* (fusion) and *vīśrānti* (repose), which terms indicate the philosophical colouring given to the doctrine. For the idea of *camatkāra* involved in Rasa, see S. K. De, introd. to *Vakrolik-Jivita* (2nd ed. 1928) p. xxxvi, fo 33 and below under Jagannātha (ch. vii). See also V. Raghavan, *Some Concepts*, pp. 268-71.

Dhānañjaya to Jagannātha, accept, more or less, this new interpretation and attempt to work it out in detail. Even Mahimabhaṭṭa, who tried to demolish the Dhvani-theory, acknowledges the importance of Rasa and declares that on this point there is no difference of opinion between himself⁴² and the Dhvanikāra, the only difference existing with regard to the function *par excellence* which manifests the Rasa. Thus, an endeavour was made by the Dhvani-theorists not only to explain the concept of Rasa in terms of inward experience, but also to absorb this idea of aesthetic delectation into the new theory of Dhvani, and make it applicable to poetry as well as to the drama; and the Rasa school, properly so called, began to merge from this time onwards into the dominant Dhvani school, to the consideration of which we now turn, leaving the treatment of the later development of the Rasa-theory to a subsequent chapter.

42 *kāvyasyātmani saṅgīni (aṅgīni?) rasūdi-rūpe na kasyacid vimātiḥ*, p. 22.

CHAPTER V

THE DHVANIKĀRA AND ĀNANDAVARDHANA

(The Dhvani System)

The origin of the Dhvani school, like that of other schools of Poetics, is lost in obscurity ; but the first clear formulation of its theory of *dhvani* as a whole is to be found in the memorial verses of the Dhvanikāra, whose date is unknown but who could not have been very far removed from the time of his commentator Ānandavardhana. It is possible, however, that the Dhvanikāra himself is following a much older tradition. The fact that he shows himself conversant with some theory of *rasa*, *alaṅkāra* and *ṛiti* need not be cited to the credit or discredit of this conjecture : for these systems themselves cannot be traced back to any definite period of time, and there is also no conclusive evidence that the Dhvanikāra was aware of the particular views of Bharata, Bhāmaha or Daṇḍin, with whom we begin the historic period of growth of these systems. But the very first line of the first verse of the *Dhvanyāloka* itself states that the theory that *dhvani* is the essence of poetry was traditionally maintained by earlier thinkers (*kāvyasyātmā dhvanir iti budhair yah samāmnāta-pūrvah*). Accepting this statement of the Dhvanikāra, it is difficult, however, to explain why the *dhvani*-theory did not in the least, as the *rasa*-theory did to a certain extent, influence such early writers on Poetics as Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin or Vāmana. It is easy to maintain, on the other hand, that the *vyañjanā* as a function must have been evolved by the school which set up a theory of *vyañgya artha* or *dhvani*, as this function is not traceable in philosophers or philosophical grammarians before the time of Ānandavardhana. Bhāmaha¹,

1 See above ch. II, pp. 52f.

Vāmana (iv. 3. 8) and other early theorists discuss or show themselves cognisant of such a 'suggested sense' in general ; but they never use the terms *vyañjanā*, or *vyañgya artha* or *dhvani*, as they probably would have done if it had been so universally known or accepted as the Dhvanikāra's statement would apparently imply. But this non-recognition by other schools need not be taken as a serious argument, as it admits of several reasonable explanations. It is well known that the philosophers refuse to recognise the *vyañjanā* as a *Vyāpāra sui generis*², and even after it was put forward by the Ālambārikas, they would explain it by another recognised function as *anyathā-siddha* ; it is not surprising, therefore, that orthodox grammarians or philosophers should entirely ignore it. The absence of any direct reference to *dhvani* in early writers on Poetics may be explained by the not unlikely supposition that probably the Dhvanikāra himself, who summed up and uttered the theory in a definite form, was contemporaneous with these writers, as we cannot put him much later if we are to leave sufficient margin between him and his commentator, as well as make room for intermediate scholastic activity evidenced by the recapitulation-stanzas cited by Ānandavardhana in his *Vṛtti*³. Even leaving aside this conjecture, the cases of such non-recognition are actually explained by the Dhvanikāra himself, in the verse we have already cited, as constituting really cases of *half-recognition* ; for he seems to indicate that these early writers were cognisant of *dhvani*, but not having understood its nature they naïvely and uncritically looked at it from other points of view, some comprehending it in other elements of poetry, some thinking it incomprehensible, and others (like the poet Manoratha cited by Ānandavardhana) going to the extreme of denying its existence altogether. One of the objects of the Dhvanikāra in this statement was, no doubt, to indicate that he was not putting forward something entirely

2 See Jacobi in *ZDMG*, Ivi, 1902, p. 397 fn 2, and p. 398 fn 1.

3 See vol. i. p. 108, and *BSOS* i, 4, 1920, pp. 7-8.

new, and to find an authority for his procedure in the implied attitude (real or imaginary) of certain older writers ; but, apart from this, it is clear that although there is nothing explicit in the older writers, one can never affirm that some kind of 'suggested sense' was not known to them.

It would be extraordinary indeed that a work like Dhvanikāra's could have sprung into existence without having had a previous history, although such earlier forms of the theory as might have enabled us to trace directly its origin and growth were either not committed to writing or had disappeared in course of time ; for at its first appearance as we have it in these Kārikās, we find the theory in a relatively complete shape, the outlines of which, definitely settled, may require considerable filling up but no important or substantial modification. This is probably implied by Abhinavagupta's gloss on the word *paramparā* in Ānandavardhana's explanation of the phrase *saṁmānā-pūrvavāḥ* used by the Dhvanikāra with reference to the previous existence of the theory. Abhinava explains (p. 3) that the theory was stated in unbroken tradition by previous thinkers without its being discussed in particular books (*avicchinnena pravāheṇa tair etad uktam, viñāpi viśiṣṭa-pustakeṣu vivecanāt*). It is true that Mukula refers (p. 21) to a theory of *dhvani* being newly described by some men of taste (*sahṛdayair⁴ nūtana-tayopavarṇitasya*) as something not comprehensible by the recognised function of *lakṣaṇā*, and does not discuss it for its over-subtlety (*etac ca vīdvadbhiḥ kuśāgrayā buddhyā nirūpaṇiyam, ityalam*

4 The word *sahṛdaya* here cannot be taken (see vol. i, p. 105f) as a proper name referring to the Dhvanikāra ; nor is it to be taken as a title of the propounder of the *dhvani*-theory. As in most of the places, it refers in general to the critics or men of taste who established the new theory, or in particular to the Dhvanikāra or Ānandavardhana ; and there is no need to go beyond this ordinary meaning of the term in Alāṅkāra literature. Possibly the reference is directly to Ānandavardhana who was a contemporary of Mukula's father Kallāja (see vol. i, p. 74).

ati-prasaṅgena) ; but he may in this passage be directly referring to the Dhvanikāra, who for the first time probably summed up in his memorial verses the floating traditions, or to Ānandavardhana to whom belonged the credit of fixing the theory into a new and complete shape.

This conjecture about the traditional existence of the *dhvani*-theory in some form or other even before the Dhvanikāra receives support from the fact that the theory in its essence derived its inspiration from the works of early grammarians and their semi-philosophical speculations on speech. Originating as a theory of expression, the theory of *vyañjanā*, no doubt, received no recognition from orthodox grammarians ; but not choosing to appear as an entirely novel theory, it sought the protection of the grammarian's authority by pretending that it was founded on the analogy of their ancient *sphoṭa*-theory. We have already noted⁵ the great influence of the older science of grammar on poetics, and Ānandavardhana himself is careful in noting that the system demonstrated by him is built on the system of the grammarians, who were the earliest theorists to apply the term *dhvani* to the spoken letter which reveals the *sphoṭa*⁶. Abhinavagupta commenting on this passage, perhaps goes too far in following up, after the authority of the *Vākyapadīya*, all the details of the *sphoṭa*-theory, but there is hardly any doubt that the writers on Poetics had this theory before them when they

5 See vol. i, pp. 6-7.

6 *prathame hi vidvāṁśo vaiyākaraṇāḥ, vyākaraṇā-mūlatrūt sarvavidyānām. Te ca śrūyamāṇeṣu varṇeṣu dīvanir iti vyaharanti. Tathāi-vānyais tan-matānusāribhīḥ sūribhīḥ kāvya-tattvārtha-darśibhir vācyā-vācaka-saṁniśrāḥ śabdātmā kāvyaṁ iti vyapadeśyo vyañjakatva-sāmyād dhvanir ity uktāḥ* (pp. 47-8). See 'Locana on this. Cf also : *pari-niścita-nirapabhrāṁśa-śabda-brahmaṇāṁ vipaścitāṁ matam āśrityaiva pravṛtto'yaṁ dhvani-vyavahāra iti tāḥ saha kiṁ virodhāvirodhau cintyete* (p. 199). In this last passage, the reference is not to Vedānta, as some would think, but to the grammatico-philosophical theory of *śabda-brahma*. See Jacobi's note on this passage in *ZDMG* lvii, 1903, p. 56 fn 1.

elaborated their own system of *dhvani*. The *sphoṭa*, which has been likened to the neo-platonic *logos*, is often translated by the terms 'expressinn,' 'concept' or 'idea'; but none of these terms brings out its essential nature. Some philosophers propounded and the grammarians took it for granted that a word has intrinsically a word-prototype corresponding to it. The *sphoṭa* is not exactly this word-prototype, but it may be explained as the sound of a word as a whole, and as conveying a meaning apart from its component letters (*varṇas*). The *sphoṭa* does not contain exactly the sounds of the word in the order peculiar to the letters, but the sounds or something corresponding to them are blended indistinguishably into a uniform whole. When a word is pronounced, its individual sounds become reflected in some degree in the order of the *sphoṭa* in which the particular sounds are comprised; and as soon as the last sound dies away, the *sphoṭa*, in which the idea corresponding to all these sounds is comprised, becomes manifest and raises to our consciousness the idea thus associated. The sounds of a word as a whole, therefore, and apart from those of the constituent letters, reveal the *sphoṭa*.

Taking their cue from this somewhat mystical conception, the Ālaṃkārikas developed the idea of *dhvani* by analogy. The several expressed parts of a poem, they held, reveal the unexpressed deeper sense, which is something singular and different from the denunciative and indicative elements both in order and in essence, and which is termed the *dhvani* (lit. 'sound', 'echo', 'tone') or *vyaṅgya artha* (suggested sense) in poetry. The word *dhvani* itself, as Ānandavardhana pointed out, is sometimes used by the grammarians for the word or letters which reveal the *sphoṭa*. Mammāṭa's remarks in this connexion are pertinent. In his *Vṛttī* on the definition given by him of *dhvani* (i. 4), he says that the *dhvani* is, according to the grammarians, that word which reveals the all-important *sphoṭa*, inasmuch as through it arises the knowledge of the word's meaning. Others, by whom he signifies the writers on the *dhvani*-theory in Poetics, carry this doctrine of the gram-

marians a step further and apply the term *dhvani* to the meaning, as well as to the word which is capable of suggesting a meaning superseding the one which is directly expressed. Intrinsically the two theories have scarcely any mutual connexion; but what the Ālambārikas really wanted was an authority for their assumption of the power of *vyañjanā*, which the great grammarians did not acknowledge. The *sphoṭa*-theory of the grammarians, however, presupposed something similar, for the *varṇas* of a word reveal, as it were, the ideal word. Hence it afforded an analogy which could at least boast of the authority of the Vaiyākaraṇas, the *prathame vidvāṁsaḥ*, and which could therefore be seized upon by the Ālambārikas as the foundation of their own theory of suggestion. It may also be pointed out that the sense of 'manifestation' which exists in the *vyañjanā* is an idea which, we have already noted⁷, is not unfamiliar to Indian philosophical speculation. The *vyañjanā* does not consist in the utterance of something new, but in the manifestation of something already existing; it is, to use a familiar illustration from Indian philosophical systems, like the revealing of the already existing jar by the lamp. Although the general concept of *dhvani* connects itself with such half-mystical currents of thought, Ānandavardhana yet takes care to point out (pp. 232-4) that this *dhvani* is not, as often supposed, something mystical but it is something that can be properly defined and grasped; and he has no sympathy with those schools which would dismiss it, as Kapila has dismissed the *sphoṭa* from the philosophical realm, on the ground that it is something inexplicable (*anākhyeya*).

Although it accepted, with some modifications, the grammarian's analysis of the nature and function of speech and based its theory of *dhvani* on the analogy of the theory of *sphoṭa*, the school really started independently with a distinct theory of expression of its

7. See vol. i, p. 9.

own, which demonstrated a function of *vyāñjanā* and *vyañgyārtha* untraceable in earlier speculative literature. But the influence of other schools of Poetics on the composite work on the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana cannot be ignored. The latter, if not the former, appears to be perfectly familiar with the views of Bharata, Bhāmaha, Uddhaṭa and Vāmana, most of whom are cited directly by name; but even the Dhvanikāra must have known the theories of the Rasa, Alāṃkāra and Riti schools in some form or other. For, the *Dhvanyāloka* has two professed objects in view, viz., (1) the establishment of the theory of Dhvani and demonstration that this idea cannot be comprehended by the theories of earlier or contemporaneous schools of Poetics, and (2) an examination of the existing ideas of *rasa*, *alāṃkāra*, *riti*, *guṇa* and *doṣa* with a view to correlate them with the idea of *dhvani*, and thus by synthesis to evolve a complete and systematic scheme of Poetics. It succeeded so far in realising both these objects that not only was the concept of *dhvani* accepted implicitly by almost all later writers, but the systems, which emerged after Ānandavardhana and of which Mammāṭa may be taken as the first and foremost representative, cannot be regarded strictly as constituting independent schools, nor can they be affiliated readily and entirely with the older Rasa, Alāṃkāra or Riti schools. They constitute in substance a new aesthetic scheme in which the ideas of all these schools are worked and harmonised into a comprehensive doctrine, the outlines of this new adjustment being first clearly marked and the foundations firmly laid by Ānandavardhana.

Starting with a theory of expression, the Dhvani school concerns itself, first of all, with the grammatico-philosophical problem about the function of words and their meaning, or in other words, about the relation of a word to that which is expressed by it. The grammarians, logicians and the Mīmāṃsakas had already laid down that the function by which the primary or intrinsic meaning (*mukhya* or *sākya artha*) of a word is known as *abhidhā*, generally translated by the term

Denotation, which gives it its conventional significance (*saṃketita artha*). Thus, the concept of the cow is given by the word 'cow' by its power of Denotation. It has been defined as that power of a word which conveys to the understanding the meaning attached to it by convention, without the intervention of any power. This convention (*saṃketa*) consists in a particular word conveying a particular meaning (*asmāc chabdād ayam artha boddhavya ityākāraḥ śakti-grāhakaḥ samayaḥ*), which is comprehended by observing what takes place in the world (*vyavahāra*). We need not concern ourselves with the question whether this *śakti* is *īśvarecchā* or *icchāmātra* (divine or human will); but there are several theories as to where this convention is to be understood, held respectively by the grammarians, logicians, Saugatas and *Mīmāṃsakas*. The writers on Poetics maintain, after the grammarians⁸, that it has reference either to genus (*jāti*), individual (*dravya*), quality (*guna*) or action (*kriyā*).

When this *abhidheyārtha* or the primary meaning of a word is incompatible, another power called *lakṣaṇā* or Indication (i. e. transference of sense) is communicated, whereby another meaning connected therewith is apprehended, either through usage (*rūḍhi*) or from some special motive (*prayojan*). Thus, one can say 'the country rejoices', but since the country itself cannot rejoice, it is indicated that the people of the country rejoice. This power really belongs to the sense (*artha-vyāpāra*), as later analysis points out, but it is attributed to words and is thus an *āropita-śabdavyāpāra*. That is to say (as other writers explain it) we have first *śabda* or the word, then its *vācyārtha* or direct denoted meaning, after which or in connexion with which comes the *lakṣyārtha* or indicated meaning through the power of Indication. It is thus *sāntara* (and not *niranitā* like *abhiudhā*), having the

8 Both Mukula and Mammaṭa (*Śabda-vyāpāra*, p. 2) point out that this view of the Ālaṃkārikas is based on the dictum *catusṭayī śabdānāṇi pravṛttiliḥ*, occurring in the *Mahābhāṣya* (ed. Kielhorn p. 19, l. 20).

vācyārtha coming in between ; for the *lakṣaṇā* is 'resorted to when the primary sense is incompatible (*bādhita*) and is so far *artha-niṣṭha* as based on the expressed sense'. Hence the three essential requisites of the *lakṣaṇā* are the incompatibility (or exhaustion) of the primary sense, the connexion of the indicated sense with the primary sense, and the reason or motive (*prayojana*) for resorting to it. As the Denotation is dependent on worldly convention (*vyavahārika saṃketa*), so is the Indication (as Mammata points out) upon the special convention based on these three requisites ; and as there can hardly be any indicated or transferred sense without the primary sense, the Indication is sometimes called the 'tail, as it were, of Denotation (*abhidhā-pucchabhūta*). In fact, writers like Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, as we have seen¹⁰, would include *lakṣaṇā* under *abhidhā*, of which it is supposed to be an extension.

The *lakṣaṇā* being thus of a derivative nature, its relations to *abhidhā* have been summarised differently in different works. The *Nyāya-sūtra* gives an exhaustive list of the relations on account of which a word is used in a secondary or transferred sense for another (ii. 2. 63), corresponding to the *lakṣaṇā* of the Ālampārikas ; but Mukula quotes the authority of Bharīmitra¹¹ who summarises them in a verse

9 *takya-vyavahita-lakṣyārtha-visayatrāc chabde āropita eva sa*
vyāpdraḥ, vastuto'rtha-niṣṭha evety arthaḥ, tad uktam—śāntarārtha-
niṣṭhalī iii, ¹²Pradīpa, ed. N.S.P., 1912, p. 27.

10 See above ch. iv, p. 124.

11 *Abhidhā-vṛtti-mārīkā* p. 17. The verse is also quoted anonymously in Mammata's *Sabda-vyāpdra* p. 8, in *Kāmadhenu* p. 133 and in many other works. Abhinavagupta (*Locana* p. 56) alludes to it, and discusses these five categories.—Mukula Bhaṭṭa's work consists of 15 Kārikās with prose Vṛtti. Its object is to examine the principle which should regulate words in their meanings. It includes *Lakṣaṇā* in *Abhidhā*, for it says that the functions of *Abhidhā* are twofold, direct and indirect, both of which lead to the understanding of the import of words. Mukula discusses *Abhidhā* only, but Mammata on his *Sabda-vyāpdra-paricaya* establishes three distinct functions of words, of which the last is *Dhvani*.

into five categories, viz. *sambandha* (connexion), *sādṛṣya* (similarity), *samavāya* (inherence), *vaiparītya* (contrariety) and *kriyā-yoga* (association through action). 'The fat Devadatta does not eat in the daytime' (*pīno devadatto divā na bhuṅkte*), 'the lad is a lion' (*śiṅho māṇavakali*), 'the herd-station on the Ganges' (*gaṅgāyāṁ ghoṣali*); 'this fool is a Bṛhaspati' (*bṛhaspatir ayam mūrkhalī*) and 'in a great war thou art a Śatruघna' (*mahati samure śatruघnas tvam*) are given as respective instances of the usage. We need not further dilate upon these niceties of analysis, nor enter into the elaborate classifications of *lakṣaṇā*, but we may note here that the *lakṣaṇā* or transferred expression lies at the root of figures like metaphor and of metaphorical mode generally, which consist of the fancied transference of the qualities or action of one object to another. It has been pointed out that the transferred expression, resolving into the metaphorical, is the source of a particular beauty, because the special motive (*prayojana*) with which the poet chooses the transferred expression becomes realised along with it, without being directly or at all expressed. When we say, for instance, 'youth is the springtime of life', we mean to imply at once, without directly expressing it, the beauty, vigour or enjoyments of spring-time. The *prayojana* or motive, though unexpressed, is yet apprehended. This is supposed to be one of the reasons, as we shall see, why we should admit, besides Denotation and Indication, a third function of *vyañjanā* or Suggestion, by which something not expressed is revealed.

But there is a limited class of writers who postulate another function, called *tātparya* or Purport, which leads us to apprehend the connexion among the meanings of the constituent words in the form of the import of the whole sentence. This function conveys the connected meaning of the several words and therefore differs from *abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā* which convey the meaning of a particular word, the *tātparyārtha* being manifested, not by word, but by a whole sentence, and therefore remaining distinct from the meanings

denoted or indicated by individual words. The words have, according to this view, the power of denoting or indicating things and not the connexion (*anvaya*) among things, which is known not from the import of words as such, but from their relations of compatibility (*yogyatā*), proximity (*samānidhi*) and expectancy (*ākāṅkṣā*). When the logical connexion or *anvaya* is thus known, a special sense arises which is called *tātparya*. Mammāta explains (ii. 1. *Vṛtti*) the position of these Abhibitān-vaya-vādins, as they are called, thus¹² : "When the meanings of the words, to be hereafter explained, are connected in accordance with expectancy, compatibility and proximity, another sense arises, called purport, which has a distinct form and which, though not constituting the sense of words is yet the sense of the sentence—this is the view of the Abhibitān-vaya-vādins". The theory of this school is rejected by another school of Mīmāṃsakas, called the Anvitābhīldhāna-vādins, who deny the necessity of postulating a special function like *tātparya*; for they hold that words have a power to denote not only things but also their purport or connexion along with them. To put it in another way, words do not express their sense generally but connectedly. In ordinary life, for instance, we first understand meanings from sentences, and words convey ideas not absolutely but relatively, i.e., as having a connexion with one another. *Mutatis mutandis*, the theory would remind one of Berkeley's denial of abstract ideas.

The formulators of the *dhvani*-theory do not enter into these minute discussions but appear to recognise them implicitly, although most writers from the time of Mammāta (who deals with these questions in his *Kāvya-prakāśa* as well as separately in his *Sabda-vyāpāra-paricaya*) start with a preliminary analysis of word-function; and some later works like Appayya's *Vṛtti-vārttika* are devoted specially to the

12. अस्तित्वायुग्यात् अननिद्विवाद्युत्तम्यात् विक्षयात् विविधात् विविधात् समावये तात्पर्यार्थो विशेषावपुरा एपादार्थोपि वाक्यार्थात् समुल्लासात् अभिहितान्वयावादिनाम् ततम्.

subject. All writers from Ānandavardhana's time accept as a rule the *abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā*, but they are not unanimous with regard to the *tātparya* as a separate function, which they take as included in the *vyañjanā vṛtti*, this being the third and most important function established by the Dhvani school as the theoretical foundation of *dhvani* or the 'suggested sense' in poetry. The *vyañjanā* or power of suggestion is generally defined as that function of a word or its sense by which a further meaning comes into being, when the other functions, viz. *abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā*, are exhausted in their scope. Ideas or notions are what are conveyed by words through their powers of Denotation and Indication ; these, put together in a sentence, convey a complete thought through the supposed power of the sentence, styled Purport. Now, another power is postulated by which a deeper sense, the *vyaīgya artha*, is revealed, consequent upon but distinct from the simple thought¹³. All good poetry, called *par excellence* the *dhvani-kāvya*¹⁴, must have such a sense implicit in it, a sense which can only be realised by the *vyañjanā-vṛtti* or power of suggestion postulated by this school.

Now the question has been animatedly discussed as to whether it is necessary to postulate this separate function of *vyañjanā*, or whether it may not be comprehended in other recognised functions like *abhidhā* or *lakṣaṇā*, and in other

13 A word (or its sense), in virtue of these three powers, is called respectively the expressive (*vācaka*), the indicative (*lakṣaka*) and the suggestive (*vyañjaka*) ; and the sense which arises is termed respectively an expressed (*vācyā*), indicated (*lakṣya*) and suggested (*vyaīgya*) sense.

14 The word *dhvani* (lit. 'echo' or 'tone') is used almost synonymously (cf. Hemaendra p. 26) with the word *vyaīgyārtha* (suggested sense), and sometimes wrongly as co-extensive with *vyañjanā*, which term properly designates the process manifesting it. The *dhvani-kāvya* is so-called because the *vyaīgyārtha*, which predominates in it over the *vācyārtha*, is 'echoed' *par excellence* in this class of poetry. Viśvanātha (p. 198) explains the term etymologically thus: *vācyād adhikaracamaikāriṇi vyaīgyārthe dhvanyate sminn iti vyutpattyā dhvanīr nāmo-*ttama*-kāvya*.

intellectual processes like *anumāna* or inference. Jayaratha cites (p. 9) a verse which enumerates twelve different ways in which the problem of Suggestion may be and perhaps was explained away ; but broadly speaking, we need notice, as Ānandavardhana and his followers have done, only the principal attempted explanations. The first verse of the *Dhvanyāloka* summarises these antagonistic views into three groups. One sceptical school entirely denies the suggested sense in poetry. A second school, which is agnostic in this respect, holds that it is beyond the province of words (*kecid vācām sthitam aviṣaye tattvam īcūs tadiyam*), and can only be perceived by a man of refined discernment (*sahṛdaya-hṛdaya-saṁvedyam*, Ānanda p. 10). A third school would try to trace it back to the recognised functions like *abhidhā*, *lakṣaṇā* and *tātparya*, or to some such means of knowledge as *anumāna* or syllabic reasoning. These three schools naturally divide themselves into two distinct standpoints : the one absolutely denies or ignores the concept of *dhvani* and thus does away with the necessity of *vyañjanā* ; the other admitting the *dhvani*, attempts to explain away the necessity of *vyañjanā*, as it is sufficiently accounted for by the ordinary recognised functions.

Against the attack of the systems which deny the existence of the suggested sense, the old argument that nothing can be denied which is not apprehended is applied ; but apart from such purely scholastic objections, the real grounds for postulating the suggested sense are, the consideration, in the first place, that being a profound verity, it can positively be established by an examination of aesthetic facts as well as facts of experience ; and in the second place, that there are some elements of poetry (e. g. the *Rasa*) which cannot be satisfactorily explained as revealed by *abhidhā*, *lakṣaṇā*, *anumāna* or similar other means.

This brings us to the consideration of the views of those who accept the concept of *vyañgya artha* but dispense with the necessity of such a separate and unauthorised *Vṛtti* as

vyañjanā, which is regarded as included in other functions of sound and sense. Some *Mimāṃsakas* hold, for instance, that the so-called suggested sense is conveyed by the *abhidhā-vṛtti* or the denotative power of a word. In this connexion, the *dirgha-vyāpāra-vādins*¹⁵ are said to have maintained that as a single arrow, discharged by a strong man, destroys by a single movement, called velocity, the armour of the enemy, pierces through his body and takes away his life, so a single word, used by a good poet, brings before us by a single power, called *abhidhā*, the sense of the word, teaches us its logical connexion (*anvaya*) and makes us apprehend the suggested sense. The substance of this graphic description appears to be that such is the more and more expanding function of *abhidhā* that it is not to be measured in the balance and confined to the single business of making us understand the *samkētita artha*, but it is competent to express whatever sense is apprehended after a word is heard. But it is urged in reply that the *abhidhā* has not the power to give us the perception of a matter (*vastu*), an imaginative fact (*alaṃkāra*) or an emotional mood (*rasa*), because it ceases, in the orthodox opinion, after conveying the conventional (i. e. literal) sense, and the *Rasa* etc. are not matters of mere convention. Nor is the denoting, for instance, of component *vibhāvās*, which give rise to *Rasa*, a denotation of the *Rasa* itself; for it is acknowledged that the *Rasa* is not realised by a mere naming thereof but partakes of the nature of a self-manifested joy, the development of which can at most be suggested. These facts cannot be satisfactorily explained unless we assume with the *dirgha-vyāpāra-vādins* an all-comprehensive power for the *abhidhā*, for which there is hardly any authority. Moreover, if we assign such extensive powers to Denotation, why even admit the power of Indication, since the sense conveyed by the latter might be understood from the Denotation itself?

15 This view is sometimes ascribed to *Lollāṭa*; but see on this question vol. i, p. 36-7.

Admitting the denoted sense, therefore, strictly as that conveyed by convention, it cannot be said to be manifold, for it exhausts itself after conveying the particular conventional concept; the suggested sense, on the other hand, becomes varied in accordance with the diversity of the occasion, the speaker and similar other factors. The denoted meaning is shown to differ from the suggested (1) in point of *form*, for the suggested sense may sometimes be quite the opposite of the negative or positive (as the case may be) expressed sense, (2) in point of *location*, for the expressed sense resides in words alone, while the suggested sense may be found in the words, in their position, in their denoted meaning itself, in the affixes or suffixes, in the arrangement of letters and so forth, (3) in its *effect*, for the denoted sense brings a mere cognition, the suggested a surprise, (4) according to the nature of the speaker, the addressee, or the perceiver. The attempt to maintain that the suggested sense is conveyed by the *īdṛparya* or Purport, as some *Naiyāyikas* hold, is similarly shown to be insufficient; for the function of the Purport is exhausted by simply making us apprehend the logical connexion of the ideas in the sentence itself and cannot, therefore, take us to the *vyāñjārtha*, which arises after the sentence is understood.

Nor is the *lakṣaṇā-vṛtti* sufficient to explain the subtle power of Suggestion. Those who maintain, however, that the suggested sense is no other than the *lakṣya* or indicated sense are asked (*Locana p. 51) whether they consider the non-difference of Suggestion and Indication to mean (1) that the two functions are identical (*īdātmya* or *īdṛupyā*), (2) that they consider the Indication to be the constant differentiating property (*lakṣaṇa* or *vyāvartaka-dharma*) of Suggestion, or (3) that the Indication is an occasional differentiating mark (*upalakṣaṇa* or *tajastha lakṣaṇa*) of Suggestion in special cases. The Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana discuss these views generally (pp. 50-9), but Abhinavagupta deals with them somewhat elaborately.

With regard to the first of these views, viz. the *tādrūpya* or identity of *dhvani* and *bhakti* (by which term *lakṣaṇā* is meant), the Dhvanikāra lays down that Suggestion cannot be identical with Indication, because both have properties peculiar to themselves (i. 17). Indication is based upon the consideration of the barring of the expressed sense, and consists merely in *upacāra* (*upacāra-mātrāṇi tu bhaktiḥ*, Ānanda p. 51); or, as Abhinavagupta expresses it, in the secondary application of a word (*guṇa-vṛtti*). The suggested sense, on the other hand, though essentially distinct in character, does not yet cancel the expressed sense altogether. The later writers¹⁶ explain further that it is not a mere secondary application of a word through usage or special motive. For, if you say that in such a sentence as 'a herd-station on the Ganges', the supposed motive, viz. the coolness and purity of the site, is not suggested but indicated, then the notion of 'the bank', which is the real indicated sense, would become the primary meaning of the word 'Ganges' (for the motive and the secondary sense of 'bank' cannot both be indicated), and consequently would be cancelled, since there can be no Indication without the primary sense being cancelled. We must, therefore, acknowledge another indicated motive for the indication of the first motive (for there can be no indication without the supposition of an indicated motive), and a third motive again to this second indication, and so on *ad infinitum*. In fact, as already noted before, the *prayojana* or special motive is not expressed at all; if it is left unexpressed, how is it then apprehended, unless we suppose that it is suggested? It has also been demonstrated that Suggestion is based on the peculiarity of the speaker, the addressee and various other circumstances; and there is a difference as well in location, the Indication resides in a word only, the Suggestion in a word, its parts, its sense and in the style. Mammaṭa adds that Suggestion cannot be said to be co-extensive with Indication and Denotation combined;

16 e.g. Viśvanātha in his *Sāhitya-darpana* pp. 247-48.

for it is seen to come into existence from mere letters without any specific Denotation.

The second view that Indication is the *lakṣaṇa* or the constant differentiating characteristic of Suggestion is shewn by the Dhvanikāra to be vitiated by the logical fallacies of too wide (*ativyāpti*) or too narrow definition (*avyāpti*). This is more or less a scholastic objection, and is based on the characteristic notion of Suggestion defined by its champions : for both Ānandavardhana and his commentator shew that Indication sometimes covers a much wider, sometimes a much more limited, field than Suggestion. The *vyañjanā*, for instance, is not accepted when the *prayojana* of the Indication is not charming ; on the other hand, in cases of *vivakṣitānyapara-vācyā dhvani*, there is scope for Indication, for the Suggestion here is expressly based on Indication. The third view that Indication may be an occasional distinguishing mark (*upalakṣaṇa*) of Suggestion is not denied by the Dhvanikāra, for Suggestion may sometimes rest ultimately on Indication, e. g. those cases which are admitted by Dhvani-theorists as based on *lakṣaṇā* (*lakṣaṇā-mīla dhvani*) ; but this does not prove the opponent's position that Indication is identical with Suggestion.

Some of the oldest and most aggressive objectors to the admission of the *vyañjanā-vyāpti* are the adherents of the *anumāna*-theory, whose views are refuted at some length by Ānandavardhana himself. They are represented to us in later literature by Mahimabhaṭṭa in his *Vyakti-viveka*, a work which was written with the avowed object of establishing that the suggested sense can be arrived at by the process of syllogistic reasoning. Most of these controversies belong to the realm of scholastic speculation and are far removed from actual Poetics. We shall deal with Mahimabhaṭṭa's theory in its proper place ; it will suffice here to set forth the theory in its general outline as it obtained in Ānandavardhana's time and notice the arguments with which it is sought to be disproved.

From Ānandavardhana's repudiation (pp. 201 f.) of the views of this school, it appears that its essential position consisted in establishing that the cognition of the unexpressed or suggested sense is nothing more than the cognition of the object of a logical conclusion, so that the relation of the suggestor and the suggested is that of the syllogistic middle and major terms (*vyañgya-pratītir liṅga-praśnītir eveti liṅga-liṅgi-bhāva eva teṣām, vyañgya-vyañjaka-bhāvo nāparalīkaścit*). One of the alleged reasons for this assumption is that the Dhvani school itself admits suggestivity as depending upon the intention of the speaker, which intention is always an object of logical conclusion. Ānandavardhana, however, demonstrates that this does not affect the general position of his school. He shews that words have two different aspects, the one inferable (*anumeya*) and the other communicable (*pratipādya*). The first, consisting of intention (*vivakṣā*), may either be the wish to utter a sound or the wish to express an idea by a word ; the former, being a common characteristic of all animals, does not come within the sphere of speech. The communicable is something different from this, and consists of the idea itself which forms the object of the speaker's need of communication (*pratipādya tu prayoktūr artha-pratipādana-samīhā-viṣayīkṛtaḥ*). It may be either expressed (*vācya*) or suggested (*vyañgya*) ; for the speaker sometimes wishes to communicate the idea directly by its Denotation, or sometimes he wishes to do so in such a way that it is not conveyed directly in words. This last-named inner content, Ānandavardhana maintains, cannot be recognised in the form of a syllogistic conclusion, but can be by some other artificial or natural relation ; for words, in the form of a logical middle term, can convey that an unexpressed idea is the object of intention, but cannot convey the unexpressed idea itself (*vivakṣā-viṣayatvāṇi hi tasyārthasya śabdair liṅgatayā pratīyate, na tu svarūpam*). If the contrary is maintained, then, as every idea could be logically established, there would be no dispute about the correctness or falsity of an idea, any

more than about any other conclusion from a logical syllogism (*yadi hi liṅgatayā śabdānām vyavahārah syāt. tac-chabdārthe samyaṅ-mithyātvādi-vivādā na pravarteran*). It is only when the unexpressed takes the form of the intention of the speaker that it may be a matter of ordinary inference ; but the inner content of the idea itself, when unexpressed, can be communicated only by the supposition of another power like Suggestion ; for the natural mode of direct expression, as well as inference, is out of the question.

With the establishment, against such hostile views, of the suggested sense and the function of Suggestion in poetry, which is variously termed *vyāñjanā* (revealing), *dhvanana* (echoing), *gamana* (implication) or *pratyāyana* (acquainting), we are introduced to the special doctrine of the system. The unexpressed or the suggested sense (*vyāñgya artha*), to which the name *dhvani* is applied when it is predominant, is definitely posed as the 'soul' or essence of poetry¹⁷, and poetry is classified into three kinds in relation to the suggested sense. The best kind, specifically called *dhvani-kāvya*, is supposed to be that in which the suggested sense predominates and supersedes the expressed. It is thus defined by the *Dhvnikāra* (i. 13) :

17 But the verse i. 2, in which this view is set forth appears, when literally taken, to state that "the sense which is praised by men of taste and which has been established as the soul of poesy, has two subdivisions, viz. *vācya* or the expressed, and *prat�amāna* or the suggested", implying thereby that the *artha* itself is the 'soul' or essence of poetry and that it includes the *vācya* as well, as one of its varieties. The *Dhvnikāra*, therefore, apparently declares that the expressed sense is also the essence of poetry, although this, as *Visvanātha* objects, is opposed to his own statement in the first line of his work, which speaks of the suggested sense alone as the essence of poetry in accordance with the tradition of ancient thinkers. *Abhinavagupta* tries to reconcile these two apparently conflicting dicta by supposing that the real object of the *Dhvnikāra* in i. 2 is to distinguish between the *vācya* and the *prat�amāna* sense, and not to establish both as the 'soul' of poetry. The objection is really over-fastidious ; for it can be easily shown that in the elaboration of the theory, the suggested sense alone is throughout taken as the *ātman*.

"The learned call that particular kind of poetry *dhvani* in which the (expressed) word and sense, subordinating themselves, manifest that (other suggested) sense"¹⁸. This is *par excellence* Suggestive Poetry, and therefore pointedly called *dhvani*¹⁹. The second class of poetry, in which the suggested sense is not predominant but subordinate, is called *guṇibhūta-vyaṅgya kāvya* or Poetry of Subordinated Suggestion²⁰. This Subordination consists in the suggested sense being either of equal or inferior prominence. It has been classified elaborately, if not logically, on the hint furnished by the *Dhvanyāloka* itself, into eight varieties, according as the suggested sense is— (1) ancillary, (2) hinted by tone or gesture, (3) subservient to the completion of the expressed sense, (4) of doubtful prominence, (5) of equal prominence, (6) obscure, (7) unconcealed, or (8) not charming. That poetry, which is without any suggested element, is reckoned as the third and lowest kind, being merely 'pictorial in word' or 'pictorial in sense', and is called *citra* or Pictorial Poetry²¹. In it could be included all verse which, on account of sound or magnificence of pictorial representation, or some such mechanical means, flatter the ear and is considered worthy of admiration. Under it also comes the whole body of expressed poetic figures (*alaṁkāra-nibandha* *yalī* *sa citra-viṣayo mataḥ*, cited p. 221), which, containing no suggestive element, appeal by their turns of

18 *yatrāriḥalī* *śabdo* *vā tam artham upasarjanīkṛta-svārthau/* *vyaṅktalī*, *kāvya-viṣeṣalī* *sa dhvaniḥ iti sūribhīḥ kathitāḥ*/. Here *tam artham* refers to *artha* defined in one of the previous verses, e.g. in i. 4.

19 For the etymology of the word, see above footnote no. 14.

20 *Dhvanyāloka*, iii. 35.

21 Ānandavardhana describes *citra-kāvya* thus : *rasa-bhāvādi-tātparya-rahitam* *vyaṅgyārtha-viṣeṣa-prakāśana-śakti-śūnyam* *ca kāryam kevala-vācyā-vācaka-vācītṛya-mūtrāśrayeṇopanibaddham* *ālekhyā-prakhyam* *yad avabhāsate* *tac citram* (p. 220). Abhinavagupta derives the word in different ways : *vismayakṛd-vṛttīdi-vāśūt...kāvya-nukūritvād vā citram*, *ālekhyā-mūtratvād vā*, *kalā-mūtratvād vā* (p. 34). In deference to Ānandavardhana, Mammaṭa speaks of *citra* as the third and lowest kind of poetry; but Viśvanātha altogether rejects its claim as poetry.

expression alone (*vaicitrya*) and which are characterised by Ānandavardhana as mere *rāg-vikalpa*. Ānandavardhana* makes it clear that the *citra-kāvya* is not really fit to be called poetry, it is an imitation or copy thereof (*kāvyanukārah*); for, strictly speaking, there can be no poetry in which there is no suggestion. It is admitted by him, however, to the category of poetry, because the poets, who are unfettered in their mode of expression, have, as a matter of fact, been found producing poetry of this kind, in which there is no intention of developing a suggested sense, but which is wholly taken up with the object of bringing about a strikingness of sound and sense.

These three types of poetry are then elaborated and classified with somewhat minute and subtle ingenuity. In this treatment, we find the characteristic passion for reducing everything to a formula and the scholastic delight in indulging in fastidious refinements: but at the same time there is a sincere effort to do justice to all the aesthetic facts, so far as they have been recognised, and to unify the various currents of ideas obtaining in different schools by synthesising them with the central principle of suggestion in poetry. We see throughout the speculations of this school an anxiety to protect itself from the reproach of being too theoretical, of ignoring or doing violence to facts; and this anxiety made the theorists evolve a scheme which should not overlook the inherited stock of notions but find a place for them in a comprehensive system. We need not take the Dhvani-theory here in all its minute details, and go through the five thousand, three hundred and fifty-five subdivisions²² of suggestive poetry, the object of which was possibly to mark out not

22. Viśvanātha gives this number. Vidyānātha in his *Pratāparudrīya* gives 1326 as the number of *Suddha* varieties of Dhvani, which with *Misra* varieties mentioned by him, comes up to a total of 5304. Abhinavagupta works out the possible number as 7420, and indicates that this number will increase infinitely if infinite varieties of Alarpkāra are taken into account.

distinct classes, but distinct properties or circumstances. But we shall attempt to trace here briefly the effort made by this school to dispose of the already accumulated matter of Poetics, represented by the notions of *rasa*, *rīti*, *guṇa*, *dōṣa* and *alaṁkāra*, into the *dhvani*-system itself, by means of different arrangements or classification of the idea of suggestion.

The true poetry, the *dhvani-kāvya*, is divided into two broad classes, viz., *avivakṣita-vācyā* and *vivakṣitānyapara-vācyā*, which two designations, clumsy as they are²³, respectively indicate their nature. In the first case, the expressed sense is not meant; in the second case, it is certainly meant but ultimately amounts to something else, viz., the unexpressed. The first is obviously based on *lakṣaṇā* or Indication, which the poet employs with the conscious purpose of bringing the unexpressed into comprehension; and the question involved is about words and expressions which are taken not in a literal but in a transferred sense. This poetic transference, as we have already noted before, is at the root of metaphorical expression generally, the importance of which both the *Alaṁkāra* and *Rīti* schools amply recognised and industriously examined, and which Daṇḍin specifically included in the *samādhī-guṇa*, and Vāmana treated under the special figure *vakrokti*. As such, therefore, it could not be very well ignored, and by including it, as the *Dhvani*-theorists did, in one of the principal divisions of good poetry, they rightly assigned to it a prominent place in the new system.

The second division of suggestive poetry, the *vivakṣitānyapara-vācyā*, in which the expressed is meant but is made to resolve itself into the unexpressed, is obviously based on *abhidhā* or Denotation, and embraces the more important matter of *Rasa*, which has already been worked out by the

23 Mahimabhaṭṭa criticises both these terms, holding that the former is nothing more than a case of *bhakti* or *lakṣaṇā*, and the latter contains an inherent contradiction (i.e., if a thing is *vivakṣita* or *pradhāna*, it cannot be *anyapara*).

Rasa school in the sphere of the drama. Two possible cases of this division are enumerated, viz. (1) that in which the suggested is of imperceptible process (*āranyalakṣya-krama*), i.e., where the expressed denotation brings the suggested sense imperceptibly into consciousness, and (2) that in which the suggested is of perceptible process (*samlakṣya-krama*). Under the first group comes the suggestion of *rasa* and *bhāva*, for it is made clear that these emotional states can be suggested only in this way. Under the second group are included the suggestions of matter (*vastu*) and of figure (*alambāra*) by matter and figure in turns, based respectively on the power of word, or its sense, or both. Thus, the unexpressed, which is raised to comprehension by the suggestive power of a word, or its sense or both, can be an unexpressed fact or matter, an unexpressed imaginative mood which may be put into the shape of a poetic figure ; but in most cases—and these cases are of primary importance in poetry—it is an unexpressed emotional mood (*rasa*) or feeling (*bhāva*), which is directly inexpressible, but which can only be suggested by an expressive word or its sense. We have already seen²⁴ that the poet can at best directly express the three factors which bring about the Rasa, viz., the *vibhāva*, the *anubhāva*, and the *vyābhicāri-bhāva*, but not the Rasa itself as a mood which is inexpressible in its nature. At the most, we can give a name to it, e.g. we can call it love, sorrow or anger, but the mere naming of the Rasa in poetry is not capable of awakening the mood itself in the reader which consists of a self-manifested state of the mind. Therefore, with the denotation or description of these factors, the poet can only suggest the Rasa ; in other words, he can call up a reflection of the mood which the reader realises as a particular condition of his own mind²⁵. The expressed factors, the *vibhāvas*

24 See above ch. iv, p. 130.

25 Abhinava explains (see above ch. iv, p. 132f) that the reader realises the feeling depicted because the artistic creations are generalised, and in this generalised form the reader realises them as his own, through

etc., are thus the suggestor or *vyañjaka* of the *Rasa*, which is the suggested or *vyañgya*. The suggested, no doubt, depends for its manifestation on the expressed (*vācyārthāpekṣa*), which consists of a denotation of the factors which suggest it, but it is in no way produced from it as an effect and differs entirely in essence. This suggestion is said to be 'of an imperceptible process', because the perception of the suggested *Rasa* by means of the various factors necessarily involves a process, but from its quickness the process is not perceived, like the process, as one writer graphically puts it, of the apparently simultaneous piercing of a hundred lotus-leaves placed one upon another. At the moment of relishing a poetic mood or feeling we are so absorbed in it that we do not perceive the process which suggests it, and this subtle suggestion may fittingly be described as one of 'imperceptible process'.

By the side of the *dhvani-kāvya*, the true poetry, in which the suggested sense is predominant, we have poetry of subordinate excellence, designated *guṇībhūta-vyañgya kāvya*, in which the unexpressed plays a subordinate part, in so far as it serves to emphasise or embellish the expressed. Here was an opportunity of including some of the results of earlier investigations of the *Alamkāra* and *Rīti* schools, which indirectly recognised a suggested sense but comprehended it, consciously or unconsciously, in some expressed poetic figures. Thus, in *samāsokti* was admitted the apprehension of a suggested matter, in *dīpaka* of another suggested figure, in *rasavat* of suggested *Rasa*. But in all these cases the expressed sense is meant to predominate and constitute the charm of the particular figure, the suggested sense being there only to emphasise or embellish it. Thus, in the much discussed figure *rasavat*, which was recognised by old Poetics and which helped to smuggle in, as it were, the idea of *Rasa* into their systems,

a certain community of human feelings, and because the germs of the feelings already remain in a latent form in his mind.

the moods and feelings were supposed to have been roused, not for their own sake, but only to embellish the expressed thought. But this was not doing full justice to the fundamental significance of Rasa, and the point was bound to be re-examined. The Dhvani-theorists did not reject but justified this kind of poetry, in which the Rasa is suggested not directly but secondarily, and included it in their second class of poetry. The other important case of this kind, known to earlier writers, in which something remains unexpressed but is understood, occurs in very many poetic figures which depend for their charm upon another analogous figure involved in themselves. Thus, Vāmana thought that the *upamā* or comparison was involved in all figures, and Bhāmaha stated (in which Dāṇḍin substantially concurred) that all figures, in order to be charming, presupposed an *atīśayokti*, which he took as being involved necessarily in what he calls *vakrokti* (in the sense of a poetic figure). Udbhaṭṭa assigned an apparently similar function to *slesā* involved in some figures. Since the *upamā*, *atīśayokti* and *slesā*²⁶ are themselves independent figures, they can be involved in other figures as something unexpressed or suggested by the latter. But as the expressed figure is here in each case prominent, and the unexpressed merely helps to bring out its charm, these cases, in the opinion of the Dhvani-theorists, may also be fittingly relegated to this second class of poetry. In the third class are included those cases where there is no borrowed charm of a suggested sense at all, and where the appeal consists in some striking mode of direct expression, as in those figures of speech, for example, which delight us by their turns of expression alone.

Thus, the suggested sense, or the unexpressed, has three different aspects; it may either be (1) a matter or an idea (*vastu-dhvani*), (2) a poetic figure (*alambikāra-dhvani*), or (3) a

26 Udbhaṭṭa, however, is said to have held that when the *slesā* is involved in another figure, it predominates and dispels the apprehension of the figure itself.

mood or feeling (*rasa-dhvani*). The first occurs when a distinct subject or thought (a matter of fact) is suggested ; the second, where the suggested sense constitutes something imaginative (not a matter of fact) which, if expressed in so many words, would assume the form of a poetic figure ; and the last, where a mood or feeling, which is directly inexpressible but which can be suggested, is the principal element. The Dhvani-theory, therefore, comprehends three kinds of poetry which deal with the communication of a fact (or a thought), or of an imaginative, or of an emotional mood. Abhinavagupta points out²⁷ that this doctrine is not expressly taught in the *Kārikās*, but is clear from Ānandavardhana's treatment in his *Vṛtti*²⁸.

It appears, however, that both the *Dhvnikāra* and Ānandavardhana put a special stress upon *rasa-dhvani* ; and in spite of the fact that the *citra-kāvya* or the lowest class of poetry is entirely devoid of it, it seems to afford the most weighty criterion by which a poem is to be judged. In a complete scheme, no doubt, the *alaṃkāra-dhvani* and *vastu-dhvani*, tacitly recognised by older writers and practised by the poets, must also be justified ; but the central question, which is carefully examined, is as to how a composition should help the *Rasa* to expression, for it is repeatedly laid down that neither the *alaṃkāra* nor mere narrative (p. 148) but the suggestion of *rasa* should be the guiding principle of the poet in his composition of word and sense²⁹. In other words, the *rasa* appears to be the centre of gravity towards

27 *yas tu vyūcaṣṭe—vyaigyānām vastavlaṃkāra-rasānām mukhena’ iti, sa evam prastavyah—etat tāvat tri-bhedatvām na kārikākāreṇa kṛtam, vṛttikāreṇa tu darśitam*, Locana p. 123.

28 e. g. *sa hy artho vācyā-sāmarthyākṣipām vastu-nātrām alaṃkārā rasādayaś cety anche-prakāra-prabheda-prabhinno darśayisyate*, p. 15.

29 *ayam eva hi mahākaver mukhyo vyāpāro yad rasādin eva mukhyatayā kavyārthākṛtya tad-vaktyanuguṇatvena śabdānām arthānām copanibandhanam*, p. 181 ; *paripākavatām kavīnām rasādi-tātparyavirāhe vyāpāra eva na sōbhate*, p. 221.

which everything else in a poem—*rīti*, *guna*, *dosa* and *alampkāra*—should move; and stress coming to be laid on emotion in poetry, the suggestion of Rasa came to prevail over other kinds of suggestion. No doubt, it is laid down in ii. 7 that the unexpressed, apparently in all its three forms, is the *aṅgin* or the principal element, and the *Gunas* and *Alampkāras* are to be esteemed in so far as they rest upon it. But this all-important *aṅgin* is explained by Ānandavardhana practically with special reference to Rasa (*rasādi-lakṣaṇam*)³⁰, and the Dhvanikāra himself elsewhere discusses the merits of diction and the adjustment of words, letters and sentences with regard to their capacity of awakening the Rasa, a theme from which a theory of *aucitya* or propriety was evolved. Again, the Dhvanikāra lays down that the *guṇibhūta-vyaṅgya* class of poetry can become true poetry (*dhvani-kāvya*) from the consideration of its tendency, if any, of developing a Rasa (iii. 41). In several places, Ānandavardhana is so much carried away by his enthusiasm for Rasa that he goes almost near stating expressly that the Rasa is in fact the essence of poetry, as it is of the drama³¹.

This borrowing from the Rasa-system—for the idea of Rasa, as Ānandavardhana himself says, was already well established in the drama by Bharata and others—fills the outlines of the Dhvati-theory with a fundamentally important aesthetic content, which was not yet fully recognised in the poetic art as it had been in the dramatic. And, in this sense, the Dhvani-theory has been characterised as an extension of the Rasa-theory. But in reality it was not an extension so much as a rearrangement; for the Dhvani-theorists accept

30 The term *rasādi* should be interpreted to mean the *rasa*, *bhāva* etc. as the *aṅgin*; but the word *ādi* might in every case be taken to imply strictly the other two kinds of *vyaṅgya artha*, viz. *vastu* and *alampkāra*, which would be as much of an *aṅgin* as the *rasa*, although such an interpretation is doubtful from the context.

31 *rasādāyo hi drayor spi sayoh* (= *kāvya-nātyayoh*) *śivabhūtāḥ*, p. 182. See also the citations in fn 29 above.

the Rasa (despite the emphasis they put upon it) as only *one* of the aspects of the unexpressed in poetry. Neither the Dhvanikāra nor Ānandavardhana could, at least from the standpoint of theoretic consistency, explicitly make the suggestion of Rasa the exclusive end of poetry, inasmuch as the unexpressed may in some cases be a matter or an imaginative mood, although it can be shewn that their views practically tend to such a proposition and probably inspire later theorists to work out the thesis that the Rasa alone is the essence of poetry. The essentiality thus implicitly, if not explicitly, ascribed to Rasa by the formulators of the Dhvani-theory, is, however, expressed more definitely by Abhinavagupta, who appears to have attached little weight to mere theoretic considerations. The point will be dealt with later ; it will suffice here to indicate that Abhinavagupta in many places expresses himself unambiguously that the Rasa is in fact the essence of poetry ; and, admitting that the unexpressed may also take the form of Vastu or Alāṃkāra, he thinks that these two forms of suggestion terminate ultimately in the suggestion of Rasa³². We shall see that this opinion probably inspired the somewhat extreme theory of Viśvanātha that the Rasa alone constitutes the essence of poetry ; but the considerations, which had wisely restrained the authors of the *Dhvanyāloka* from expressing it in clear terms, could not, as Jagannātha's criticism of Viśvanātha's view shews, be easily put out of the way, and recognition was refused to any further development of the theory out of itself.

The Dhvanikāra's idea was probably to make his conception of poetry wide enough to cover those varieties of

32 *rasa eva vastuta ātmā, vastvalāṃkāra-dhvani tu sarvathā rasam prati paryavasyete*, p. 27. An almost similar view is expressed in his comment on the word *ucita* in Ānandavardhana's exposition of the Dhvanikāra's remark on the essence of poetry: *ucita-śabdena rasa-viśayam eva aucityam bhavatīti darśayan rasa-dhvaneś jīvitavān sūcayati*, p. 13.

poetry which develop no Rasa, or, which develop it imperfectly, although his real leaning to Rasa possibly betrayed itself in a different end, from which theorists like Viśvanātha drew the inevitable logical conclusion. Nevertheless, we have here an honest attempt to do justice to facts; not only to set forth what poetry ought to be but to establish the actual facts of poetry as they appeared to these theorists. They could not ignore the fact that the matter (*vastu*) or the imagination (*alankāra*) played an important part in some kinds of poetry, although they were alive to the consideration that the emotion (*rasa*) was in most cases the important criterion. This attitude towards empirical analysis is also exemplified by the anxiety which made them never spare themselves the trouble of going so far as to classify the cases of the unexpressed into more than five thousand different aspects, taking into consideration all conceivable facts and circumstances, which can be made out by a careful analysis of the forms of poetic speech. This fidelity to facts did not also allow them to ignore the aesthetic ideas of earlier speculation; for though these were found insufficient for explaining the whole problem, the concepts of *rasa*, *rīti*, *guna*, *dōṣa* and *alankāra* had to be examined and their place properly defined in the new system before it could be established as a complete scheme. One of the triumphs of this school was, no doubt, the admission of the old idea of Rasa to its full importance in the art of poetry, as in the cognate art of the drama; but the school did not forget at the same time to harmonise the other important elements into its comprehensive theory.

The justification of the *Rīti* is shown to consist in its relation to the suggestion of Rasa, and it is recognised in so far as it serves as a means to that end. The Dhvani-theorists, however, dispense with the somewhat useless classification of the varieties of *Rīti* (iii. 52, *Vṛttī*)³³, the nature of which

³³ The numbering of this verse is wrong in the printed text: it should have been iii. 47. It is correctly given in the 4th ed. (1935).

is not discussed by Ānandavardhana, but which, Abhinava points out, is explained by the position assigned to the Guṇas (*rīter hi guṇeṣveva prayavasāyitā*)³⁴. The function of the Guṇas is justified only by their part in the development of the Rasa in the theme ; and from this standpoint, as we shall see presently, their minute classification is needless, Ānandavardhana admitting only three Guṇas corresponding roughly

34 Abhinava says (p. 231): *yadāha—'rīṣeṣo guṇātmā'* (Vāmana i. 2. 3), *guṇāś ca rasa-paryavasāyina eveti hy uktau prāg guṇa-nirūpāṇe 'śrīgāra eva madhurāḥ'* (Dhv. ii. 8, p. 79) *ity atreti*. Vāmana has laid down that the *rīti* is nothing more than a particular arrangement of words (*viśiṣṭa-pada-racanā*) and that the essence of this particularity of arrangement consists in the *guṇas*. The nature and scope of the *guṇas*, therefore, determine those of the *rīti*. Now the Dhvanikāra has pointed out in ii. 8f how the three Guṇas, viz. *mādhurya* (in *śrīgāra*), *ojas* (in *raudra*) and *prasāda* (in all the *rasas*) contribute to the development of the Rasas ; and his remarks regarding the Guṇas apply to the *Rīti*, which need not be taken separately. Roughly speaking, his three Guṇas correspond, therefore, to the three *Rītis* of Vāmana. Ānandavardhana speaks of the Guṇas as having *saṃghaṭanā-dharmatā* (p. 5), but this is probably only giving an exposition of the view of Udbhaṭa who, according to Abhinavagupta (p. 134), had held that the Guṇas are *saṃghaṭanā-dharmāḥ*. He might mean, as Mammaṭa does, that particular combinations of letters or compounding of words produce particular Rasas (see ii. 8f). No doubt, in iii. 5f, both the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana speak of *saṃghaṭanā* in connexion with the Guṇas ; but they define *saṃghaṭanā* as depending on the length or shortness of compounds (which would correspond to the definition of *Rīti* given by Rudraṭa). The appropriateness of the *saṃghaṭanā* depends on the ultimate object of manifesting the Rasa, as well as on the speaker and the theme. The question, therefore, resolves itself into a theory of suitability or propriety (*aucitya*) with regard to the disposition of words, letters and sentences, having a special reference to the Rasa (*rasa-niyama*), as well as to the theme in hand (*vācya-* or *viṣaya-niyama*) and to the temper and character of the speaker (*rakṭi-niyama*). Ānandavardhana expressly lays down (p. 135) that the Guṇas are not equivalent to *saṃghaṭanā* (*na guṇāḥ saṃghaṭanā-svarūpāḥ*), nor do they depend on *saṃghaṭanā* (*na ca saṃghaṭanāśrayā guṇāḥ*) ; on the other hand, the *saṃghaṭanā* depends on the Guṇas. See S. K. De, *Some Problems*, pp. 91-94.

to the three Rītis of Vāmana³⁵. The relation of the Guṇas to the Rasa is further made clear by drawing a sharp line of distinction between them and the Alāṃkāras, which also serve to embellish poetic expression. Expanding the dictum of Ānandavardhana in his Vṛtti on ii. 7, the later writers explain that the Guṇas are the inseparable attributes of the Rasa³⁶ without which they cannot exist, and are defined in terms of their having *rasa-dharmatva*, *rasāvyabhicāri-sthititva* and *rasopakārakatva*. If we sometimes speak of them as belonging to a word and its sense, it is said in a secondary or figurative way (*upacāra*), and the old distinction between *śabda-guṇa* and *artha-guṇa* must be regarded in this light. The Alāṃkāras, on the other hand, belong essentially to *śabda* and *artha*, and through these means indirectly embellish the Rasa. Mammata describes their nature thus: "Poetic figures, like alliteration, simile and the rest, are those which sometimes help the existing (*rasa*), through the parts or members (i.e. *śabda* and *artha*), just as a necklace and the like (do to the human soul)"³⁷. The Vṛtti explains³⁸: "Poetic figures are those which help the principal existing *rasa*, through the excellence of the parts, consisting of the expressor

35 A similar function is assigned to the *vṛttis* recognised by Udbhaṭa. See p. 142, and also Abhīava's remarks on pp. 5-6.

36 Ānandavardhana says (ii. 7 Vṛtti): "The gunas depend on that sense which is the principal existing content (*saṅga*) in the form of *rasa* etc. Those, again, which rest upon the parts or members (*avīga*), namely the expressed word and sense, are considered to be alāṃkāras. The former may be compared to qualities like bravery, and the latter to ornaments like bracelet". Mammata uses the term *acala-sthiti* (interpreted by Govinda as *apṛthak-sthiti*) to indicate the relation of Guṇa to Rasa.

37 *upakuryanti tam santam ye'ṅga-dvāreṇa jñātucit/hārādīvad alāṃkārās te'nuprāśopamādayaḥ//*

38 *ye vācyā-vācākā-lakṣaṇāṅgātīśaya-mukhena mukhyam rasam sambhavinam upakuryanti te kāntādāyaṅgānām utkarṣādāhāna-dvāreṇa śarīriṇo'py upakārakā hārādaya ivālāṃkārāḥ. Yatra hāsti raso tato kṛti-vaicitrya-mātra-paryavasāvinah. kvacit tu santam apli nōpakurvanti.*

(word) and the expressed (sense), just as a necklace and the like add to the excellency of the soul through the adornment of a part of the body like the neck. Where there is no *rasa*, these end in mere strikingness of expression (*vaicitrya*) ; and sometimes when the *rasa* is existing, they do not help it". The *Alamkāras*, therefore, have only an indirect relation to the *Rasa* through their capacity of embellishing the expressed *śabda* and *artha*, and add to its excellency only secondarily. They can exist without the *Rasa* in the form of mere strikingness of expression (*uktī-vaicitrya*) ; and even when the *Rasa* is present, the poetic figures are not invariably necessary³⁹. As to how the *Alamkāra* may sometimes help the *Rasa*, the question is discussed by the *Dhvanikāra* in ii. 19-20, and four possible circumstances are said to occur (1) when the poet, not dealing with it as the main point, intends its subordination to the main theme, e.g. the *Rasa* (*tatparatvena, nāigitvena*), (2) when he accepts or rejects it as suiting the occasion (*kāle graha-tyāgayohi*), (3) when he does not want to carry it out effectively to the end (*nāti-nirvāhe*), and (4) when accomplished effectively, it is still made subservient (*nirvāhe-pyaṅgatve*)⁴⁰.

The comparatively subsidiary position thus assigned to the *Alamkāra*⁴¹ must not, however, be taken to indicate any

39 This is explained by the following commentary: *guṇā rasam vinā nāvatisṭhante*: *guṇā rasam avaśyam upakurvanti alamkārāś tvavaśyam nōpakurvanti*; *guṇā rasa-dharmā atah sūkṣmā rase tiṣṭhanti, alamkārāś tu na rase sākṣat tiṣṭhanti kim tu traṅga-dvāreṇa*.

40 Cf *Hemacandra* p. 17.

41 In *Mammaṭa*'s much criticised definition of poetry, therefore, the *Alamkāra* is taken as an accident, not as an essential ; and though technically the phrase *analamkṛtī punah kvāpi* is open to the objections brought forward by *Viśvanātha* and *Jagannātha*, the views of the latter on the point under discussion does not differ substantially from those of *Mammaṭa*. In *Mammaṭa*'s definition there is no direct mention of *vākyārthībhūta rasa* or of the *ryāṅgya* sense other than the *Rasa* (which are there by implication), but the *Guṇas* and *Doṣas* are expressly mentioned. The explanation of these peculiarities of the definition must

tendency to minimise its importance, for Ānandavardhana himself admits that poetry depends on it for its operation (*kāvya-vṛttes tadāśrayāt*). But the Alāṃkāra is accepted only in connexion with the *avgin* or the principal element in poetry, which in most cases takes the form of Rasa; and Alāṃkāras, other than such, which are devoid of or unconnected with the suggestion of Rasa and therefore unpoetic, are in Ānandavardhana's opinion, mere *vāg-vikalpas*, and should be included in the *citra-kāvya*, which is no poetry but an imitation thereof. The authors of the *Dhvanyāloka* ignored these because their system had no place for them; but the poet may sometimes intend not to awaken Rasa or anything else unexpressed, but to produce mere strikingness of expression in the form of a poetic figure. Such cases, therefore, should be acknowledged and analysed. We shall see that followers of the Dhvani-system like Ruyyaka realised this deficiency in the treatment of the Dhvānikāra and tried to supply it by admitting the significance of such figures for poetry and analysing their content after the indication given by Kuntaka.

The view indicated above regarding the nature of the Guṇas necessarily dispenses with their endless multiplication and differentiation. Mammata and his followers, accepting the standpoint of the *Dhvanyāloka* in this respect, admit only three Guṇas, viz., *mādhurya* (sweetness), *ojas* (energy) and *prasāda* (lucidity), out of the ten recognised since Bharata's time. They shew elaborately that these ten are either included in the three mentioned above, or else constitute mere absence of defects, while some of them are even positive defects. In fact, these three Guṇas are defined broadly enough to include most of the ten Guṇas of Bharata, Dandin and Vāmana. Thus, the *mādhurya*, found chiefly in the Erotic, the Pathetic and the Quietistic moods, is described as sought in the historical development of these ideas in the earlier schools, and not in any attempt to invent an original definition. See below ch. vii.

generally as that excellency which brings delight (*āhlāda*) to the mind and makes it melt, as it were (*druti-kāraṇa*) ; the *ojas*, arising in the Heroic, the Furious and the Disgustful moods, is that property by which the mind is brilliantly expanded (*vistāra-kāraṇa*) ; while the *prasāda*, found in all poetic moods, causes them to pervade the mind (*vyāpti-kāraṇa*), like fire pervading dry fuel, or water pervading a pure piece of cloth. As they are related to the main poetic mood Rasa in the composition and made suitable to its particular kind, the classification, as given here, naturally proceeds on a psychological basis having reference to their influence on the reader's mind (so as to lead up to the particular mood), and supersedes the old differentiation resting on an adjustment of sound and sense. It will be also seen from the somewhat comprehensive definitions of the three *Guṇas* that the *śleṣa*, *samādhi* and *audūrya* of older writers may be included in *ojas*, and the *artha-vyakti* in *prasāda* ; while *saukumārya* and *kānti* are essentially the opposites of the defects of harshness (*pāruṣya*) and vulgarity (*grāmyatva*) respectively, and *samatā* or uniformity of diction may sometimes be a positive defect.

Consistently with this view of the *Guṇas*, the *Doṣas* or defects of a composition are recognised in so far as they are the repressors of the Rasa, as well as of the expressed sense. The *Doṣas*, therefore, convey a positive significance, like the *Guṇas*, in relation to the Rasa, in spite of the admitted fact that some *Doṣas* approach *guṇābhāva* (negation of *Guṇas*) and some *Guṇas* approach *doṣābhāva* (negation of *Doṣas*). The *punarukta* or tautology, for instance, is generally a fault, but it may sometimes be an excellence if there is an apprehension of the charm of the suggested Rasa through it. The justification of the distinction between invariable (*nitya*) and non-invariable (*anitya*) fault lies in the fact that in the case of some poetic moods, we can generalise the avoidance of particular combinations as being always damaging for the effect. Thus, the *Dhvanikāra* points out that when love or *śringāra*

is the principal suggested mood, one should always avoid faults like unmelodiousness (*śruti-duṣṭa*), although it is not a fault in the case of the Heroic or *raudra-rasa*.

The attempt, therefore, to estimate the worth of a poem by analysing two kinds of meaning the one explicit and the other implicit, and judging it by a reference to the latter rather than to the former, explains in a new light the nature and function of the *Guṇas* and *Doṣas*, as well as of the *Alaṃkāras* which were admitted by previous speculation, but over which there had been so much controversy. The explicit, or expressed word and sense, in which poetry is clothed constitutes its mere vesture, but this external or accidental feature alone appealed to earlier thinkers, whose attention was practically confined to the expressed *śabda* and *artha*. The *Guṇas* and *Doṣas* (along with the so-called *Riti*), as well as the *Alaṃkāras*, are only certain forms of these, being merely turns given to *śabda* and *artha* in expression, and are justified as such. They cannot, therefore, be taken as essential, for they do not touch the essence of poetry which consists of the implicit or unexpressed meaning. But at the same time, they cannot be ignored because they are the means by which the unexpressed is suggested, the expressed word and sense being the *vyañjaka* of the deeper *vyañgya* sense. In classifying the implicit or the unexpressed, again, into communication of a fact (*vastu-dhvani*), or suggestion of an imaginative mood (*alaṃkāra-dhvani*), or manifestation of an emotional state (*rasa-dhvani*), the theorists recognised the truth that the essence of poetry may consist of fact, imagination or feeling as the predominant implicit factor, the outward expression being important as a means of pointing to this implicit significance. But it is also perceived that the emotional mood, which the poet succeeds in communicating to us, is of the highest importance in poetry; and stress came to be laid on this emotional mood to the extent even of ignoring the imaginative or the realistic, and poetry came to have a deeper significance as a means of emotional realisa-

tion. This the Dhvani-theorists did by emphasising the *rasa-dhvani* in poetry.

This, in brief, is an outline of the new system which attempts to take into consideration all the known facts and dogmas and build a compact theory of poetry on their basis. But its chief merit consists in its elaboration of the most necessary and fundamental principle of all higher poetry, viz., the art of suggestion, which should lead the reader through diverse routes from that which is distinctly expressed to that which is left unexpressed. With the arrival at this point, one discovers the real significance of a poem and appreciates the taste or relish of the underlying poetic sentiment, which is in reality inexpressible. The ornamental fitting out of thought or word, as well as the literary excellences of structure or style, everything contributes towards this end. In this connexion, we must not mistake this suggestion to be a form of quiet hinting, or of absolute silence, such as we find in some modern poetic mystics, or that particular train of thought which holds that all things have their being in the unexpressed and resolve themselves into the indeterminable. Sanskrit poetry does not aim at leaving the unexpressed to be darkly gathered, nor does the theory of Poetics regard it as indeterminate. The unexpressed is bound up by means of definite links with the expressed, without which it cannot exist; but it is wrapped up in such a manner as to make it possible only for the initiated in the poetic hieroglyphics to comprehend it in its subtlety. The unexpressed is not understood by those who know grammar and lexicon, but only by men of taste and literary instinct who know the essence of poetry. It is the province of the *sahṛdaya*, the connoisseur, who is expert in discerning through the intricate meshes of veiled word and sense into the aesthetic relish of deeper significance, in which the pleasure of the beautiful is mixed up with the pleasure arising from the fineness of the problem itself.

This general scheme of Poetics outlined by the Dhvani

school, in spite of the loopholes that may be detected in the doctrinal edifice, is accepted as canonical by all important writers coming after Ānandavardhana. Here and there an isolated theorist arose who dared to question the general creed, but he was at once put down as a heretic and condemned to neglect and oblivion. The immediately following systems of the *Vakroktijīvita-kāra* and the *Vyaktiviveka-kāra* were, in spite of their able and ingenious efforts, unable to supplant the Dhvani-theory ; and, finding no strong adherents, themselves languished and died out. These views are taken notice of by later writers only for the purpose of refuting them. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, judging from the long quotations from his lost work in *Aḥbinavagupta* and others, seems to have made a greater impression ; but even he does not appear to have been very successful. All these writers, no doubt, accept the concept of a suggested sense, but when they endeavour to explain it in a different way, they could hardly find a patient hearing. Even Viśvanātha's attempt to push the theory to its logical extreme did not meet with universal approval. The labours, therefore, of all later writers, typified by Mammaṭa, consisted generally in working out the details of the Dhvani-theory and the scheme of Poetics standardised on its basis ; and they spent all their fine scholastic powers in refining and explaining but hardly in adding anything of abiding interest. No other work on Sanskrit Poetics has indeed exerted so much influence as the *Dhvanyāloka*, which brought to a focus the tentative efforts of earlier thinkers, and by its thoroughness and masterly exposition eclipsed all its predecessors, dominating, as it did, thoughts of generations of theorists even down to the present time.

CHAPTER VI

ABHINAVAGUPTA AND THE REACTIONARY SYSTEMS

(1)

Abhinavagupta

The importance of Abhinavagupta as a writer on Sanskrit Poetics lies in his learned exposition of the Dhvani-theory in his well known commentary on the text of Ānandavar-dhana ; and his erudition, reputation and influence as a great scholar and philosophical writer of his generation, no doubt, added weight to his championship of the theory, and contributed a great deal to its ultimate exclusive acceptance in later Poetics. His theoretical standpoint, however, does not differ, except in one material point which will be dealt with presently, from that of the formulators of the Dhvani-system ; and he may be fairly regarded as belonging to that group of faithful commentators who are more anxious to interpret than to incorporate new ideas into the system they comment upon. On the other hand, Abhinavagupta was also greatly interested in the dramaturgic work of Bharata and wrote an elaborate and stupendous commentary on this encyclopaedic text. From this interest in dramaturgy, we have seen¹, he came to be deeply interested in the various theories about the origin and function of Rasa, not only in the drama but also in poetry ; and one of the latest and most important theory on Rasa is directly associated with his name by Mammaṭa, Hemacandra and others. In expounding this theory, he tried to explain clearly how the *vyakti* or *vyanjanā* of the Dhvani-theorists could be applied to the case of the manifestation of Rasa, thus correlating the Rasa-

1 See ch. iv, p. 128.

doctrine with the Dhvani-theory. He defined the concept of Rasa and its place in poetic theory, and furnished a brilliant aesthetic explanation of a phenomenon which had already taxed the ingenuity of many a previous thinker on the subject.

Having realised the importance of Rasa in poetry, Abhinava, however, went a step further than the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana in boldly setting it up as the only essence or aesthetic foundation of poetry, a view which has greatly influenced all later speculation on the subject. From the earlier drama and dramatic theory the authors of the *Dhvanyāloka* had admittedly worked up the idea of Rasa into poetry and poetic theory ; but as the emotional mood in poetry, which the fact of Rasa emphasises, came to be more and more prominent, the Rasa stood out more and more in relief as its essential aesthetic basis. We have seen² that Abhinava's predecessors in the Dhvani school consider Rasa only as one of the elements of the unexpressed, which may take other forms in the shape of an unexpressed matter (*vastu*) or an unexpressed imaginative mood (*alaṃkāra*). No doubt, their theory puts great emphasis on the *rasa-dhvani* or suggestion of Rasa in poetry ; but both the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana are yet careful in taking into account other kinds of suggestion and do not, as they could not, erect the Rasa into the very 'soul' of poetry. No doubt, it may be thought that they show a decided partiality to *rasa*, which would practically lead to a conclusion of its essentiality : but they could not, having regard to theoretical consistency give exclusive preference to it ; for in their complete scheme of Poetics the *rasa-dhvani*, which is only one of the three forms of the unexpressed, plays as much part as the *vastu-* and *alaṃkāra-dhvani*. They had to recognise that the centre of gravity in a poem may lie in its material and its imagination, as much as in its emotional element. Abhinavagupta appears to have attached little weight to these theoretical considera-

² See ch. v, p. 166.

tions, which had restrained his predecessors from explicitly stating what they practically implied ; and brushing them aside, he carries their theory to its utmost logical consequence by declaring the essentiality of *Rasa* (*rasenaiva sarvam jīvati kāvyam*), without which, in his opinion, there could be no poetry (*na hi tac-chūnyam*, i. e. *rasa-śūnyam*, *kāvyam kiñcid asti*, p. 65). He attempts, however, to explain the theoretical discrepancy by saying that the two other aspects of suggestion, concerned respectively with *vastu* and *alāṃkāra*, resolve themselves ultimately into the suggestion of *rasa*, which is in fact the essence of poetry (*rasa eva vastuta ātmā, vastu-alāṃkāra-dhvani tu sarvathā rasam prati paryavasyete*, p. 27). This opinion, no doubt, influenced the view of later thinkers to a great extent ; for, although *Mammaṭa* carefully follows the cautious attitude of the *Dhvanikāra* and *Ānandavardhana*, *Viśvanātha*, developing their theory (after *Abhinavagupta*) further out of itself, pushes it to its extreme limit and builds up his own scheme of Poetics on the basis of the theory that poetry consists of a sentence of which the 'soul' is *Rasa* (*vākyam rasātmakam kāvyam*). But we shall see that the considerations which led the *Dhvanikāra* and his commentator to leave their view on this point wisely unstated could not be easily put out of the way, and they are repeated substantially by *Jagannātha* in his criticism of *Viśvanātha*'s view. All later writers, however, agree in thinking that the *rasa-dhvani* is certainly the most important point for consideration in poetry ; and even if they do not explicitly state with *Abhinava* that the *vastu-* and *alāṃkāra-dhvani* resolve ultimately into *rasa-dhvani*, they yet show a decided partiality to the latter element.

This, in brief, is the general position of *Abhinavagupta* as a champion of the new system established by *Ānandavardhana*. The final dominance of this system in later speculation is due not only to the intrinsic worth of the theory itself and its masterly formulation by *Ānandavardhana*, but also probably to the authority which *Abhinava*'s exposition as well as his

reputation lent to it. We find in the immediate followers of the system, however, not the extreme position of Ahhinavagupta, but the theory and the scheme as finally outlined by Ānandavardhana. With Ānandavardhana, the Dhvani-theory, which was itself ancient, came to prevail; but with him also was evolved a more or less complete scheme of Poetics in which the divergent gleams of earlier thought and the accumulated stock of recognised ideas meet and are rationally adjusted. This scheme, with the concept of *dhvani* (especially *rasa-dhvani*) at its centre, was summed up and uttered in the concise form of a systematic text-book by Mammata, another Kashmirian, whose influence perhaps was not less potent than that of Ahhinavagupta in raising it to almost exclusive authority in later times. This system, which for convenience we have called the Dhvani-system, absorbed and overshadowed all previous schools and systems, and came to reign supreme, only to be improved in detail by the large crowd of its followers who form the bulk of post-dhvani writers on Poetics. Jagannātha, one of the latest writers of this group, very aptly remarks, therefore, that the authors of *Dhvanyāloka* settled the path to be followed by later writers on Poetics (*dhvanikṛtām ālaṃkārika-saṃsaṃ-vyavasthāpakatvāt*, p. 425).

But it must not be supposed that the theory or system of Dhvani could obtain universal acceptance without some vigorous opposition. Before we take up the post-dhvani followers of Ānandavardhana, it will be necessary to consider here some of the reactionary writers who either follow and develop other traditions of thought, or who refuse to acknowledge the new theory. Adherents of other schools, such as Pratibārendurāja (pp. 79f) who commented on Uddhaṭa, or Gopendra Tippa Bhūpāla (p. 72) who commented on Vāmana, carry on the older tradition and do not fail to criticise the new theory. Says Mukula, Pratibārendurāja's Guru: *lakṣaṇā-niārgāvagāhitvam tu dhvaneḥ sahṛdayair nūtanatayopavarṇitasya vidyata iti...etac ca vidvadbhīḥ kuśāgrīyayā buddhīā nīruṇāṇīyam, na tu jhagity evāsūyitaryan: ity alam ati-*

prasaiigena (p. 21). But more hostile opposition or attack came from some really thoughtful writers who urged new systems, or new explanations of the Dhvani-theory in terms of old ideas. Most of these theorists lived near enough in time to Abhinavagupta ; and coming later than the authors of the *Dhvanyāloka*, they accept or show themselves cognisant of the general concept of *dhvani*, but attempt to formulate other explanations of it. All of them, however, agree that the *vyāñjanā vṛtti* need not be postulated or proved for explaining the suggested sense of poetry, and conservatively maintain that the suggested sense can be reached from the expressed sense by some of the recognised means or processes of knowledge (e. g. *anumāna*). None of these writers, therefore, is what the Dhvanikāra would call an *abhlāva-vādin*, i.e., none of them would deny the existence of Dhvani, but they would try to explain it in terms of already recognised concepts or processes. These theorists are: Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who probably preceded Abhinavagupta, Kuntaka who was probably the latter's contemporary, and Mahimabhaṭṭa who was either a younger contemporary or lived immediately after Abhinavagupta. It will also be convenient to take up in this connexion the school of opinion represented by the writer on Poetics in the *Agni-purāṇa* and by Bhoja, which stands in many respects apart from the Kashmirian school of Ānandavardhana and which appears to have been entirely untouched by the implications of the Dhvani-theory.

(2)

Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka

It is unfortunate that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's *Hṛdaya-darpana* is now lost. From the citations of Abhinavagupta and others, the conjecture is likely that it was not a commentary on Bharata's *Nāṭya-sāstra*³ but an independent work written in prose and verse (i.e., with *verse-kārikā* and *prose-vṛtti*) and

³ See vol. i, pp. 40f.

resembling Mahimabhaṭṭa's later *Vyakti-viveka* written in the same style and with the same object. Like the latter work, it was composed, if not for establishing a new theory of Poetics, at least for cont罗verting the position of the *Dhvanyāloka* and formulating a different explanation of Dhvani, especially of *rasa-dhvani*. When Mahimabhaṭṭa later on took upon himself the task of "demolishing" the Dhvani-theory, he boasted at the outset of his elaborate attack that he had composed his *Vyakti-viveka* without looking into the *Darpana*⁴ (presumably *Hṛdaya-darpana*, as explained by his commentator), which was therefore obviously written with the same object of *dhvani-dhvamsa*. No doubt, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka was one of the four writers (mentioned by Abhinava, Mammata and others) who formulated explanations of Bharata's original *sūtra* on Rasa.; but this in itself is no reason to take him as a commentator on Bharata's text⁵.

4 It is curious that Mahimabhaṭṭa says that in composing his own work he has not also looked into the *Candrikā*, which was apparently an adverse commentary on the *Dhvanyāloka*. It is probably the same work as is referred to and criticised frequently by Abhioavagupta in his "Locana" and as, he says, was composed by one of his ancestors. Abhinava's references and criticism also confirm the idea that it criticised the text of the *Dhvanyāloka* adversely on many points. This *Candrikā* is also apparently cited by Māṇikyacandra and Somesvara in their commentaries on Mammata. See vol. i, p. 101.

5 The question has been already discussed by us in vol. i p. 40. There is a passage, already referred to by us, in the *Abhinava-bhāratī* ch. i, which appears (see Sovani's article on the Pre-dhvani Schools in *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 390; contra in *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 450-52) to indicate that the *Hṛdaya-darpana* was a commentary on the *Nātya-sāstra*. The passage runs thus (commenting on *brahmaṇā yad udāhṛtam* in Bharata i. 1): *bhāṣa-nāyakas tu brahmaṇā paramāśīmāṇā yad udāhṛtam kṛta-nidarśanam.....yad anena pāramāśīthikām prayo-
janam uktam illi vyākhyānāṇi hṛdaya-darpane paryagrahīt*. This passage is indeed important, for the relevancy of any comment to Bharata i. 1, is difficult to explain in a work which *ex hypothesi* is not a commentary on the text. But it appears to militate against those references to and passages from Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's work (prose as well as verse) which Abhioava cites and criticises in his "Locana" (pp. 11, 12, 15, 19, 21, 27,

the suggestion of Rasa as the essence of poetry (*rasa-dhvani* *tu tenaivātmata�āngikṛtaḥ*, "Locana p.15); but from Abhinava's twitting him on this score it is probable that he denied *vastu-dhvani* (*kim tu vastu-dhvaniṁ dūṣyatā rasa-dhvani* *tad anugrāhakāḥ samarthyata iti susṭhutarāṁ dhvani-dhvam-**so'yaṁ*, p. 20). Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka maintains in a verse attributed to him by Abhinava (p. 27), Hemacandra (p. 4), Māṇikyacandra (p. 4) and Jayaratha (p. 9) that the distinction between various kinds of literary composition lies in the fact that in the Śāstra *sabda* predominates, *artha* in the Ākhyāna (=probably *īnhāsa*), while in the Kāvya, both *sabda* and *artha* are subordinated (*gurjibhūta* or *nyagbhāvita*). Elsewhere he is represented by Abhinava (p. 68) as saying that the verbal composition (*sabda*) which makes up poetry is different from other species of verbal composition by the fact that it possesses three elements. Of these elements, *abhidhā* or Denotation belongs to the province of expressed meaning, *bhāvakatva* or power of generalisation to that of Rasa, and the *bhōjakatva* or the power of enjoyment to the appreciating audience; thus we have three functions attributed to the three elements of poetry. If Denotation, among these, is taken by itself (i.e. without the other two), then what is the essential difference, he asks, between the poetic figures and the dogmas which form the method of Śāstras? Or, if this manifold distinction of functions is without importance (metaphorically as well as intrinsically), then why avoid faults like unmelodiousness (*śruti-dūṣṭa*)? These considerations, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka thinks, would give us the second function, viz. *bhāvakatva*, by which generalisation is accomplished of poetry as well as of its factors (*vibhāvas*). It is on account of this function that *abhidhā* or Denotation is also Indication (*lakṣaṇā*), i.e., the Denotation can give to the expressed sense a secondary or metaphorical significance as the basis of Rasa. After the Rasa is thus generalised (*bhāvita*), comes its enjoyment or *bhoga* which, we have seen, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka represents, after the Sāṃkhya philosophers, as a process of distinterested

contemplation akin to the philosophic contemplation of Brahma.

Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka thus postulates a function of *bhoga*, beyond those of *abhidhā* and *bhāvākatva*, inherent in poetry, in order to explain the working of Rasa. He seems to imply that the Rasa, which the Dhvani-theorists would take as the suggested emotional sense of poetry, is, in his opinion, purely *sva-saṃivedya* and therefore transcending definition. In other words, he belongs to that class of objectors to the Dhvani-theory regarding whom the Dhvanikāra says that they do not deny *dhvani* but think that its essence lies beyond the province of words (i. 1c). In a verse attributed Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka by Abhinava (pp. 15, 11) and Jayaratha (p. 9), he speaks of *kāvyāṅgatva* and not *kāvya-rūpatā⁸* of what is known as *dhvani*; a statement which would indicate that having assumed the concept, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's object was to establish an explanation different from that of the Dhvani-theorists. Ruyyaka thinks that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka would regard what is called *vyaṅgya-vyāpāra* to be an element (*kāvyāṅśatva*) and not an essence of poetry, being reached by the bold utterance of the poet (*praudhokti*). In this sense, the *kavi-karman* or act of imagination on the part of the poet (indicated by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, as Jayaratha points out, by the word *vyāpāra*), which makes *śabda* and *artha* subservient to itself, is the most important thing in poetry; a view which approximates Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's theory to that of Kuntaka, who makes *kavi-karman* the source of what he calls *vakrokti* in poetry.

(3)

Kuntaka

Kuntaka, author of the *Vakrokti-jīvita*, on the other hand, had no direct intention of attacking or disproving the Dhvani-

⁸ Read in the verse *kāvyāṅgatvam na rūpatā*, as given by the reading of MS *ga* indicated in *Locana* p. 15.

theory. He appears to have accepted the fact of a suggested sense in poetry but, following the tradition of Bhāmaba's *vakrokti*, he develops a system of *vakrokti* of his own, to some aspects of which he includes all ideas of *dhvani* and *rasa*. Nearly the whole of his long lost work has been recently recovered, and a part of it (chs. i, ii and a part of iii) has been published by the present writer⁹: it is now possible, therefore, to depend no longer on the references to Kuntaka in later literature for an account of his views, but gather it independently from his own statements¹⁰.

The central idea in Kuntaka is that the *vakrokti* is the essence (*jīvita*) of poetry; and by *Vakrokti* he understands a certain striking or charming (*vicitra*) mode of expression (*vinyāsa-krama*), which is different from or excels the common or matter-of-fact expression of words and ideas in the *Śāstras* and the like (*śāstrādi-prasiddha-sabdarthopanibandhavyatireki*). It is, therefore, a deviation from the established mode of speech for the purpose of attaining a certain strikingness (*vacitrya* or *vicchitti*), or an imaginative turn of words and ideas (*bhaṅgi-bhaṇiti* or *bhaṇiti-prakāra*) peculiar to poetry, and abhorrent of common speech in which facts are more or less simply stated. This is the *vakratva* or *vakra-bhāva* underlying all poetic speech. A distinction, therefore, is implied not only between the method of the sciences and the scriptures (*śāstrādi*), on the one hand, and that of poetry, on the other, but also between what may be called the "naturalistic" and the "artistic" mode of expression¹¹.

Kuntaka, therefore, holds that *sālamkṛta sabda* and *nrīta* or embellished word and sense alone constitute poetry, and this embellishment consists of *Vakrokti*. The so-called embellishments, which go by the name of poetic figures

9 In the Calcutta Oriental Series, 2nd revised and enlarged ed. 1928. The work consisted probably of four chapters. See vol. i. p. 128 above.

10 An account of Kuntaka's theory of poetry is given in the introduction to the above edition, which see for detailed references.

11 See above ch. ii, pp. 48-49.

(*alamkāras*) in orthodox Poetics, are merely aspects of this Vakrokti, and can be properly included in its comprehensive scope. So can also the ideas of *dhvani* and *rasa*. This Vakrokti being the only possible *alamkāra* and being essential as such, Kuntaka finds fault with the common statement that the *alamkāra* belongs to poetry ; for such a statement would imply that poetry may exist without it (i. 7, 11).

Kuntaka then explains that the Vakrokti charms us by the skill of the poet, and is therefore called *vaidagdhyā-bhaigī-bhaṇīti*¹². It rests ultimately on the conception (*pratibhā*) of the poet, or on his skill (*kauśala*), or on an act of imagination on his part, which is termed *kavi-vyāpāra* or *kavikarman*. Kuntaka does not exactly define this *kavi-vyāpāra*, which is the ultimate source of poetry, perhaps because he is conscious of the fact that it is in its nature undefinable ; but he analyses it elaborately, and distinguishes and classifies its function in six different spheres, namely, in the arrangements of letters (*varṇa*), of the substantive and terminal parts of a word (*pada-pūrvārdha* and *pada-parārdha*), of a sentence (*vākyā*), of a particular topic (*prakarāṇa*), and of the composition as a whole (*prabandha*). He devotes

12 The word *vidagdha* is used in opposition to the word *vidvat* to signify a man versed in *belles-lettres* as distinguished from a scholar ; and the *Dhvanyāloka* often speaks of an appeal to *vidagdha-vidrat-pariṣad* (pp. 201, 239). *Avantisundarī* is cited in *Kāvya mīmāṃsā* p. 46 as saying *vidagdha-bhaṇīti-bhaigī-nivedyam* *vastuno rūpam na niyatasyrabhāram*. The *vaicitrya* is discussed by *Ānandavardhana* at p. 243, in which connexion he uses the term *bhaṇīti-kṛtam* *vaicitrya-mātram*. *Abhinava* speaks of infinite variety of *upamā-vicchitti* (*upamā-vicchitti-prakārāṇām asaṃkhyatvāt*, ^o*Locana* p. 5), and uses it also synonymously with *cārūpa* (p. 8). It would appear from the verse quoted by *Ānandavardhana* at p. 130, the word *vicchitti*, used in this sense in poetic theories, is applied analogically from the same word used to signify a certain feminine charm or elegance derived from carelessness in dress and decoration (*Bharata* xxii. 16). See on this point *Haricand Sastri*, *L'art poétique de l'Inde* pp. 64-65. The word *bhaigī* in the sense of a turn of expression is used in *Dhvā* ^o pp. 139, 241. Etymologically it appears to have the same meaning as *vicchitti*.

nearly the whole of his work, with the exception of the introductory portion of the first chapter, to the definition, classification and illustration of these varieties of *kavyāpāra-vakratā*, which thus form the different categories into which poetic speech may be analysed.

It is clear from this brief exposition that Kuntaka cannot admit as poetry a composition involving mere *svabhāvokti*, which he takes to be plain description without the requisite strikingness; and he consequently develops Bhāmaha's indication that a kind of *atiśaya* is involved in *vakrokti-vaicitrya*. This *atiśaya*, if it is taken in the sense of the *lokātikrānta-gocarata* of Bhāmaha's *atiśayokti*, would imply a kind of heightened charm of expression which is *lokottara* or dissociated from personal interests and relations. The dissociation, therefore, which is supposed in the artistic attitude involved in the relish of *Rasa*¹³, is also implied in *Vakrokti*; and on this point Kuntaka appears to agree with the main position of the *Rasa*-theorists. Kuntaka also thinks that the ultimate test of this *lokottara* *vaicitrya* is *tadvidāhlāda* or pleasure of the appreciating *sahṛdaya*, who plays here apparently the same part as he does in the *Rasa*-theory or in poetic theories generally. It seems, therefore, that the exponents of the different theories approach ultimately the same standard, albeit through different avenues of thought, and agree in holding that *vaicitrya* or *camatkāra* (in *Alamkāra* or *Rasa*) must be finally subjected to the taste of the *sahṛdaya*.

Thus a new turn was given to the *Alamkāra*-system of Bhāmaha: or rather, what was implicit or naïvely expressed in it was developed to its logical consequence by Kuntaka's systematic analysis of its implications.¹⁴ In spite of the obviously extreme nature of his central theory and his some-

13 See above ch. iv.

14 The *Vakrokti*-system of Kuntaka may properly be regarded as an off-shoot of the older *Alamkāra*-system (ch. ii.).

what quaint nomenclature, his work is of great value as presenting a unique system, or rather as systematising the *Alaṅkāra*-theory of earlier writers in a refreshingly original way. The *Dhvani*-theorists had either dismissed the poetic figures (*alaṅkāras*) as mere *vāg-vikalpas*, or considered them only as heightening the charm of the unexpressed element in poetry. They speak of the relation of the *Alaṅkāra* to the principal suggested element of poetry (e.g. in the shape of *Rasa*) ; but there might arise cases where the poet's obvious intention is not to awaken *Rasa* or anything else unexpressed, but simply to produce a strikingness in the form of an expressed poetic figure. In these cases, the authors of the *Dhvanyāloka* think that all such figures which, in connexion with an involved unexpressed element, possess a peculiar charm, belong to the class of poetry called by the *guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya* ; if there is no such unexpressed element involved, the figures have a pictorial effect merely, and may be included in the lowest class of poetry, called by them *citra* and described by them as no poetry but an imitation thereof. In other words, they take into consideration such poetic figures as being connected with the unexpressed possess a peculiar charm, and thus justify their position in poetry ; the figures unaccompanied by the unexpressed or in no way connected with it are condemned to the level of no-poetry, as phases of speech which is of infinite variety. As Ānandavardhana says : *anantā hi vāg-vikalpās tat-prakārā eva cālaṅkārāḥ*. Kuntaka, on the other hand, justifies the significance of such figures in poetry as *figures*, and shews that this significance is independent of all considerations of their connexion with the unexpressed ; for it consists in the very *vaicitrya* or strikingness involved in them, which is sufficient in itself, and does not borrow its power of appeal from elsewhere.

But he justifies the *alaṅkāra* as such only when it involves the *vaicitrya*, *vicchitti* or *vakratva* and becomes a phase of *Vakrokti*. He admits that the poetic figures are particular forms of speech, aspects of the expressed denotation

(*abhidhā-prakāra-viśeṣāḥ*), in which there need not be any connexion with the unexpressed; but he supposes at the same time a specific *differentia* in them which consists in a peculiar turn of expression resulting in a characteristic strikingness (*vaicitrya* or *vicchitti*) and depending upon an act of imagination on the part of the poet (*kavi-pratibhā-nirvartita*). Thus, the so-called *alāṃkāras* of orthodox Poetics are admissible when they are found on analysis to possess these characteristics of peculiar charm imparted to them by the fertile imagination of the poet; and these, therefore, constitute the elements which go to make up the being of a poetic figure¹⁵. Kuntaka in this way not only supplies a remarkable deficiency in the teaching of the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana, but also justifies the existence and fixes the conception of a poetic figure as distinguished from a mere speech-figure. It is no wonder, therefore, that later followers of the Dhvani school, who form the bulk of post-dhvani writers on Poetics, readily accept Kuntaka's analysis, and regard the two characteristics, viz. *vicchitti* and *kavi-vyāpāra*, as forming the ultimate test of a poetic figure. Mammata lays down that where there is no suggested Rasa, the poetic figures simply result in *uktī-vaicitrya* or charmingness of expression, and states generally that *Alāṃkāra* is charmingness itself (*vaicitryam alāṃkārah*). We shall see that Ruyyaka was the first writer who accepts Kuntaka's test of a poetic figure and applies it systematically to a detailed examination and classification of individual poetic figures.

On Riti Kuntaka puts greater stress than Bhāmaha, and gives a more elaborate classification of Guṇas. He is aware of the classification of Mārga or Riti made by Daṇḍin and

15 Hence, the word "poetic figure" or *kāvyālāṃkāra*, instead of "figure of speech." See above ch. ii. pp. 74. In a formal scheme of Poetics they no doubt correspond, but this point of view of its involving poetic charm would be entirely omitted in a treatise of rhetorics. It is, therefore, misleading to translate 'Sanskrit' *Alāṃkāra* as Sanskrit Rhetoric. See *ZDMG*, lvi, 392 ff.

Vāmana, but he does not accept it. He does not also believe that a particular Rīti is determined by Deśa-dharma (regional characteristics) or that it should be named after a particular locality ; for in that case one has to admit infinite varieties of Rīti, as there is infinite number of countries. The classification of Rītis into good (Uttama), bad (Adhama and indifferent (Madhyama) is also futile, for the best kind of mode alone is acceptable, and there is no point in admitting or framing rules for the so-called Adhama or Madhyama mode. In Kuntaka's opinion, it is Kavi-svabhāva alone which furnishes the criterion, and Rītis (Kuntaka employs the term Mārga) should be classified according to the essential difference in the power (Śakti), culture (Vyutpatti) and practice (Abhyāsa) of particular types of poets. One class of poets has special fitness for composition characterised by what he calls Saukumārya, while others prefer Vaicitrya, these being the two extreme modes of composition admitted by him. But there may still be other poets who would prefer to steer a middle course, thus favouring a mixed mode. In the Sukumāra Mārga the natural powers of the poet find an unfettered scope in describing the Svabhāva of things, and consequently whatever ornamentation is required is effected with the least effort ; while in the Vieitra Mārga, favoured by all good poets, the art is chiefly decorative, and the Kavi-Kauśala is Āhārya, being characterised by more deliberate and greater skill. Each of these Mārgas, according to Kuntaka, should contain four sets of excellencies or Guṇas, which are designated by the same name but defined differently. In the Vieitra-mārga, we have Mādhurya=compactness of skilful structure avoiding laxity of form ; Prasāda=clueidity due to the use of expressive words and easy syntax ; Lāvanya=beauty due to the arrangement of short and long syllables ; and Ābhijātya=elevatedness which is neither too soft nor too hard. In the Sukumāra Mārga, there should be Mādhurya=sweetness due to the fewness of compounds ; Prasāda=perspicuity ; Lāvanya=beauty arising out of proper

arrangement of letters and words; and Ābhijātya=smoothness. The *Madhyama Mārga*, which stands midway, combines the excellences of both (*ubhāyātma*ka). To these characteristics Kuntaka adds Aucitya (i. 53-54) and Saubhāgya (i. 55-56) as excellences common to the three Mārgas. The Aucitya emphasises fitness of words and ideas, which Saubhāgya arises out of the realisation of all the resources of a composition¹⁶.

It follows from the prominence given by Kuntaka to Vakrokti in poetry that all ideas of Dhvani and Rasa should be comprehended in certain aspects of *vakratā*, just as the *Vṛttis* of Udbbaṭa, connected with *anuprāsa*, as well as *anuprāsa* itself and *yaniaka* of orthodox writers, are taken as kinds of *varṇa-vinyāsa-vakratā* or *vakratā* depending upon the peculiar arrangement of letters. The idea of Dhvani is included partly in *rūḍhi-valcitrā-vakratā*, where Ānanda-vardhana's own verse *tāla jaamīl guṇa*, as well as the verse *snigdha-śyāmala-kānti*¹⁷ cited by Ānanda as an example of *arthāntara-saṅkramita-vācyā dhvani* (i. e. suggestion where the expressed sense passes into another sense), is given as instances. Other aspects of Dhvani are acknowledged in *upacāra-vakratā*, where the verse *gaṇam ca mattameham*, cited by Ānanda as an instance of *atyanta-tiraskṛta-vācyā dhvani* (i. e. suggestion where the expressed sense disappears entirely), is given as an example. From Kuntaka's treatment it appears that he takes *upacāra* in the sense of a supposed or fancied identification of two objects, however distinct, on the basis even of the slightest resemblance. As such, therefore, it is admittedly involved in figures like metaphor (*rūpaka*) and forms the basis of metaphorical expression generally. This would come under the comprehensive domain of transferred expression known as *lakṣaṇā*, and would be included by Dhvani-theorists under *lakṣaṇā-mīḍa-dhvani*, i. e. suggestion

16. See Har Dutt Sharma, Kuntaka's Conception of Guṇas in *Proc. A.I.O.C.*, Patna 1933, pp. 581-91.

based on transference or Indication¹⁷. Kuntaka would thus belong to that group of writers regarding whom the Dhvanikāra says that they do not deny the existence of *dhvani* but regard it as *bhākta* (*bhāktam āhus tam anye*), i. e. depending on a transference of sense or Indication.

Regarding *rasa-dhvani* which comes under *asaiṇlakṣya-krama-vyaṅgya* (i. e. suggestion of an imperceptible process), it is clear that Kuntaka, who admits not the essentiality of Rasa but that of Vakrokti, can comprehend Rasa only as an element in some aspects of Vakrokti. In the third chapter of his work, dealing with *vākyā-vakratā*, he discusses how poetry may be made charming by delineating appropriate Rasas. In this connexion he examines in some detail such figures as *rasavat*, *preyas* etc., in which Rasa was admitted as an element by early theorists, whose system, maintaining the importance of Alāṃkāra in poetry, could not otherwise recognise Rasa independently. The special poetic figures like *rasavat* etc., constituted the back-gate, as it were, for the admission of the idea of Rasa in the Alāṃkāra-systems. When, however, the theory of Rasa assumed its proper importance in the schools, the necessity naturally arose of explaining how Rasa, which is essential and therefore fit to be embellished (*alaṇkāra* or *upakāra*) can itself be regarded as a means of embellishment (*alaṇkāra* or *upakāraka*) in figures like *rasavat*. We find accordingly in the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana an attempt to comprehend the *rasavat* etc. under the class of poetry called by them *guṇībhūta-vyaṅgya*, in which the suggested sense (in this case the suggested Rasa) is subordinated to the expressed sense. The theory was put into shape by distinguishing the sphere of *asaiṇlakṣya-krama-dhvani* from that of figures like *rasavat* on the ground that when the Rasa is predominant and forms the essence of the poem in question, it constitutes the principal suggested

17 It is for this reason that Ruyyaka thinks that the Vakrokti-jivita-kāra comprehended all ideas of *dhvani* in *upacāra-vakratā* and the like (p. 8 with Jayaratha thereon).

element, and as such it is *alaṁkārya*; but when it is subordinate to the expressed sense, it constitutes mere *alaṁkāra* or embellishment (*Dhva*¹ ii. 4 f). The *Pradīpa* puts this coarsely by saying: *yatra pradhānam rasādis tatra dhvanīḥ, yatra tvapradhānam tatrālaṁkāra iti bhāvah*. Logically following this view, Mammaja does not regard the cases of *rasavat* etc. as poetic figures at all, but only as a variety of *guṇabhūta-ryāṅgya* poetry¹⁸.

18. Later writers and commentators, however, unwilling to depart from the authority of the "ancients," attempt to explain the problem of *rasavat* in various ways by a method of ingenious interpretation, which keeps to the letter but changes the spirit of the old dictum. Most of these views are discussed by *Vishvanātha*. One school holds that the designation *alaṁkāra*, given to figures like *rasavat* merely because they help the development of *Rasa*, is a purely secondary application of the term (*bhākta*); for they are not really *alaṁkāras* but should be accepted as such in deference to the practice of ancient writers (*rasādyupakāra-mātreyehālāṅkṛsi-vyapadeśo bhāktas cirantana-prasiddhy-āṅgikārya eva*). These theorists admit a difference between *rasavat*, on the one hand, and *alaṁkāras* properly so called (such as *upamā*), on the other; for in the one case the *Rasa* directly embellishes another *Rasa*, while in the other case, the *Rasa* is indirectly embellished through the form of word and sense. But they maintain at the same time that there is one thing in common between the two kinds, viz. that both of them embellish the *Rasa*, either directly or indirectly, by being subservient to it. On account of this similarity of function, the designation *alaṁkāra*, which is properly applicable to such figures as *upamā*, is applied to the *rasavat* by an extension of the sense (*bhakti*); and this usage has the sanction of ancient and respectable authority to which we must bow. But this explanation is rejected by others as being too fine. The difference between *alaṁkāras* like *upamā*, on the one hand, and the *rasavat*, on the other, which is supposed to be due to the fact of direct and indirect embellishment, is admitted to be true, but is explained away as purely accidental and immaterial; and, strictly speaking, we should designate both as *alaṁkāras* instead of indulging in fine distinctions. A third view, which altogether rejects this distinction between direct and indirect embellishment, maintains that the general definition of *alaṁkāra* as that which embellishes the *Rasa* through word and sense is applicable as much to *rasavat* as to regular figures like *upamā*.

Kuntaka takes up the *rasavat* topically under *vastu-vakratā*, which may relate to both *sahaja* and *āhārya vastu*, the delineation of Rasa coming apparently under the latter head, which is described as *kavi-śakti-vyutpatti-paripāka-praudha*. He criticises the definitions of *rasavat* given by Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and others, and holds that it is neither *darśita-spaṣṭa-śrṅgārādi-rasam*, nor *rasa-saṃśrayam*, nor again *rasa-peśalam*, but *rasena tulyaṇi vartamānam*; and consequently it is not an *alaṃkāra* but an *alaṃkārya*. In other words, the Rasa is awakened in these cases for its own sake, and not for the purpose of embellishing the expressed word and sense. If not theoretically invulnerable, this view is interesting as indicating that the importance of Rasa, first advocated in poetic theories by the Dhvanikāra, appears to have influenced thinkers belonging to other traditions of thought. The Dhvanikāra attempts to reconcile the older idea of *rasavat* as involving the idea of Rasa secondarily, by admitting it in his second division of poetry; but Kuntaka brushes aside even the view of his predecessor Bhāmaha in this respect, and thinks that this case should be regarded as one in which the poet has an opportunity of creating a kind of *vakrokti* in which the Rasa supplies the principal charm. But he allows Rasa to play the greatest part in what he calls *prabandha-vakratā*, i. e. in *vakratā* occurring in the composition as a whole which, he thinks, must be accomplished chiefly by the aid of pleasing Rasas (*rasāntareṇa ramyena yatra nirvahayām bhavet*). It is not the mere matter or plot, but the beauty imparted to it by the continuous sense of Rasa in it which can make the words of a poet live (*nirantara-rasoddhāra-garbha-saundarya-nirvarāḥ* /, *girāḥ kavīnāḥ jīvāni na kathāmātram aśritāḥ*). Kuntaka even accepts the *Dhvanyāloka*'s judgment that in the *Mahābhārata*, the *śānta-rasa* is the *aṅgin* or predominant Rasa and constitutes its principal charm, although he thinks that it is ultimately the *kavi-pratibhā* which is the all-important thing in poetry.

(4)

Mahimabhaṭṭa

Mahimabhaṭṭa begins his *Vyakti-viveka*, whose very name implies that it is a consideration of the theory of *vyakti* or *vyañjanā* established by the authors of the *Dhvanyāloka*, with the proposition that his object is to comprehend all ideas of *dhvani* in the process of *anumāna* or syllogistic reasoning (*anumāne'ntarbhāvam sarvasyaiva dhvaneḥ prakāśayitum*). He proceeds, therefore, to consider in detail the text as well as the theory of the *Dhvaniśāra* and Ānandavar-dhana. He criticises minutely the definition of *dhvani* given in *Dhvani* i. 13 which, if properly considered, applies, he thinks, to *anumāna*. He considers (especially in the third chapter) most of the examples given in the *Dhvanyāloka* and tries to demonstrate that they are really cases of *anumāna*. Indeed, throughout his work he proceeds by an elaborate process of destructive criticism and makes the definition of *dhvani*, propounded by its advocates, conform to his definition of what he calls *kāvyānumiti* as the process through which another sense is revealed by the expressed sense, or by a sense inferred from it connectedly (*vācyas tad-anumito vā yairārtho'rihāntarami prakāśayati*), *sambandhataḥ kutaścit sā kāvyānumitir ity uktā*, p. 22).

This being his main position, he accepts only two senses of *śabda*, namely, the actually expressed (*vācya*) and the inferable (*anumeya*), including under the latter both *lakṣya* and *vyañgya* senses, whose independent existence he does not admit. He says (p. 7) ; "Meanings are of two kinds, the expressed and the inferable. Of these, the expressed belongs to the function of a word, and is alone called the primary sense of a word.... From it, or being inferred from it, as from a logical *hetu* or middle term in a syllogism, another sense which is inferred, is called the inferable sense. This again is threefold, consisting of mere matter (*vastu*), the poetic figures (*alambākara*) or the mood and sentiments (*rasa*). The first

two of these varieties can also become the expressed, the last is always inferable". It is clear enough from this that Mahimabhaṭṭa apparently accepts the recognised concept of a suggested sense in the shape of a *vastu*, *alaṁkāra* and *rasa*, but maintains that these are not revealed by *vyakti* or suggestion but by *anumāna*¹⁹; for the expressed sense and the so-called suggested sense stand in the relation of *liṅga* and *liṅgin*, the middle and the major terms of a syllogism (p. 12).

Mahimabhaṭṭa maintains, by analysing many examples taken from the *Dhvanyāloka*, that the expressed sense does not really suggest the unexpressed sense, but that between the two, inferences are possible and do occur. The *vyakti*, as Ānandavardhana himself admits (p. 192), is the manifestation of that which is desired to be manifested, and which becomes manifest along with that which manifests it, just as a jar in a dark room becomes visible along with the light which makes it visible. The *vastu*, *alaṁkāra* and *rasa*, which are the three suggested elements in the opinion of the Dhvani-theorists, are not manifested in this way; for they are not comprehended along with the expressed which suggests them, but only afterwards. The interval between the perception of the expressed *vibhāvas* and the suggested *rasa*, for instance, is indeed very short, and is therefore called by the Dhvani-theorists themselves a process of impereceptible sequence (*asaṇīlakṣya-krama*); but this very nomenclature shows that the existence of a *krama* or sequence cannot be denied, and that the expressed and the unexpressed, therefore, are sequential. Being such, they must bear the relationship of a logical premise and its conclusion (pp. 11 f.). Even in the case of the indicated sense, as in the phrase *gaur bāhīkaḥ*, what one first understands is that the two (*go* and *bāhīka*) are not identical, and from this the conclusion arises that

19 This is the only important point of his disagreement with the *Dhvanyāloka*; in other respects, he says, there is hardly any disagreement (*prāṇabhūtā dhvaner vyaktir iti saiva vivecitā/yat tvanyat tatra vimatiḥ prāyo nāśīty upekṣitam//*).

they are meant as possessing similar qualities ; the indicated sense here is ultimately reached by *anumāna* (p. 24). Thus, *artha* is merely a ground of inference and not a *vyāñjaka*. The process of *Anumāna* or inference is very wide in its scope, much wider than that of *Dhvani* which is naturally included in it (tasya, i.e. *anumānasya*, *ca tad-apeksayā mahāviṣayatvāt* p. 12). With regard to *śabda*, it cannot be taken as the *vyāñjaka* or suggestor of anything else but its literal meaning. As it exhausts itself after expressing its literal or primary sense, even the secondary indicated meaning (*lakṣya artha*) has admittedly to be inferred, not from itself but from the latter : how can it be supposed to suggest any deeper sense? But such words, through their expressed sense, can well become the ground or source of inference (*anumāpaka*), pp. 27 f.

The process of inference in poetry by which the unexpressed may be thus reached is presumably the ordinary process of syllogistic reasoning, which consists in the invariable concomitance (*vyāpti*) of the middle (*liṅgu*) and the major (*liṅgin*) terms. The *Dhvani* or suggested sense is the *liṅgin*, and its suggestors (viz. word and sense) are apparently its *liṅga*. The invariable concomitance is ascertained in three ways, viz. by *anupalabdhi* (non-cognition), *tādātmyo* (identity) and *tad-utpatti* (causation). In reply to Mahimabhaṭṭa's position, it has been shewn that none of these means of proving a syllogism is applicable to establishing the invariable concomitance between the *liṅgo* *śabdārthau* and the *liṅgin* *dhvani*. The non-cognition of word and sense does not prove the existence of *dhvani* ; for non-cognition only proves that *liṅgin* which consists of the absence of something. That a jar is absent can be proved from its non-cognition. But here the *liṅgin* *dhvani* does not consist of the absence of anything. Therefore the *hetu* is vitiated, and the non-cognition of word and sense can only prove their absence, but not that of *Dhvani*. There can be no identity (*tādātmya*), again, between the suggested sense (*dhvani*) and that which suggests it (*śabda* and *artha*) ; for the suggested meaning is essentially different from

the expressed, and comes out prominently by keeping the latter in subordinate position. Similarly, the test of *tad-utpatti* or causation does not apply, for here the word and sense cannot be regarded as being caused by the suggested sense, in the same way as the smoke, which proves the existence of fire, can be taken as being produced from the fire itself.

Viśvanātha puts the objections in another way. Inference is the knowledge of the *liṅgin* by means of the *liṅga*, qualified by its existence in the subject (*pakṣa-sat्त्वा*), its existence in similar instances (*sapakṣa-sat्त्वा*) and its exclusion from opposite instances (*vipakṣa-vyāvartatva*). For example, we conclude in the subject, e. g. a smoky hill, the existence of the *liṅgin* fire by the *liṅga* smoke, which we see existing in it, as well as in similar instances (such as in the culinary hearth, where there is no doubt as to the existence of fire), and which we see absent from opposite instances (e. g. such places where the absence of fire is certain). But this syllogistic method is not strictly applicable to establishing the suggested sense from the expressed ; for logical inference, Viśvanātha points out, has nothing to do with works of imagination. Take, for instance, the following verse :

drṣṭim he prativeśini kṣaṇam iḥāpy asmiad-ṛ̥he dāsyasi
prāyeṇāsyā śiśoh pītā na virasāḥ kaupīr apāḥ pāsyati /,
ekākīny api yāmī satvaram itāḥ srotas tamālākulam
nīrandhrās tanum ālikhantu jarāṭha-cchedā nala-granthayah//.

"O neighbour, will you cast your eyes for a moment here on our house? The father of this child will scarcely drink the tasteless water of a well. Though alone, I go quickly hence to the river whose banks are covered with *tamāla*-trees. Let the densely swarming knots of reeds with their hard projections scratch my body". Here the reed-knot's scratching the woman's body and her going alone to the quiet river-side may be taken as the *liṅga* of her enjoyment with a lover, which is the suggested sense (*liṅgin*) here. But these alleged reasons, though they help to reveal the unexpressed sense, are not

invariable; for dalliance with a gallant is not, from the logical point of view, universally predictable of a woman going alone to a river-side or from her being scratched by the reed-knots.

It is noteworthy that Mahimabhaṭṭa relies (p. 26) also upon the arguments of those objectors of the Dhvani-theory who think that *dhvani* is identical with *bhakti*²⁰; but he opposes alike the views of those Mīmāṃsakas who believe in the single pervasive power of the expressed sense²¹, as well as the view of the Vakroktijivita-kāra. His objection to the latter system is naturally based on his own idea of the importance of Rasa and unimportance of Dhvani. In his opinion, any deviation from common usage involving charmingness of expression, such as Kuntaka upholds, may take either of two forms, viz. (1) it may resolve itself more or less into a theory of propriety (*aucitya*)²², or (2) it may mean the manifestation of an implied sense other than the expressed sense. If the first alternative is meant, it is superfluous to one who admits Rasa in poetry, as no theory of Rasa can dispense with a theory of propriety or suitability with regard to the adjustment of its factors. To admit the other alternative is to bring in the idea of *dhvani* in a more or less disguised form.

Mahimabhaṭṭa's work is undoubtedly a masterpiece of

20. See above ch. v, pp. 152f.

21. See above ch. v, 168 fn.

22. Mahimabhaṭṭa treats the question of *aucitya* (already dwelt upon in the *Dhvanyāloka*) in the second *Vimarsa* of his work. He divides the subject of impropriety, which may be *sabdo-vijaya* and *artha-vijaya*, into two heads according as it concerns the matter or form of poetry. The former, called *antarāṅga anaucitya*, consists in improper employment of the vibhāvas etc. in the manifestation of Rasa. It has already been dealt with in the *Dhvanyāloka*. The formal impropriety, called *bahirāṅga anaucitya*, is chiefly concerned with the occurrence of five defects, viz. *vidheyāvīmśa* (pp. 37-58), *prakrama-bheda* (pp. 58-66), *krama-bheda* (pp. 66-69), *paunarukṛya* (pp. 69-84) and *vṛcīyāvacana* (pp. 84-109). The question of *aucitya* will be dealt with in the next chapter.

scholastic argumentation, exhibiting much fastidious criticism and great learning of a miscellaneous kind ; but its avowed object is polemical and it does not pretend to set up a new system. Mahimabhaṭṭa possesses all the qualifications of a subtle controversialist and enters into his task with a decided animus, which constitutes the source at once of his weakness as well as of his strength. A fine product of a scholastic age, he cannot yet look beyond the pettiness of immediate issues ; and whatever might be the value of his peculiar proposition, he hardly ever adds to its limited interest any independent treatment of the larger problems of Poetics. This is perhaps one of the reasons why even his logical acumen and his erudition failed to keep the interest of his work alive ; but the chief reason why his book was forgotten in later times and was cited only to be condemned —a fate which it shared with the *Vakrokti-jīvita* of Kuntaka—was that it pitted itself against the more formidable theory of the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhāna which was destined to supersede it by attracting away the best thinkers of later times. The *anumāna*-theory of Mahimabhaṭṭa, like the *vakrokti*-theory of Kuntaka, appears to have never received any liberal recognition in the hands of later theorists, nearly all of whom, since Mammāṭa's time, accepted without question the system of the *Dhvanyāloka*. In attempting to explain away the new theory of Vyañjanā in terms of the already recognised idea of *Anumāna*, or reviving Bhāmaha's old position in the face of the more widely received theory of the new aesthetic school, Mahimabhaṭṭa and Kuntaka were apparently fighting on behalf of a cause already doomed.

(4.)

Bhoja and the Agni-purāṇa

The school of opinion, represented in Poetics by the *alamkāra*-portion of the *Agni-purāṇa* apparently follows a tradition which departs in many respects from the orthodox

systems, and which we find developed by Bhoja in his own way in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābhāraṇa*²³.

This apocryphal *Purāṇa* of uncertain date is ambitiously cyclopaedic. There is hardly any doubt, however, that the *alāṃkāra*-portion of this work, as we have already remarked, is chiefly a compilation, in a somewhat eclectic fashion, by a writer who was himself no theorist but who probably wanted to collect together and present a workable epitome, conforming in essentials to the teachings of no particular orthodox school, but gathering its material from all sources. This will be borne out not only by its independent, if somewhat loosely joined and uncritical treatment, but also from the presence of verses culled from various old writers.

Take the *Alāṃkāra*-section of the *Agni-purāṇa* and the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābhāraṇa* side by side, one is struck at once by some fundamental characteristics which are common to both. The most peculiar feature of the *Agni-purāṇa* theory is the absence of the doctrine of *Dhvani*, although the concept of *dhvani* is included casually, after the manner of ancient authors, in the figure *ākṣepa* (*sa ākṣepo dhvanīḥ syāc ca dhvaninā vyajyate yataḥ*, 344. 14). The word *dhvani* is also used in the opening verse (336. 1=Bhoja i. 1), which says generally that speech consists of *dhvani*, *varṇa*, *pada* and *rākyā* (*dhvanir varṇāḥ padam rākyam ity etad rāṇmayam matam*) ; but apparently this alludes to the grammatical word which reveals the *sphoṭa*, and which is indicated by the same term in the *Vākyapadiya*. The work, however, recognises *abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā*, the ideas of which were already elaborated by philosophers and philosophical grammarians. At the same time, apart from obvious borrowings or copyings from Bharata, Bhāmaha and Dandī, this work cannot be taken as substantially following the views of any one of the schools represented by these names.

23 Much of this section was printed originally as an article contributed to *JRAS.* 1923, pp. 537-49. On *Visṇu-dharmottara Purāṇa* see vol. i, p. 95f and on *Agni-purāṇa* i, p. 97f, where an account of their contents is given.

There is no doubt that in one verse, which is conveniently cited by Viśvanātha in support of his own extreme view, the *Agni-purāṇa* speaks of Rasa as the "soul" of poetry in contrast with mere verbal ingenuity (*vāg-vaidagdhyā-pradhane'pi rasa evātra jīvitam*, 336. 33). It devotes a somewhat lengthy chapter to the description, after Bharata, of *rasa* and *bhāva*; yet there is nowhere any central theory of Rasa or any elaboration of a system of Poetics on its basis. As to the origin of Rasa, it propounds a peculiar view that from infinite bliss (*ānanda*) proceeds self-consciousness (*ahamikāra*), from self-consciousness proceeds conceit (*abhimāna*), from conceit pleasure (*rati*), of which *śringāra* (love), *hāsyā* (laughter) and other *rasas* are modifications (338. 2-4). It admits with Bharata four fundamental Rasas, from which are derived five others. Although partiality is thus shown to Rasa in poetry and drama, the *Agni-purāṇa* cannot be affiliated to the Rasa school; for it does not make any attempt to correlate with this central principle the other factors of poetry, viz. *rīti*, *guṇa* and *alaṁkāra*, which are also recognised as of great, if not of equal, importance. One fact, however, worth noticing in this connexion is that although the *Agni-purāṇa* recognises nine Rasas, adding *śānta* to the orthodox eight, it extols and gives prominence to *śringāra*: a trait which is unique and which is found fully developed in Bhoja who, as we shall see presently, accepts no other Rasa than *śringāra* in his *Śringāra-prakāśa* and gives almost exclusive attention to this important Rasa in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*.

On the other hand, although treatment is accorded to *rīti* (ch. 339) and *guṇa* (ch. 345), the *Agni-purāṇa* does not follow the tenets of the Rīti school, as represented by Daṇḍin and Vāmana. Daṇḍin classifies Rīti, which he calls Mārga, into two extreme types, *vaidarbī* and *gauḍī*, to which Vāmana adds *pāñcālī* as an intermediate type; but the classification, according to both, depends upon the presence or absence of certain fixed excellencies of diction, known as *Guṇas*. To

this enumeration Rudra $\ddot{\text{a}}$ adds *lāgi*, but by Riti he means a definite arrangement of sentences with reference to the use of compound words of variable length. The *Agni-purāṇa* accepts this four-fold classification, but the distinction is supposed to lie not only in the length or shortness of compound words, but also in the qualities of softness or smoothness, as well as in the prominence or otherwise of metaphorical expression (*upacārā*). The *Guṇas*, again, are regarded as fundamental characteristics both by Daṇḍin (i. 42) and Vāmana (i. 2, 6-8), who take them as forming the essence of Riti, and distinguish them carefully from *Alamkāras*, which, in the opinion of Daṇḍin, form the general characteristics of both the *Mārgas*, and, in the opinion of Vāmana, are merely accidental characteristics enhancing the charm of poetry already brought out by the *Guṇas*. The *Agni-purāṇa*, however, defines the *Guṇas*, which are nowhere connected directly with Riti, simply as those characteristics which reflect great beauty on poetry (yñh kāvye mahatāt chāyāt anugṛhṇāty nsau guṇah, 345. 3), a definition which hardly distinguishes them from *Alamkāras*, the definition of which is here almost the same: *kāvya-sobhākarān dharmān alamkārān prāenkṣate* (341. 17)²⁴, and is merely copied uncritically from Daṇḍin ii. 1. The classification of *Guṇas* themselves, again, in this work is peculiar to itself. Ordinarily, the *Guṇas* are classified as either *śabda-guṇas* or *artha-guṇas*, and this procedure is sanctioned by Vāmana. The *Agni-purāṇa* brings in finer distinctions (345. 3 f.). The *Guṇas* are here said to be of two kinds, specific (*vaiśeṣika*) and general (*sāmānya*), the former apparently confining itself to any specific part or feature of a composition, the latter existing as common to its several component parts. The *sāmānya guṇa*, again, is in its turn classified into three subdivisions,

24 This verse is also cited by Bhoja (ch. v, p. 355); but he remarks: *tatra kāvya-sobhākarān ity anena ślesopamādīvad guṇa-rasa-bhāvata-dābhāsa-prāsamanādīn apy upagṛhṇāti*, apparently as a commentary on Daṇḍin's view!

according as it appertains to *śabda*, *artha*, or both ; the *Agni-purāṇa* (and Bhoja) admitting for the first time, so far as we know, this threefold classification. An altogether different scheme of enumeration of these Guṇas then follows. Vāmana mentions in all ten Guṇas, making each of these a *śabda-guṇa* as well as an *artha-guṇa*. The *śabda-guṇas*, according to the *Agni-purāṇa*, are seven in number, viz., *śleṣa*, *lālitya*, *gāmbhīrya*, *saukumārya*, *udāratā*, *satyā*, and *yaugikī* ; the *artha-guṇas* are six, viz. *mādhurya*, *sañvidhāna*, *komalatva*, *udāratā*, *praudhī*, and *sāmayikatā* ; the *śabdārtha-guṇas* are again six, viz. *prasāda*, *saubhāgya*, *yathāsaṃkhyā*, *prāsastyatā*, *pāka*, and *rāga*. The characteristics of some of these Guṇas are not very clearly marked²⁵ ; and in Guṇas like *sañvidhāna* and *yathāsaṃkhyā* are included ideas which are credited by other writers to Alāṃkāras. Although not enumerated as such, Daṇḍin's *ojas* is reproduced (345. 10=Daṇḍin i. 80) in the course of the treatment of individual *śabda-guṇas*.

In the same way, it can be easily shown that the influence of the Alāṃkāra school, as represented by Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa, is not very marked in this work. The *śabdālāṃkāras* are, with some modification, developed, no doubt, on the general lines of Daṇḍin's treatment²⁶, but the *arthālāṃkāras* do not strictly conform to the orthodox classification or definition. The *Agni-purāṇa* gives eight varieties of the latter, viz. *svarūpa* (or *svabhāva*), *sādṛṣya*, *utprekṣā*, *atiśaya*, *vibhāvanā*, *virodha*, *hetu* and *sama* (343. 2-3) ; the figures *upamā*, *rūpaka*, *sahokti*, and *arthāntara-nyāsa* being included separately under *sādṛṣya* (343. 5), and mention being made of eighteen kinds of *upamā* embracing most of

25 See V. Raghavan, *Rīti and Guṇa in the Agni-purāṇa* in *IHQ*, x (1934) pp. 776-79. The printed text in the Ānandāśrama ed. appears to be corrupt; Raghavan suggests corrections and interpretations.

26 It recognises nine classes of *Śabdālāṃkāras*, viz. *Chāyā*, *Mudrā*, *Ukti*, *Yukti*, *Gumphanā*, *Vākōvākyam*, *Anuprāsa* (including *Yamaka*), *Citra* and *Duṣkara* (including *Prahelikā*).

Dāṇḍin's numerous subvarieties of that figures (343. 9 f). The *Agni-purāṇa* is also one of the earliest known works which adds a separate chapter on the *ubhayālāmṛkāras* (not recognised by earlier writer), and this includes six varieties, viz. *praśasti*, *kānti*, *aucitya*, *samkṣepa*, *yāvad-arthaṭā* and *abhivyakti* (344. 2), some of which would come under Guṇas of other writers²⁷. Indeed, the classification and definition of the Guṇas and Alāmṛkāras, which are not differentiated very clearly, would appear crude and unsystematic, when compared to the elaborate critical treatment of the Rīti and the Alāmṛkāra schools.

From this brief outline, it will be clear enough that the *Agni-purāṇa* follows, in its general standpoint, none of the orthodox schools of Poetics, so far as they are known to us, although with regard to its material it attempts to cull, in its cyclopaedic spirit, notions, expressions and even whole verses from the authors of the different schools, without, however, connecting them with a central theory. It borrows, for instance, Dāṇḍin's definition of the *kāvya-sarira* (*īśvartha-vyavacchinnā padāvali*), but the attempt to supplement it by adding *kāvyaṁ sphuṭad-alāmṛkāraṁ gunavat doṣa-var-jitam* (336. 6-7), is merely eclectic and hardly constitutes an improvement. The same remarks apply to its definitions of fundamental notions like *guṇa* or *alāmṛkāra*, which are merely copied or paraphrased uncritically from earlier writers. At the same time, mere eclecticism is not enough

27 It is noteworthy in this connection that Dāṇḍin's *saṁādhi-guṇa* is treated here under the context of *lakṣaṇa* with a hint apparently of identifying them.—The borrowings from Bhāmaha and Dāṇḍin by the Purāṇa are extensive. For instance, the definitions of the figures *rūpaka*, *ākṣepa*, *aprasuta-praśamsā*, *saṁśokti* and *paryāyakta* given by the Purāṇa (343. 22 ; 344. 15, 16, 18, 17) are almost the same as those of Bhāmaha (ii. 21, 68 ; iii. 29, 8 ; ii. 79) ; while the definitions of *rūpaka*, *utsprekṣa*, *vīśeṣokti*, *vibhāvanā*, *apahnuti* and *saṁādhi* (343. 23, 24-25, 26-27, 27-28 ; 355. 18, 13) appear to have been repeated from Dāṇḍin (ii. 66, 221, 323, 199, 304 ; i. 93) respectively.

to explain certain features of this work ; the peculiar treatment and arrangement, for instance, of the *gunas* and *alaṅkāras* which depart very strikingly from orthodox views of the matter. In order to explain this novelty, we should, having regard to the essentially derivative nature of the work itself, admit the probable existence of an altogether different line of speculation, of which unfortunately no other early traces are preserved.

This tradition of opinion we find fully developed in Bhoja. The prominence given to *rasa* and the absence of the *dhvani*-theory in Bhoja, therefore, need not surprise us ; nor should the peculiar arrangement of the *gunas* and *alaṅkāras* appear unintelligible. The same reverence to Bharata and Daṇḍin is shown throughout ; and in fact, Daṇḍin is estimated to have supplied Bhoja with more than two hundred unacknowledged quotations²⁸. At the same time, Bhoja very freely incorporates definite verses and illustrative stanzas from most of his well-known predecessors, especially from Bhāmaha, Vāmana, Rudraṭa and Dhanika. He even appropriates Kārikās from the *Dhvanyāloka*²⁹, although he does not accept its theory. His huge compilation, like its prototype the *Agni-purāṇa*, in more or less cyclopaedic in scope and eclectic in spirit, and represents apparently one of the several forms of arranging the teachings (with the exception of ignoring the *dhvani*-theory) of earlier schools in the light of a different tradition, of which another form is perhaps preserved, to a certain extent, in the two Jaina Vāgbhaṭas. But in some of the main points, similarity of his treatment to the *Agni-purāṇa* is obvious, and here the teachings of the orthodox schools are of no avail. The verbal borrowings are numerous. Thus *Agni* 341. 18 f has much in common with *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* ii, some

28 While the *Agni-purāṇa* takes no less than 160 passages from Daṇḍin.

29 As the *Agni-purāṇa* appropriates six of its Kārikās.

verses of the former being literally adopted by the latter. The *Agni* 341. 18-19, says:

ye vyutpattyādinā śabdam alaṁkartum iha kṣamāḥ/
śabdālaṁkāram āhus tān kāvya-mīmāṁsā-kovidāḥ³⁰//.

This definition of a *śabdālaṁkāra* is adopted by Bhoja, with the only verbal change of the defective last line into *śabdālaṁkāra-saṁjñās te jñeyā jātyādayo budhaiḥ* (ii. 2). Such instances can be easily multiplied, and we may cite for comparison *Agni* 341. 21 and Bhoja ii. 39; *Agni* 342. 10 and Bhoja ii. 79; *Agni* 338. 11 and Bhoja v. 3, etc. Apart from this fact of literal similarity, which, however, is not conclusive, there is a striking coincidence, as we shall see presently, of treatment, as well as agreement of views on fundamental points, which is more than merely accidental. It is not suggested that Bhoja is directly copying from the *Agni-purāṇa* or the *Purāṇa* copying directly from Bhoja; it is quite possible that they exploit in common an unknown source. But there is hardly any doubt that they follow a common tradition which is different in many respects from that of the Kashmirian writers.³¹

30 Instead of *kāvya-mīmāṁsakā vidāḥ* in the text.

31 With regard to the relation between the *Agni-purāṇa*-compiler and Bhoja, our views do not appear to have been clear to P. V. Kane and V. Raghavan. We have explicitly stated them in *Poona Orientalist* ii, p. 15-17; we repeat them here. A comparative study of Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-k.* and the *Alaṁkāra*-section of the *Purāṇa* would, in our opinion, indicate that (1) Both the works are more or less compilations, (2) As compilations both are eclectic, but not very well assorted and critical, (3) Both follow a tradition of opinion which is distinctive and which stands apart from that of the orthodox Kashmirian writers, (4) Bhoja is more systematic and certainly more elaborate, and the distinctive topics are found in Bhoja in a more developed form. These considerations led us to believe that there might be no question of direct mutual borrowing, but both were drawing upon a common source, and that the more elaborate and systematic Bhoja was probably chronologically later. If the *Purāṇa*-compiler was later and took from Bhoja, it would be strange indeed that he should present as undeveloped and

Bhoja develops the definition of poetry given by the *Agni-purāṇa* by adding expressly Rasa among its essential characteristics, which, as the commentator Ratneśvara points out, indicates the influence of the "Kāśmīrakas":

*nirdoṣanī guṇavat kāvyam alaṁkārair alaṁkṛtam/
rasānvitam.....(i. 2).*

In conformity to this definition, which mentions rather uncritically all the requisite elements, Bhoja deals in the first chapter with the Doṣas and Guṇas and devotes the next three chapters respectively to the consideration of poetic figures (Alaṁkāras) of *śabda*, of *artha*, and of both *śabda* and *artha*. In the last chapter is given a detailed treatment of Rasa, for Bhoja thinks that *rasakti* is essential in poetry (v. 8). But like the author of the *Agni-purāṇa*, Bhoja is not explicit with regard to the question of correlating this aesthetic element with other elements of poetry, and his conception of Rasa bears resemblance to that of the *utpatti-vādins* whose causal theory, as Abhinavagupta points out, is accepted by earlier authors like Daṇḍin. No doubt, in one verse (i. 158) Bhoja is apparently of opinion that a poem is relished only if it contains the Guṇas, even though it may possess various kinds of poetic figures; for even excellent poetic figures in a composition without the Guṇas present an ugly aspect, as the form of a woman, destitute of youth, looks ugly even though she wears excellent ornaments. But this verse is only an unacknowledged quotation from Vāmana (iii. 1. 2, Vṛtti), and must be taken as an instance of eulogistic statements, not unusual in Sanskrit writers, made for the purpose of simply emphasising a point, or as a characteristic of the uncritical and confused nature of the work itself; for otherwise we cannot reconcile this dictum with others of a similar nature made in connexion with Rasa or Alaṁkāra.

unsystematic what was already developed and systematic in his presumed source. It would hardly make any difference if the Purāṇa-compiler is proved later than Bhoja; but as our available evidence is at best uncertain, it would be better to leave the question open.

Although Bhoja puts a great deal of emphasis on Rasa, probably in accordance with the views of the new school of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, he cannot yet be taken as an adherent of the Dhvani school, nor of the older Rasa school. Bhoja mentions here as many as twelve Rasas, adding the *sānta*, *preyas*, *udātta* and *uddhata*, to the eight orthodox Rasas mentioned by Bharata (vi. 15)³²; but in his treatment he follows the *Agni-purāṇa* tradition in singling out the *Śringāra* for almost exclusive attention. This trait is also noticeable in his other work, *Śringāra-prakāśa*, in which he accepts only one Rasa, the *Erotic*³³, thus justifying its title.

Bhoja modifies the *Agni-purāṇa*'s classification of the Guṇas by dividing the general (*sāmānya*) Guṇas, according as they relate to *śabda* and *artha*, into external (*bāhya*) and internal (*ābhyantra*), on the one hand, with specific (*vaīśeṣika*) Guṇas on the other. By the last he understands those which under special circumstances are Guṇas in spite of their being essentially Doṣas or faults (i. 60f). He carries the differentiation and multiplication of Guṇas still further, and enumerates twenty-four *śabda-guṇas* and as many *artha-guṇas*, again, of identical names. Like the *Agni-purāṇa*, Bhoja is not very precise or critical in his definitions of individual Guṇas, and he assigns to some Guṇas properties which are ascribed to Alambikāras by other writers. It is curious to note that the *artha-guṇa kānti* is defined, after Vāmana, as *dīpta-rasatvam* (i. 81), including Rasa therein; and in the *śabda-guṇa gāmbhīra* (i. 73) is incorporated the concept of Dhvani. At the same

32 Of these *Sānta* and *Preyas* are already recognised. The four additional Rasas (to orthodox eight) are meant to be associated with the four kinds of heroes, namely, Dhīra-*Sānta*, Dhīra-*lalita*, Dhīrodātta and Dhīroddhata respectively. See V. Raghavan, *Number of Rasas*, pp. 121-22.

33 So says Vidyādhara, p. 98; also Kumārasvāmin, p. 221, and the author of *Mandāra-maranda-campū* ix, p. 107. See Vol i pp. 136-38, for a detailed account of Bhoja's conception of Rasa in *Sarasvatī-k.* and *Śringāra-pr.* See V. Raghavan, *Śringāra-prakāśa* pp. 418-542.

Bhoja, he includes a very limited number in the mixed third class of *Ubbayālampākāra*; such as *punaruktavād-ābhāsa*, in which stress is laid equally on *sabda* and *artha*.

This novel and somewhat unorthodox standpoint, which follows a peculiar line of speculation different in some respects from the accepted views of the various established schools, makes Bhoja's work an interesting study; but its theoretic importance has been exaggerated. The work, no doubt, possesses a certain importance for this unique treatment in the history of Sanskrit Poetics; but its value consists, not in its theories, nor in its discussion of general principles, but in its being a very elaborate, if somewhat diffuse, manual and an exhaustive store-house of definitions and illustrations, for which not only the works of Ālampārikas but also of almost all the well-known poets have been laid under contribution. The later writers, in spite of the fascination which the magic name of Bhojarāja carries with it, cite this work chiefly for its abundant wealth of illustration, or for the purpose of supporting some unorthodox view to which Bhoja might have lent the authority of his name. The learning which this work parades, though extensive, is ill-assorted and uncritical, its ideas lacking in system and its expression in preciseness. The school of opinion which Bhoja represents does not appear to have received any support or following in later times".

35 Apart from occasional citations from Bhoja by later authors, Vidyānātha (as well as Prakāśavarṣa in his *Rasārṇavālāmīkra*) appears to be the one writer who goes to the length of following Bhoja's elaborate classification of the *Gunas* (see below, ch. vii).—Bhoja's truly "mammoth" work, the *Sṛngāra-prakṛṣṭa*, has not yet been published, but a detailed account of its contents will be found in V. Raghavan's thesis on the same. It has the same eclectic and encyclopaedic character of an all-comprehending type (but on a much more extended scale) as his presumably earlier and smaller work, the *Sarasvatī-kanjihābhāraṇa*. With regard to subject-matter and essential ideas, however, it adds nothing substantially new which is not contained in a brief form in *Sarasvatī-k.* In spite of its name the *Sṛngāra-pr.* comprehends in its

36 chapters most of the important topics of Poetics and some of Dramaturgy. Thus, ch. i-vi. deal with Śabda and Artha ; ch. vii-xi with grammatical and poetical aspects of Śābitya of Śabda and Artha, including treatment of Doṣa, Guṇa and Alambāra ; ch. xii. mainly with Drama and its general features ; ch. xiii-xiv with a preliminary treatment of Rasa ; ch. xv-xvii with Vibhāvas and Anubhāvas of Rati ; ch. xviii-xxi with four Śringāras of four Puruṣārthas—viz. Śringāras of Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa ; ch. xxii-xxxvi with elaboration of the lower Śringāra Rasa (apart from the higher Śringāra of Abhimāna explained in ch. xi) of Rati between man and woman. Thus, after dealing with Doṣa-hāna, Guṇopādāna, Alambāra-yoga and Rasa-viyoga (which last should be avoided) he gives an exposition of his theory of Abhīmāna-Abhīmāna-Śringāra Rasa. With reference to the general features of the Drama he devotes a large part of his work to the two phases of Vipralambha and Sambhoga Śringāra viewed as a relation between man and woman.

CHAPTER VII

MAMMATA AND THE NEW SCHOOL

(1)

The foregoing sketch of the progress of the principal schools and systems, terminating in the dominance of the Dhvani school, will make it clear that the history of Sanskrit Poetics is marked by two or three well-defined stages.¹ The dim beginnings of the science are indeed hidden from us, but we enter upon the first historic stage of its formulation, in a more or less developed form, in the works of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. This is followed by a fruitful and creative stage, ending with Ahhinavagupta, in which the theories of the different schools or systems were settled in their general outlines, giving rise to four distinct schools of opinion, respectively represented by the Rasa-, Alāṃkāra-, Riti- and Dhvani-systems. It covers more than three centuries, and includes some of the great names in the history of the discipline, like those of Bhāmaha, Uddhaṭa and Rudraṭa, of Lollāṭa, Śāṅkuka and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, of Daṇḍin and Vāmana, of the Dhvanikāra, Ānandavardhana and Ahhinavagupta, of Kuntaka, Mahimabhaṭṭa and Bhoja: all of whom helped, in a constructive or destructive way, to shape the different currents of thought which ultimately ran into one stream in the standard text-book of Mammata.

If we attempt to discriminate between these different schools of thought and roughly indicate the broad steps taken in the progress of the discipline, we can state generally that the Alāṃkāra system proposed to confine itself to a theory of embellishment (*alāṃkāra*) of expression consistently with what was probably the original tradition of the discipline;

1 See vol. i, pp. 322 f.

the Rasa system, starting with the consideration of the drama, was responsible for introducing into poetic theory the subjective element of *rasa*, represented by the feelings, moods and sentiments ; the Riti system laid stress on the objective beauty of representation realised by means of diction (*rīti*) and its constituent excellencies (*guṇas*) ; while the Dhvani system, admitting the underlying truth of all these doctrines, elaborated a peculiar theory of suggestion in poetry (*dhvani*), including the suggestion of *rasa*, to which everything else was correlated. It will be seen from this that a relative emphasis was laid on the elements of *alāṃkāra*, *rasa*, *rīti* (including *guṇa* and *doṣa*) and *dhvani* by each of these systems ; and although the soft hand of Indian dialectics drew lines of fantastic ideas, consisting of odd and abstruse schemes, it is on these essential points that the theories centred themselves, and the main currents flowed thereof in different directions. It was, however, realised in the end that all these gleams of thought must be gathered into a focus, and all these currents must be made to flow into one stream. The purely normative character of the discipline began to disappear, and it was understood that, however much importance was attached to the fact of externalisation, to the consideration of embellishment or diction, it was far outbalanced by the most necessary and important principle of higher poetry, viz., the art of suggestion, especially connected with the art of suggesting a peculiar mental condition of enjoyment, technically known as *rasa*, of which the charm lies in a disinterested and impersonal pleasure in the mind, the attitude proper to contemplation of the beautiful².

2 The problem, therefore, does not concern rhetoric merely, and the ideal of beauty (if the expression is allowable) is no longer conceived from the outside, being associated with a peculiar condition of artistic enjoyment, the suggestion of which is taken as the chief function of poetry. As explained by an able critic of Sanskrit literature (Oldenberg, *Die Literatur des alten Indien*, pp. 207f), the Indian theorists permit intellectual vigour and subtlety, the masculine beauty, to stand behind that of purely feminine enjoyment born of the finest sensibility. Both

This period ends with the ultimate standardisation of a more or less complete scheme of Poetics, outlined in the *Dhvanyāloka*, in which an attempt is made to bring into a definite focus the scattered ideas of previous speculation. The period which followed this and with which we are concerned in this and following chapters, is necessarily a stage of critical elaboration, the chief work of which consists in summarising and setting forth, in the concise form of text-books, the results of earlier speculations. The stage is marked by great scholastic acumen, if not by remarkable originality or creative genius, but it denotes also a progressive deterioration of the study itself. It covers the age of numberless commentaries, which may be characterised, like the scholia of European classical literature, as consisting mostly of "comments on comments of annotated annotations". They busy themselves with the explanation, expansion or restriction of the already established rules. We have also the rise of a number of popular writers and textbook makers who wanted to simplify the science for general enlightenment, the lowest stage being reached when we come to manuals and school-books of comparatively recent times.

It is difficult to classify some of these writers. Here and

these traits are found in the literature from the earliest times ; the idea of ecstatic rapture side by side with a strong inclination towards sagacity and subtlety. It is true that the dogmatic formalism of a scholastic discipline naturally sank to the level of a cold and monotonously inflated rhetoric ; but at the same time it must be admitted that the theorists were not blind to finer issues, nor were they indifferent to the supreme excellence of real poetry and the aesthetic pleasure resulting from it. They always take care to add that despite dogmas the poetic imagination must show itself ; and the ultimate test of poetry is the appreciation of the *sahyadra*, the man of taste, whose technical knowledge must be equal to his finer capacity of aesthetic enjoyment, born out of wide culture and identification with the feelings and sentiments of the poet. As this capacity, which is likened to the bliss of divine contemplation, is vouchsafed only to the fit and few, the critic as well as the poet is born, and not made.

there we find isolated and straggling followers of the older schools. Some are frankly uneritical, some merely eclectic; while others are characterised by the very modest ambition of producing nothing more than a popular text-book. But the majority of the writers of this period, which covers more than five or six centuries, accept, with some reservations, the Dhvani-theory and the scheme of Poetics as finally determined by Mammata. There are small groups of writers who devote themselves to special topics, like *kavi-śikṣā* or the subject of *rasa* (especially *śringāra-rasa*), but this apparent branching off from the main stem of the finally authoritative Dhvani system, is to be explained as due rather to the following of older traditions, or perhaps to the refining or analytic spirit of the times, than to any real split in the domain of general theory. With regard to matters of general theory and the main problems, the decadent Post-dhvani writers as a rule thought that there was nothing new to set forth; they consequently fell back on matters of detail which helped to satisfy their growing speculative passion for fine distinctions and their scholastic bent for controversy. It would be tedious, as well as useless, therefore, to treat them here at any great length, for they repeat more or less the same idea in their own way, sometimes in the same stock manner and phraseology, and differ from each other only in matters of no great theoretic importance. The only subject worth studying in them is their minute analysis and elaboration of numberless poetic figures, which are not treated, as not coming perhaps within the scope of their general exposition, by the Dhvanikāra and Ānandavardhana, but which occupy a very considerable position in later literature. Here was room enough to supplement, as Ruyyaka expressly states, the treatment of their predecessors; and this portion of their work is beaten out with such extreme nicety and elaborateness that the *Ālaṃkāra-śāstra*, judging from these works alone, would be, as it often has been, designated as a study of Rhetoric merely. But even from

Ruuyaka's time, the scope and nature of most of the individual figures appear to have been fairly fixed, only to be criticised and improved upon here and there by such later writers as Jagannātha.

It is important, however, to note that although this new school (*nāvya*, *aravācīnāh*) accepts in the main the general position of the Dhvani school, it is yet not entirely free from the influence of older schools. It betrays a lurking regard for older writers and brings back, rightly or wrongly, some of the old ideas into the elaboration of its own theory of poetry. It is difficult, for this reason, to take these writers in a lump and affiliate them directly to the Dhvani school. Mammata's definition of poetry, for instance, is not altogether free from the influence of the views of such older writers as Vāmana; Ruuyaka follows Uddhaṭa and Kāntaka extensively in his detailed analysis of poetic figures; Viśvanātha clearly betrays the influence of the Rasa school on his own system; while Jagannātha revives in a new form the old definition of poetry given by Daṇḍin. It is remarkable that most of these writers attempt to arrive at a precise definition of poetry, a task which was wisely left alone by the Dhvani-kāra; but in doing so, they probably meant to find out a comprehensive formula to cover the old ideas as well as the new, although it must be said that they succeed less often than they involve themselves in hopeless inconsistencies. This reactionary tendency, however, is interesting as indicating that they were not unconscious of the importance of earlier views as they were not entirely content with the clear-cut scheme of the *Dhvanyāloka*; a fact which would go to demonstrate, to some extent, that want of originality is a charge which cannot be brought in its entirety against these followers of the finally dominant Dhvani system.

{ 2 }

Mammata

The first and foremost writer of this group is Mammata.

whose *Kāvya-prakāśa* must have helped a great deal, judging from its popularity and influence, in finally establishing the authority of the Kashmirian school of Ānandavardhana. This work, combining as it does the merit of fulness with that of conciseness, not only summed up previous speculations in Poetics in the succinct form of a text-book, but it became in its turn the starting point of endless text-books and exegesis.

Mammaṭa's general standpoint will be obvious at a glance by examining his well known definition of poetry. Although he adheres in the main to the teachings of the Dhvani school and accepts Rasa as an important element of poetry, his definition *tad a-doṣau śabdārthan saguṇāvanalaṁkṛī punāḥ kvāpi* ("poetry consists in word and sense, devoid of the defects and possessing the excellences, and sometimes devoid also of poetic figures") follows the time-honoured custom of starting with word and sense (*śabda* and *artha*) and mentioning the *guṇa*, *doṣa* and *alaṁkāra*; but it does not expressly include any reference to *dhvani* and *rasa*, which are apparently comprehended by implication. For, following up this definition, Mammaṭa begins with the discussion of the functions of *śabda* and *artha*, incidentally establishing the function of suggestion (*vyañjanā*) and the superiority of the suggested sense (*vyañgya artha* or *dhvani*), and divides poetry into three classes (viz. *dhvani*, *guṇībhūta-vyañgya* and *citra*) in relation to the suggested sense. This leads him to enumerate and exemplify the various subdivisions of these three classes of poetry, and in this connexion dilate upon the nature and theory of Rasa, which is included in the scope of "suggestion of imperceptible process" (*asaiṇlakṣya-krama vyañgya*). In this context, he examines and rejects the views of Lollāṭa, Śaṅkuka and Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, and accepts the *vyakti-vāda* which he ascribes to Abhinavagupta. Mention is made of eight orthodox dramatic Rasas, (*asṭau nāṭye rasāḥ smṛtāḥ*), but the ninth Rasa, the *sānta*, is added, apparently as relevant to poetry.

Mammata then proceeds to discuss the Guṇa and Doṣa, not in relation to poetry in general as his definition would imply, but in relation to their subserviency or otherwise to the awakening of Rasa. The Guṇas as excellences of composition are interpreted in a new sense (after Ānandavardhana) and brought into effective relation with the underlying sentiment in a work, as qualities which serve to heighten its charm. The verbal form of a work cannot be said to possess the qualities of energy or sweetness (except by way of analogy), unless we mean by it that the underlying sentiment is vigorous or sweet. The Guṇas, therefore, are related to the Rasa, as virtues like heroism are related to the soul of a man. The verbal form, the mere sound, produces the excellences only as a means or instrument; the real cause is the Rasa, even as the soul is the true cause of virtues like heroism in a man. The same consideration applies also to the case of poetic figures (Alaṅkāras), and their place in poetry is justified by their relation to Rasa. They are compared to ornaments on a man's body; and as such, they adorn words and meanings which constitute the 'body' of poetry. They thus serve to embellish indirectly (through sound and sense) the underlying soul of sentiment, but not invariably. If the Rasa is absent, they produce mere variety of expression. It should also be noted that the Guṇas are accepted, after Ānandavardhana, as three in number³, and it is maintained

3 Mammata demonstrates with some care that it is not necessary to accept the ten Guṇas of Vāmana, but that it is quite enough if we postulate three comprehensive excellences, viz. *ojas* (energy), *prasāda* (lucidity) and *mādhurya* (sweetness). If we examine the Guṇas of Vāmana critically, we find that some of them can very well be included in these three; some constitute mere absence of defects; while others are sometimes positive defects. Thus, Vāmana's *slesā*, *samādhi* and *udāratā* are comprehended by *ojas*; *artha-vyakti* is merely an aspect of *prasāda*; *samatā*, consisting of a certain uniformity of diction, is sometimes a fault; while *saukumārya* and *kānti*, defined respectively as freedom from harshness (or inauspiciousness) and vulgarity, are simply the reverse of the defects *sruti-kappa* and *grāmyatva*. These consi-

that combination of particular letters signify particular Guṇas, so that the three Vṛttis of Udbhaṭa (and roughly the three Rītis of Vāmana) are equalised to the three Guṇas defined by himself⁴. Mammaṭa admits Doṣas of *pada*, vākyā

derations simplify the classification of the Guṇas and put a limit to their useless multiplication or differentiation (witness, e.g. Bhoja's elaborate scheme of 24 Guṇas). Mammaṭa, therefore, thinks that the distinction between *śabda-guṇa* and *arthā-guṇa* is meaningless, for the latter need not be separately considered. The mental activity, involved in the enjoyment of Rasa, is made to justify only three (and not ten) Guṇas which are thus brought into effective relation with the principal sentiment of a composition. Thus, the *ojas* is supposed to cause a brilliant expansion (*vistāra*) of the mind and resides in the moods of heroism, horror and fury; the *prasāda*, proper to all the moods, is taken as the cause of a quick apprehension of the sense, extending over the mind at once (*vyāpti* or *vikāsa*), like a stream of water over a cloth, or like fire among dry fuel (cf. Bharata vii. 7); while the *mādhurya*, residing normally in the erotic mood of love-in-union, but also appropriate to and rising successively in degree in pathos, love-in-separation and calm, is regarded as causing a softening or melting of the heart (*druti*). The three conditions of the mind, viz. expanding pervading and melting, which accompany the poetic sentiments, are thus made the basis of the three Guṇas; and though these mental states are sometimes mixed up and lead to various other mental conditions, these latter effects are too many and too indistinct to be taken as the basis of new Guṇas. This exposition follows and expands *Dhvanyāloka* ii. 8-11 (see above pp. 171f); but it is possible that the original hint of associating these effects on the mental condition of the reader with the three Guṇas was supplied by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka ("Locana p. 68) who speaks of the enjoyment (*bhoga*) of Rasa as being characterised by the mental conditions of expanding (*vistāra*), pervading (*vikāsa*) and melting (*druti*). Viśvanātha substantially agrees with this view of Mammaṭa; but he takes the technical objection that the *ojas* etc. are not the causes of, but identical with, the process of expansion etc.

4 See above p. 104. We have seen above that Mammaṭa explains away the so-called excellences of sense (*arthā-guṇas*), so that the Guṇas are confined to the sphere of sound. They are produced by a particular arrangement of letters (*varṇa*), compounds (*samāsa*) and mode of composition (*racanā*). Thus, the *mādhurya* or sweetness results from the employment of (i) all *sparsa* letters or mutes (from *k* to *m*), excepting

and *artha*, as well as *Doṣas* of *Rasa*, a mode of treatment which is followed by most later writers. Although the poetic figures are not, in his opinion, always necessary to poetry⁵, he rounds off his treatise with an elaborate analysis and illustration of figures of sound and sense (including a limited number of figures which are of a mixed kind), enumerating as many as sixty-seven independent figures.

From this brief summary of the topics of Mammāta's work, it will be clear that its value consists not in its originality but in its orderly and concise discussion of the main issues (excepting those of Dramaturgy, which Hemacandra, Vidyā-nātha and Viśvanātha include in an attempt to supplement). His definitions as well as general treatment attempt to cover almost all fields of thought traversed by his predecessors.

the cerebrals (*t, th, d, dh*) coming with the last letters (nasals) of their respective classes, (ii) *r* and *g* with short vowels, as well as from (iii) complete absence of compounds or presence of short compounds. The *ojas* or energy is produced by (i) compound letters formed by the combination of the first and third letters of a class with the letters immediately following them (i.e. with the second and fourth letters respectively) (ii) conjunct consonants of which *r* forms a part, (iii) cerebrals other than *ŋ* (which letter is indicative of *mādhurya*), (iv) doubled letters, i. e. combinations of the same letters, (v) palatal and cerebral sibilants (*f, s*), (vi) long compounds, and (vii) a formidable or bombastic style. For obvious reasons there are no rules for *prasāda*. The letters mentioned here are mostly the same as those given by Udbhaṭa as suggestors of *upanāgarikā*, *puruṣā*, and *komoṭā* (or *grāmyā*) Vṛttis respectively. Mammāta, therefore, thinks that Udbhaṭa's three Vṛttis, which Udbhaṭa himself comprehends under *vṛttyanuprāśa*, are really equivalent to the three Rītis of Vāmana and to his own three Guṇas.

5 From the new standpoint, Vāmana's view that the Guṇas produce the beauty of a poem, while the Alambāras merely heighten the beauty thus produced, is clearly inadequate. Mammāta argues in this way. If the doctrine is taken to mean that the possession of all the excellences constitutes poetry, the *gaudi* and the *pāncūlī* which are not marked by all the Guṇas, would not be poetical; if, however, the presence of a single excellence is enough to dignify a composition to the rank of poetry, then we are driven to accept even a perfectly unpoetical passage as poetry, if it contains, say, the quality of energy.

The great popularity and authority which the *Kāvya-prakāśa* has always enjoyed and which is indicated by the large number of commentaries on it, must be explained as due not to any remarkable novelty of treatment, but to the clear and lucid (albeit the obscurities due to its brevity of exposition, necessitating commentaries) working out of the already accumulated stock of ideas in the light of the new scheme put forward in the *Dhvanyāloka*.

But from the theoretical point of view, Mammaṭa's definition of poetry has been subjected to much vigorous criticism. Viśvanātha, for instance, undoubtedly takes Mammaṭa's work as the basis (*upajīvya*) of his own, but begins his *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* with a trenchant attack on his definition. He points out, in the first place, that the *Guṇas*, being merely properties of *Rasa*, should not have been logically included in the definition of essentials. He shows next that if only faultless (*adoṣa*) compositions be called poetry, some of the best poems will have to be given up, inasmuch as it is almost impossible to keep clear of all blemishes. Nor could it be said that faults mar only those particular words or their meanings in which they occur; for if they are faults at all, bearing relation to the underlying sentiment in the composition, they must mar the whole poem. Lastly, he maintains that no reference to poetic figures ought to have been made in the definition, as they are admittedly non-essential. Jagannātha's criticism is more fundamental, although he agrees with Viśvanātha as to the impropriety of including a reference to *guṇa*, *doṣa*, and *alaṁkāra* in the definition. He objects that a word and its sense are not what is denoted by the term 'poetry'; for the universal use of such expressions as 'a poem is read but its meaning is not understood' shows clearly that a particular kind of words only is what is meant. If it is said that the essence of poetry lies in its capability of producing a mood (*rasa*), and that inasmuch as a word and its sense have this capability, both constitute poetry, then it can be replied that, according to this too wide-

view, musical tones and theatrical gestures will have to be called poetry.

Some of these and other arguments appear, no doubt, fastidious and pedantic, and have been met with equal ingenuity by the commentators and followers of Mammaāa; but the whole controversy indicates the futility of arriving at a precise logical definition of poetry and the difficulty of combining all the conventional elements in such a definition. The earlier theorists probably realised this and carefully avoided the task, for even the Dhvaniikāra contents himself with describing its general nature and its divisions, an omission on which Mahimabhaāāa ridicules him by saying: *kīñ ca kāvya-sya svarūpañ vyutpādayitukāmena matimatā tallakṣaṇam eva sāmānyenākhyātavijam.*

From the historical point of view, however, the definition is interesting, its apparent inconsistency and obscurity being a curious fact which can reasonably be explained by a reference to the views of the older schools and systems. The term *rasa* does not occur in the definition, and the fact that Mammaāa accepts the *citra-kāvya*, which is grudgingly admitted by Ānandavardhana as a division of poetry, would indicate, as Viśvanātha points out, that Mammaāa does not consider *Rasa* to be essential. Yet he defines *Guṇa* and *Doṣa* in terms of their relation to *Rasa*, a procedure which is not justifiable if the essentiality of *Rasa* is not admitted. On the other hand, if it is maintained that all reference to *Rasa* is omitted in the definition because it is such a well known and established fact in the poetical and critical world, then the prominence of threefold suggestion and the division of poetry on its basis are hardly explicable. The mention of *Guṇa* and *Doṣa* should in that case be omitted, as done by Jagannātha, from the definition, which corresponds more to the definition of Vāmana (i. 1. 1-3); and these two elements must be understood in the sense in which Vāmana takes them, viz. as properties of *sabda* and *artha*.⁶ This and other discrepancies

6 This is the modified view of Jagannātha who realises the difficulty

make it probable that Mammaṭa, belonging as he does to the new school, is influenced to a great extent by the views of the older schools. He accepts, no doubt, the general scheme and theory of the Dhvani school, but in trying to reconcile them with those of earlier theorists, he lands himself in objectionable inconsistencies.

(3)

Viśvanātha

Even the definition of Viśvanātha, who took upon himself the task of criticising Mammaṭa, is open to similar objections, and has been criticised in its turn by Govinda and Jagannātha. In declaring that poetry consists of a sentence of which the 'soul' is *rasa* (*vākyam rasātmakanam kāvyaṁ*), he is indeed betraying the unmistakable influence, of the Rasa school ; but he is also putting into a shape, in a way clearer than Abhinavagupta does, the essentiality of *rasa-dhvani*, wisely left unstated but practically meant by the authors of the *Dhvanyāloka*.⁷ In taking up this extreme position, Viśvanātha involves himself, however, in the somewhat clumsy subterfuge of admitting a distant touch of Rasa (*rasa-sparśa*) in all poetry, even in what is professedly descriptive or ornamental. Even if it is ideally correct to say that a poem ought always to manifest the Rasa alone, it does not, as a matter of fact, always do so. Jagannātha rightly objects⁸ that Viśvanātha's definition would exclude poems in which the centre of gravity lies only in the matter (*vastu-dhvani*) or in the imaginative mood (*alaiṇikāra-dhvani*). The opponent cannot reply that this is exactly his own opinion, for thereby he goes against the view of ancient authorities, as well as against the establi-

and does not agree with Mammaṭa (see *Rasa-gaigādhara* p. 55). Similarly Vidyānātha, though belonging to the new school, would accept (p. 334) Udbhaṭa's dictum *saṃghaṭanā-dharmā guṇāḥ*.

7 See above ch. v, p. 166 ; ch. vi, p. 178f.

8 p. 7-8. Cf *Prabhā*, ed. N. S. P. 1912, p. 11.

shed practice of great poets, whn have admitted the scope of fact and imagination, and described subjects like a flood or narrated a travel, in whch there is hardly any touch of Rasa. It would not do, therefore, to accept the *rasa-dhvani* alone ; for a complete definition must also take into account *vastu-dhvani* and *alamkāra-dhvani*. Viśvanātha anticipates this objection by saying that in cases nther than those admitted expressly by himself there is always a semblance of Rasa (*rasābhāsa*) : and the verse given in the *Dhvanyāloka* as an instance of *vastu-dhvani* is, in his opinion, admissible only because there is such a touch of Rasa in it, and not because mere *vyañgya* *vastu* can constitute the essence of poetry. Jagannātha replies that nothing is gained by such a supposition of an indirect reference to Rasa, because such a reference may also be construed in phrases like 'the cow moves' or 'the deer leaps.' This cannot be taken as the sole criterion, because thereby any and every content of poetry would be reduced to the position of an excitant, an ensuant or an accessory of Rasa.

Apart from this technicality and the emphasis put on the essentiality of Rasa, which however is not reconciled to other elements of poetry, Viśvanātha's scheme does not substantially differ from that of Mammaāa, on whose work he also appears to have written a commentary. In one passage, indeed, he pays an elegant tribute to his predecessor's work by admitting his own indebtedness to it. After defining poetry as a sentence the 'soul' of which is Rasa, he proceeds in the usual way to analyse the 'sentence' (*vākyā*) and the different functions of its constituent word and sense, establishing suggestion or *vyañjanā* as the function necessary and important for the purpose of conveying the suggested Rasa (*bodhe rasādinām*). He accepts nly two divisions of poetry, viz., *dhvani* and *guṇibhūta-vyañgya kāvya*, and rejects the third, the *citra-kāvya* (whch is suffered by Ānandavardhana and accepted by Mammaāa) on the ground that it is entirely devoid of Rasa and therefore inconsistent with his own

definition of poetry. It is curious, however, that Viśvanātha, following Ānandavardhana, partially admits the suggestion of *vastu* and *alaṅkāra* under suggestion of perceptible process (*kramoddyyota-vyaīgya*), based on the power of word or sense or both. The case of poetry of subordinate suggestion (*guṇībhūta-vyaīgya*), where the Rasa involved is secondary, is justified by holding that the mere circumstance of the Rasa being collaterally suggested does not destroy the claim of such poetry ; for the relish of Rasa alone, whether circumstantial or essential, is the true criterion. It is this partiality for Rasa which makes him include a treatment, omitted by most writers on Poetics, of dramatic composition, in which the delineation of the Rasas, the moods and sentiments, is already established as fundamental by both poets and theorists. Consistently with the same idea, a *Doṣa* or blemish is defined as the detractor of the Rasa (*rasāpakarṣaka*), while a *Guṇa* is explained as a particular mode or quality of the Rasa depending on *śabda* and *arthā* and enhancing the charm of the Rasa when Rasa is principal. The *Guṇas* are really attributes of Rasa, but they are secondarily spoken of as belonging to a word and its sense: which secondary use also explains the old distinction between *śabda-guṇa* and *arthā-guṇa*. The *Guṇas* are accepted as three in number, viz. *mādhurya*, *ojas* and *prasāda*, depending upon a combination of particular letters and justified by the attributes of expanding, pervading and melting the mind in its enjoyment of Rasa ; and the ten *Guṇas* of older writers are mentioned and criticised after the manner of Mammaṭa. It is curious, however, that Viśvanātha admits the *Rītis* separately, instead of comprehending them, as Mammaṭa does, under the *Vṛttis* or considering them redundant after the enumeration of the three *Guṇas*. He defines the *Rīti* as *pada-saṅghaṭanā*⁹ or particular arrangement of words (and letters) which helps the Rasas (*upakartrī rasādīnām*). The *Rīti*, however, relates

9 By the term *saṅghaṭanā* stress is laid on its technical sense of *Samāsa-vṛtti*, but this is not the only criterion.

entirely to the external framework of poetry, and is likened to the conformation of the body in relation to the soul¹⁰. Finally, the poetic figures (*ālāṅkāras*), which are treated substantially after the manner of Mammaāa and Ruyyaka, are defined as those non-permanent attributes of word and its sense which add to their beauty and thus embellish the Rasa indirectly. The term 'non-permanent' (*asthira*) is explained, after Mammaāa, by the statement that the presence of the *Ālāṅkāras* is not necessary but accidental, as compared to the *Guṇas* which are necessary attributes.

The above sketch of Viśvanātha's general position will sufficiently indicate that he is more or less a compiler and not an original writer, although he shows some constructive ability in elaborating a full and compact system of his own on the basis of *rasa-dhvani*. His borrowings from Ānandavardhana, Mammaāa and Ruyyaka are very extensive; and sometimes his judgment forsakes him, making him copy his originals rather slavishly. He is not always happy in his innovations, and sometimes (though rarely) he is wrong or inconsistent in his interpretation. In spite of these and other defects his work is interesting in the history of Sanskrit Poetics as an attempt at a further development of the Dhvani-theory out of itself, an attempt to which recognition was not

10 Viśvanātha speaks of four *Ritis* as follows: (i) *vaidarbhi* or sweet style (marked by letters indicative of *mādhurya*, and by short compounds or absence of compounds). (ii) *gaudī* or bombastic style (marked by letters indicative of *ojas* and possessing a large number of compounds). (iii) *pāñcālli* (marked by letters other than those mentioned above and containing five or six compound words). (iv) *lāṭī* or the style intermediate between *vaidarbhi* and *pāñcālli*. This is only a variation on the conventional enumeration; but strictly speaking, Mammaāa is right in not considering the *Ritis* separately, as they are comprehended by the three *Vṛttis* or even by the three *Guṇas* accepted by the new school. Viśvanātha alludes to *Vṛttis* under *vṛttyanuprāsa* and simply says (after Ruyyaka): *rasa-viṣaya-vyāpāravatī varṇa-racanā vṛttih, tad-anugatatvena prakarṣena nyasanād vṛttyanuprāsaḥ*.

universally accorded by other strict followers of the theory. The *Sāhitya-darpana*, written like the *Kāvya-prakāśa* in the form of Kārikā with Vṛtti, has also the great merit of being written in a more simple and less controversial style than the treatises of Mammāṭa and Jagannātha respectively; and as a suitable and complete manual of Poetics, including a treatment of the dramatic art, it has always held its popularity as one of the most convenient text-books on the subject as a whole.

(4)

Ruyyaka

One of the most important writers of this group is Ruyyaka, who comes immediately after Mammāṭa and who also appears to have written a commentary on Mammāṭa's work. In his treatment of the poetic figures with which his work (as its name *Alaṅkāra-sarvasva* implies) is directly concerned, he shows, however, a remarkable degree of insight and independence of judgment which distinguishes him from his predecessor. The value of his contribution in this respect may be judged from the fact that his *Alaṅkāra-sarvasva* not only helped to define and fix the conception of an *alaṅkāra*, of which the first indication was given by Kuntaka but which was left untouched by the authors of the *Dhvanyāloka*, but it had also a great influence in establishing by its careful analysis the scope and nature of individual poetic figures, so that his views on this matter have been accepted as authoritative by such important later writers as Viśvanātha, Vidyādhara, Vidyānātha and Appayya Dīkṣīta.

The plan of Ruyyaka's work, written in the form Sūtra with Vṛtti, is stated by himself in the introductory portion of his Vṛtti. He starts, in common with other followers of the Dhvani school, with the suggested sense (*pratīyamāna artha*) and demonstrates by a rapid survey of the views of older writers that it was directly or indirectly recognised by

all. But he thinks that, in the opinion of the authorities who came before the *Dhvani* school, the chief function of the suggested sense consisted in embellishing the expressed meaning (*vācyopaskāra*), and therefore it was naturally comprehended in the sphere of poetic figures in which the expressed sense prevailed¹¹. This is generally the view of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Udbhaṭa, Vāmana and Rudraṭa. The *Vakroktijīvita-kāra*, who came after Ānandavardhana, includes all ideas of *Dhvani* in a variety of *Vakrokti* based on *upacāra* or metaphorical expression. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka maintains that the suggested sense, established chiefly through the forcible utterance of the poet (*kavi-praudhokti*) is only a secondary element in poetry, the essential thing being the relish of *Rasa* realised through a function called *bhoga* or enjoyment, which is distinct from and which transcends the denotative or generalising functions of words. The *Vyakti-viveka-kāra* takes the relation of the expressed and the suggested in terms of the logical *liṅga* and *liṅgin*, and regards the process of suggestion as a process of inference. None of these views comes up to that of the *Dhvani-kāra*, which is, therefore, accepted indisputably by Ruyyaka, who lays down sententiously at the end: *asti tāvad vyañgya-niṣṭho vyañjanā-vyāpāraḥ*. The three divisions of poetry into *dhvani*, *guṇi-bhūta* *vyañgya* and *citra* are also recognised; but as the first two are already discussed in the *Alamkāra-maṇijarī*¹² (p. 15) and the *Dhvanyāloka* respectively, Ruyyaka proposes in this treatise to take up the remaining *citra-kāvya*, which, including in its scope all poetic figures devoid of suggestion¹³.

11 *vācyopaskārakatvānt* hy *alamkārānām ātmā-bhūtatram*, Jayaratha p. 3.

12 Presumably this work was composed by himself. But Jayaratha does not expressly say so. In the Trivandrum edition, the reading is different. It reads *kālidāsādi-prabandheṣu* (instead of *alamkāra-maṇī-aryāṇi*) *darsītāḥ*. The *Alamkāra-maṇijarī* appears to have dealt particularly with *rasa-dhvani*, apparently laying stress on *śṛṅgdra-rasa*.

naturally covers an extensive field. As all detailed consideration of this topic is omitted in the *Dhvanyāloka* (as coming not properly within the sphere of its theory), here was an opportunity of supplementing the work of his predecessors.

But the point had already been taken up and discussed in his own way by Kuntaka who recognised that the poet's intention need not always be to awaken the Rasa or anything else unexpressed but may be directed simply to producing a certain strikingness of expression in the form of an expressed poetic figure. He analysed poetic expression and found that the elements which went to make up the being of such a figure consisted of a peculiar turn of expression, which produced a certain charm (called *vaicitrya* or *vicchitti-viśeṣa*) and which ultimately depended on the conception of the poet (*kavi-pratibhā-nirvartitatva*)¹⁴. Both these terms are not new, the *kavi-pratibhā* having been acknowledged as essential in a poetic composition by older theorists, and the *saundarya* of Vāmana reappearing under the name of *vaicitrya* or *vicchitti*. The *uktī-vaicitrya* is discussed in another connexion by Ānandavardhana (p. 243); and Mammata (probably under the influence of Kuntaka) lays down that the *alaṃkāra* is nothing but *vaicitrya* itself. Abhinavagupta speaks of endless varieties of *upaniā-vicchitti* (p. 5), and in another passage (p. 8) uses the term as almost synonymous with *kāmanīyaka* or *cārutva-hetu*.

Ruyyaka does not elaborate a doctrine on this point but he accepts Kuntaka's analysis implicitly and applies it to the detailed examination of individual poetic figures, a procedure which is followed by Viśvanātha, Appayya Dīkṣita and Jagannātha. That he derived this idea from Kuntaka is indicated by Jayaratha in a passage in which the commentator, while rejecting on this ground the claim of the *yathā-saṃkliya* to be counted as a poetic figure, says: *etac ca*

14 See above ch. vi, p. 188f.

vakroktijīvita-kṛtā saprapāśicam uktam ity asmābhīr nāyastam (p. 149). In the *Alaṃkāra-sarvasva* Ruyyaka does not define the term *vicchitti*, but in the commentary on the *Vyakti-viveka* attributed to him, he says (p. 44): *tathā ca śabdār-thayor vicchittir alaṃkārah. vicchittiś ca kavi-pratibhollāsā-rūpatvāt kavi-pratibhollāsasya ānanyād nnāmatvam bhajamāno na paricchettum sākyate* ('Theo again, an *alaṃkāra* consists of the charm or *vicchitti* of sound and sense; and it is not possible to define *vicchitti* exactly, inasmuch as it is of infinite variety, being identical with the play of the poetic imagination, which itself is infinite in its scope'), the boundlessness or infinite scope of poetic conception having been already admitted by Āśādavardhana himself (ch. iv), as well as by Kuntaka.

Ruyyaka, however, takes this *vicchitti*, brought out by the productive imagination of the poet, to be the test of a poetic figure; or, in other words, a form of expression or a mere speech-figure (if the phrase is allowable) becomes a poetic figure when a certain charm is lent to it by the peculiar conception of the poet. Thus, a form of expression involving the logical *anumāna* would not *prima facie* constitute the figure *anumāna*, unless this special charm is involved in it; or, the doubt involved in the figure *samdeha* must be brought into being by the imagination of the poet, for it should not be an ordinary doubt but a 'poetic' doubt. Jayaratha makes this doctrine more explicit than his author in many places in his commentary. He lays down repeatedly that a special charm (*vicchitti-viśeṣa*) depending on the conception of the poet (*kavi-karma* or "pratibhā") is to be taken as the essential factor of an *Alaṃkāra* (pp. 144, 149-50, 183), and all so called figures are to be accepted or rejected accordingly¹⁵.

15 The question has been dealt with in some detail by Jacobi in his *Ueber Begriff und Wesen der poetischen Figuren in der indischen Poetik* in *GN*, 1903, and also in the present writer's introduction to *Vakrokti-jīvita*, 2nd ed. 1928, pp. xlvi-lviii.

In later writings this doctrine is admitted as settled beyond question. Appayya Dīkṣita explains it at the beginning of his *Citra-mīmāṃsā* (p. 6), and Jagannātha repeatedly states: *alaṃkārāṇāṃ bhaṇiti-viśeṣa-rūpatvam*. In addition to the terms *bhaṇiti-viśeṣa*, *vaicitrya* and *vicchitti*, Viśvanātha and Jagannātha use the terms *cārutva*, *ḥṛdyatva*, *camatkāritva* and *saundarya* almost synonymously, while the latter attempts to define it (p. 466, 470) more precisely as the poetic imagination with reference to the power of poetic production ; or rather, as the charm which is thereby brought into being, upon which the poetic figures distinguish themselves in their special peculiarities.

Ruyyaka's work is also important for its acute analysis of the scope and nature of individual poetic figures, of which nearly eighty independent varieties are dealt with. At first sight one would be inclined to classify him as belonging to the *Alaṃkāra* school. There is no doubt that Ruyyaka was a great admirer of Udbhaṭa, on whose work his father Tilaka (as Jayaratha informs us) wrote a *Viveka* or *Vicāra*. Ruyyaka himself tells us (and he is borne out by Jayaratha and Samudrabandha)¹⁶ that he is a follower of the views of the "ancients" (e. g. *cirantana-matānusṛiḥ*, p. 205), by which he means apparently the older *Alaṃkāra* school of Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa ; but of course, he corrects, modifies or expands older authoritative opinions in the light of the progressive study of the subject. Ruyyaka's development of Udbhaṭa's idea of *śleṣa* may be taken as a typical instance. The controversy regarding the divisions of *śleṣa* and its relation to other figures in cases of combination, started, as Ruyyaka himself and his commentators point out, from Udbhaṭa's time.

16 Jayaratha refers to Ruyyaka's following of *cirantana-mata* at pp. 72, 83, 103, 172 etc., and of Udbhaṭa at pp. 10, 20, 34, 87, 93, 97, 98, 125, 126, 150 etc. Samudrabandha's references are at pp. 4, 7, 10, 11, 14, 21, 74, 82, 103 etc. Ruyyaka's own references to Udbhaṭa's views will be found in numerous places, at pp. 3, 7, 23, 59, 82, 86, 92, 123, 126, 148, 174, 191 etc.

Ruyyaka accepts the division of this figure into *śabda-śleṣa* and *artha-śleṣa* (adding *ubhaya-śleṣa*), and holds that the principle of this distinction consists in the dictum *yo'lañkāro yad-āśritah sa tad-alamkārah*. He rejects Mammaṭa's view that the distinction is based on the ground that the *śabda-śleṣa* is incapable of enduring a change of synonym (*parivṛtti-asaha*), while the *artha-śleṣa* is capable of doing so; for Mammaṭa holds that it is not *āśrayāśrayi-bhāva* (mutual dependence or inherence) but *anyaya* (connexion) and *vyatireka* (contrast) which must be taken as the test for determining whether a figure is of *śabda* or of *artha*. According to Ruyyaka, however, a *śabda-śleṣa* occurs when the expression, being differently split up, yields two different meanings. Here the words are really different, as is indicated by a difference of accent as well as by the effort required in pronouncing them. They present the appearance of sameness or coalescence (*śleṣa*), just in the same way as the lacquered wood appears to be one single object, though really lac is put on the wood. The *artha-śleṣa* occurs where the expression is the same and has the same accent and effort, but possesses two meanings, just as two fruits hang down from a single stem. The *ubhaya-śleṣa* is the case where both these circumstances exist¹⁷. Regarding the implication of *śleṣa* in other poetic figures, the question has been raised whether it should be regarded (i) as stronger than and thus dispelling the notion of the accompanying figure, (ii) as being equally powerful and therefore entering into combination with them, or (iii) as being weaker and therefore not prominent where other figures occur¹⁸. Uddhaṭa takes the first position, and thinks that where the *śleṣa* is present (e. g. along with *upamā*) there is only the appearance (*pratibhā*) of the other figure.

17 Viśvanātha follows Mammaṭa, but Vidyādhara agrees with Ruyyaka's interpretation in this matter.

18 Jagannātha, p. 393, sums up the views thus: *ayam cālāñkārāḥ pradyenñlamkārāntarasya viśayam abhinivisate, tatra kim asya bhādhatvam syād akosvit samkīrṣṇatvam utkho bādhyatvam iti.*

the real figure being in such a case the *śleṣa* (and not *upamā*). Ruyyaka demurs to this view, and agrees with Mammaṭa in pointing out that in such cases of conflict the possession of common attributes (*sādharmya*) inherent in *upamā* is alone sufficient to constitute the latter figure; for the unqualified definition of *sādharmya* as community of attributes or circumstances is not exclusive of the verbal sameness conveyed by the accompanying *śleṣa*. The *upamā*, therefore, is predominant and the subordinate *śleṣa* only helps it; for in such cases, the common property is not arrived at without the *śleṣa*, and without the common property there can be no *upamā*. If the two figures are thus found together, one helping the other, we have *sāṃkīrṇyatva* of *śleṣa* and *upamā*.

From these and other instances which we need not multiply, the influence of the *Alamkāra* school on Ruyyaka will be obvious; but it will be also obvious that the views of the older school never receive unqualified acceptance from him. His following of ancient opinions, a trait which he shares with Mammaṭa and Viśvanātha in their following of Vāmana and the Rasa-writers respectively, should be explained as an earnest attempt on his part to reconcile the views of later theorists with those of the earlier, of which he was a professed admirer. It is this impulse probably which made him take up the Vakroktijīvita-kāra's conception of a poetic figure, and apply it to his own detailed analysis of individual figures, as this topic of Poetics was not sufficiently dealt with in the *Dhvanyāloka*. It cannot be said¹⁹, however, that Ruyyaka was a follower of the Vakroktijīvita-kāra, for Ruyyaka himself declares his own adherence to the Dhvani-theory; and, in spite of his borrowing from Udbhaṭa and Kuntaka, he cannot by any means be directly affiliated with the *Alamkāra* school.

19 As suggested by Harichand Sastri p. 108.

(5)

Vidyādhara and Vidyānātha

To most of the writers who followed in the footsteps of Mammaāa and Ruyyaka, there was hardly any original work that seemed left or unaccomplished. The details of the new system having already been established, there was apparently no occasion for any creative work, and even the task of critical elaboration had well-nigh run its course. Nor did any of the writers possess the genius of making an entirely new departure. This was also the period of early Muhammadan incursions, and was marked, as it was to be expected, by a general decadence of all investigations, reflecting a corresponding ebb in the tide of intellectual, as well as social and political, activity. In the centuries that follow there arose a host of commentators, Mammaāa alone claiming no less than seventy, who busied themselves in interpreting the already established rules and in adding here and there minor points of detail, not clearly made out by their predecessors. The task of remodelling and presenting the new theory in an easier style was also undertaken, giving birth to works like the *Ekāvalī* of Vidyādhara and the *Pratāpa-rudra-yaśo-bhūṣaṇa* of Vidyānātha, the chief merit of which consisted in systematic compilation and arrangement. On the main problems, these treatises and even the later works of Jayadeva and Appayya Dikṣita, which carry in particular the process of analysing the poetic figures to its utmost limits, throw little valuable light.

Vidyādhara, for instance, models his text (consisting of Kārikā and Vṛtti) on the Kāvya-prakāśa of Mammaāa, and in the treatment of poetic figures follows Ruyyaka in the main.²⁰ After characterising the Kāvya as *dhvani-pradhāna*²¹, and

20 In this he agrees with Viśvanātha, Vidyānātha and others. See his definition of figures like *vicitra*, *vikalpa* or *allekha* which are passed over by Mammaāa.

21 In the first chapter of his work Vidyādhara follows the Dhvanyāloka very closely, and some of his Kārikās, e. g. i. 6, 13, are mere paraphrases of the Kārikās of the older work.

duction of his work by stating that although the older writers have already dealt with the different branches of the subject, none of them has described a *nāyaka* or hero in it; but as the greatness of a composition depends on the representation of the merits of the hero described in it, the first *prakarana*, entitled *nāyaka-prakarana*, deals with the attributes of a hero, as well as of the heroine, and their necessary adjuncts. Then follows the *kāvya-prakarana*, which describes in the usual way the nature of a *Kāvya* and its constituents, the *vṛttis* and *rūpas* suitable to the development of different sentiments, the *śayā* or repose of words in their mutual favourableness, the *pāka* or maturity of sense, and the divisions of *Kāvya*. It is curious that Vidyānātha's definition of poetry (*guṇālaṃkāra-sahitau śabdārthau doṣa-varjitaū/gadya-padyobhayamayaṇi kāvyaṃ kāvya-vido viduh*) follows closely Mammata's known definition which is quoted in a slightly modified form immediately afterwards. He speaks of *śabda* and *arthā* as the 'body' of poetry, *vyañgya* as the 'soul', the *guṇas* and *alaṃkāras* in the usual manner being likened to natural qualities like heroism and to outward ornaments like bracelets respectively. The *rūpas* are described as natural dispositions which lead to the excellence of the soul (*ātmotkarṣāvahāḥ svabhāvāḥ*). After dealing with the three functions of word and sense, he goes on to the consideration of the *vyañjanā-vṛtti* (pp. 52 f) and mentions (pp. 77 f) in passing 5304 varieties of *Dhvani*. And yet he defines the excellence, called *gāmbhirya*, as *dhvani-matiū*, after Bhoja! He lays down *rajanīyā api rasa-vyañjanā-katvam prasiddham*, which leads him to a separate consideration of the suggestion of *Rasa*. The third chapter, styled the *Nāṭaka-prakarana*, deals with the subject of *Rupaka* or dramatic composition, a theme generally omitted by most writers, taking up the *Nāṭaka* as the most important variety and analysing its plot into five *sāṃdhis*. Although based avowedly on Dhanañjaya's *Dasa-rūpaka*, this chapter is one of the important later contributions to the subject of Dramaturgy, and a great interest attaches to its inclusion of a model

drama illustrative of all its characteristics and eulogistic of the author's patron Pratāparudra. Next comes the *rasa-prakarāya* dealing with the nature and theories of Rasa. The next two chapters are the *doṣa-prakarāya* and the *guṇa-prakarāya*, while the last two chapters are devoted to the topic of *śabdālāṇikāra*, *arthālāṇikāra* and *niśrālāṇikāra*.

It is curious that Vidyānātha follows Bhoja in mentioning as many as twenty-four Guṇas. The definitions are almost identical in the two authors. The Guṇas are: (i) *śleṣa*, coarseness of words (owing to the imperceptibility of *samdhī*, when it is not harsh to the ear and when the letters belong to the same *sthāna* or organ of pronunciation). (ii) *prasāda*, lucidity arising from carefully selected words which lead to the intended sense at once. (iii) *samatā*, uniformity of diction (rejected by Mammāta as being often a defect). (iv) *mādhurya*, distinctness of words (*prithak-padaṭṭva*) on account of the absence of *samdhī*. (v) *saukumārya*, softness of expression due to the use of soft-sounding letters. (vi) *artha-vyakti*, clearness of sense due to the completion of a sentence in all its parts, (vii) *kānti*, gracefulness of diction, explained as follows by the commentator Ratneśvara: *apratihata-padaṭṭair ārambhaḥi samdarbhasyaiva kāntih.....'kusumasya dhanur' iti prahatam, 'kausumam' ity aprahatam; 'jalanidhau' iti prahatam, 'adhijalam' ity aprahatam; 'guriutvam' ity prahatam, 'gauravam' iti aprahatam ityādi.....asti tu tulye'pi vācakatve padānām kaścid ābhyanṭaro viśeṣo yam adhikṛtya kiṃcid eva prayuñjate mahākavayah, na tu sarvam. (viii) *audārya*, where the sentence is so arranged with formidable letters (*vikaṭākṣara*) or hard vocables (*vikaṭa*, explained as *kaṭhina-varṇa-saṃghaṭanā-rūpa* by Jagannātha) that the words proceed as if they were dancing (*nṛtyadbhir iva padair yad vākyā-racanā*). (ix) *udālta*, the use of praiseworthy epithets (cf *Agni-purāṇa* 345. 9); Kumārasvāmin notes that it is the absence of the defect known as *anucitārtha*. (x) *ojas*, strength due to the presence of compounds. (xi) *sauśabdyā*, elegance in the use of nominal and verbal forms (cf Bhāmaha i. 14-15; Rājaśekhara p. 20). (xii) *preyas*, statement of agree-*

able or flattering things (Bhāmaha, Dāṇḍin and some other writers regard this as an Alampāra and not a Guṇa); the commentator notes that this is the absence of the defect *paruṣa* (see above p. 14, fn 38). (xiii) *aurjitya*, compactness of structure²². (xiv) *samādhi*, attribution of the properties of one object to another (an echo of Dāṇḍin's *samādhi*), e.g., attribution of the properties of an inanimate object to an animate object (what Kuntaka would comprehend under *upacāravakratā* and other writers under the figure *rūpaka*). (xv) *vistara*, detailed corroboration of what is said. (xvi) *sammitatya*, use of the absolutely necessary words, neither more nor less, to convey the intended sense, i.e. balance of sound and sense (*arthasya padānāṁ ca tulā-vidhṛitavāt tulyatvena sammitatvam*). (xvii) *gāmbhīrya*, presence of the suggested sense or *dhvani* (*dhvani-mattā*). (xviii) *sāṅkṣepa*, brevity of statement, (xix) *saukṣmya*, minuteness or subtlety of sense. (xx) *praudhi*, maturity of sense (this comes under *pāka* detailed below). (xxi) *ukti*, cleverness of speech. (xxii) *riti*, homogeneity of manner (corresponding to Vāmana's *samatā*), consisting of the completion of a sentence or theme in the manner in which it was begun. (xiii) *bhāvika*, conduct of a sentence according to its underlying emotion or sentiment (*bhāvataḥ*). (xxiv) *gati*, a pleasing effect produced by long and short vowels (*suramyatvam svarārohāvarohayoh*, in which *svarāroha* is explained as *dīrghākṣara-prāyatva*, and *svarāvaraḥ* as its reverse)²³.

22. This is said to be the absence of the defect called *vitāṇḍhi*. This defect, mentioned also by Bharata and Bhāmaha, is explained as *visāṇḍhito virūpa vā yasya saṇḍhiḥ*, Kumārasvāmin explaining *visāṇḍhitah* as *vigatā saṇḍitā varṇāṇḍitā parasparsa-saṇṇikarṣo yatra*, and *virūpah* as simply *karṣa-kāṣṭhorah*. The *saṇḍhitā* therefore, means close proximity of letters which leads to euphonic, combinations sanctioned by grammar. The fault occurs (a) when there is no *saṇḍhi* (*visleṣa*) and (b) when the *saṇḍhi* is harsh to the ear (*kāṣṭa*). Mammata (pp. 331f) adds a third case of its occurrence when the *saṇḍhi* gives rise to the implication of an indecent (*affīla*) idea. See Trivedi's note to *Pratāparudra* pp. 73-75.

23. The *Agni-purāṇa*, while admitting most of these excellences,

The theory of *pāka* and *śayyā*, mentioned by Vidyādhara and Vidyānātha follows from the stress laid on felicity of expression, which depends on poetic genius and which lies at the root of all discussions on style, poetic figure and kindred topics. The word *śayyā* is old, having been used, apparently in this sense, by Bāṇabhaṭṭa in one of the introductory verses of his *Kādambarī*; while the *Agni-purāṇā* uses the word *mudrā* with a similar connotation. Vidyādhara and Vidyānātha develop it further as a special excellence of expression. The *śayyā* is defined as the repose of words in their mutual favourableness like the repose of the body in a bed, the similitude explaining the etymology of the term. This mutual friendship (*maitrī*) of words is so close that they cannot, as Mallinātha explains, be replaced even by synonyms: a theory of the immutability of words which *mutatis mutandis* would remind one of Flaubert's half-platonic view, developed by Walter Pater, that each idea has its fixed word-counterpart. The theory of *pāka*, is very closely allied with this. The word *pāka*, meaning literally 'ripeness', 'maturity' or 'fruition', is as old as Vāmana. He speaks of *pāka* (i. 2. 21 *Vṛtti*), resulting from the *vaidarbī rīti* in a delightful effect on the connoisseur, as "that attaining which the excellence of a word quickens and in which the unreal appears as real". Elsewhere he says (i. 3. 15) that *śabda-pāka* occurs when the words are so carefully chosen that they cannot bear an exchange of synonym. Later theorists elaborate the doctrine as consisting of (1) *śabda-pāka*, which may be explained, after Vāmana, as maturity of expression due to the perfect fitness of a word and its sense, and (2) *artha-pāka* or depth of sense which is of various kinds brought about by the different tastes of different poetic Rasas. Maṅgala, according to Rājaśekhara, regards *pāka* only as *sauśabdyā* (excellence of words) or *tiñāṇi supāṇi ca vyutpattiḥ* (proficiency in the use of nouns and verbs. cf.

classifies and defines them somewhat differently. See ch. 345, and above p. 204.

Bhāmaha i. 14-15). Vidyādhara admits only what is called *artha-pāka* above ; but he alludes to the other theories which say that *pāka* consists of *pada-vyutpatti* (Maṅgala) or of *pada-parivṛtti-vaimukhya* (Vāmana). Vidyānātha calls this last *śayyā*, and accepts and defines *pāka* as depth of sense. Bhoja would call it *praudhī* and enumerate it as a *śabda-guṇa*.

Rājaśekhara's discussion of earlier views on this point (p. 20) is interesting and deserves quotation. "The ācāryas ask: 'what is *pāka*?' Maṅgala says: 'it is maturity (*pariṇāma*)'. 'What again, is maturity?' ask the ācāryas. Maṅgala replies: 'it is the skill in the use of nouns and verbs'. Hence it is *sauśabdya* or excellence of language. 'The *pāka* is fixedness in the application of words' say the ācāryas. It is said [by Vāmana i. 3. 15]: 'The insertion and deletion of words occur so long as there is uncertainty in the mind ; when the fixity of words is established, the composition is successful'. So the followers of Vāmana say: 'the *pāka* is aversion of words to alteration by means of synonyms'. Therefore it is said [Vāmana, loc. cit.]: 'The specialists in the propriety of words have called that *śabda-pāka* in which the words abandon the capability of being exchanged (by synonyms)'. But Avantisundari thinks that this want of capability is not *pāka*. Since the varied expressions of great poets, with regard to one and the same object, all attain maturity, the *pāka* consists in the composition of word and sense proper to the development of *Rasa*. So it is said: 'That is *vākyā-pāka* to me by which the mode of stringing together word and sense, according to *guṇa*, *alaṅkāra*, *rīti* and *ukti*, is relished'. And again: 'There being the speaker, there being the word, there being the *rasa*, there is still not that by which the nectar of words flows'. Hence the Yāyāvariyyas say: 'Since the *pāka*, which is capable of being communicated by *śabda* (word) through its inferrability from its effect, is in a high degree the province of Denotation (*ābhidhā*), still it is subject to usage of what is established by the sanction of the *sahṛdaya*'."

From this passage it would seem that Rājaśekhara admits that the *pāka* is conveyed chiefly through words ; and taken as *sauśabdyā* or *śabda-vyutpatti*, it comes primarily under the province of *abhidhā* ; but it finds its scope only in the *artha* which is established by the taste of the *sahṛdaya*. In this connexion it is proper to note that the term *pāka*, like the word *rasa*, has a reference to its etymological meaning of physical taste which has been fancifully likened to that resulting from the ripeness of fruits. As such ripeness of fruits bears different tastes, some theorists carry the analogy into distinguishing and naming *pākas* after various kinds of fruits. Thus, Vāmana quotes two old verses (under iii. 2. 15) which speak of *vṛntāka-pāka* ; while Vidyā-nātha speaks of two kinds of *pāka* (1) *drākṣā-pāka*, or the maturity of grapes in which the taste flows both in and out, and (2) *nārikela-pāka*, the ripeness of cocoa-nut which is rough outside but tasty inside. Bhoja similarly distinguishes between *mṛdvīkā-pāka* and *nārikela-pāka* ; but Ratneśvara in his commentary alludes to various kinds of *pāka*, named after *sahakāra* (mango), *vārtāka* (egg-plant) and *nilakapītha* (feronia elephantum). Rājaśekhara goes to the length of mentioning nine such cases of *pāka* named after the following nine fruits (pp. 20-21): *picumanda* (*nimba*, *azadirachta indica*), *badara* (jujube), *mṛdvīkā* (grapes), *vārtāka* (egg-plant fruit), *tintidī* (tamarind), *sahakāra* (mango), *kraunka* (betel-nut), *trapusa* (cucumber) and *nārikela* (cocoa-nut).

CHAPTER VIII

SOME LATER WRITERS OF THE NEW SCHOOL

(1)

Hemacandra and the Vāgbhaṭas

The group of three Jaina writers, Hemacandra and the older and the younger Vāgbhaṭas, may be conveniently mentioned here, but they do not call for any special remark. Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana*, written in the form of Sūtra with Vṛtti, and its commentary, called *Viveka*¹, composed by himself, indicate extensive learning and constitute a compact manual of Poetics in eight chapters; but there is hardly anywhere any striking trait of originality² or even indepen-

1 The Sūtra-portion is called *Kāvyānuśāsana*, the Vṛtti is styled the *Alaṅkāra-cūḍā-maṇi*, while the brief commentary which explains the Vṛtti may be called *Viveka* from its mangala-verse.

2 Hemacandra's treatment of poetic figures, however, is somewhat peculiar. He speaks of six *sabdālaṅkāras*, viz. *anuprāsa*, *yamaka*, *citra*, *ślesa*, *vakrokti* and *parasukta-vad-ābhāṣa*. The *arthālaṅkāras* are much reduced in number and limited to twenty-nine (viz. *upamā*, *utpreksā*, *rūpaka*, *nidarsana*, *dīpaka*, *anyokti*, *parāyokta*, *atīyayokti*, *ākṣepa*, *virodhī*, *sahokti*, *samāsokti*, *jāti*, *vydja-stuti*, *ślesa*, *vyatireka*, *arthāntara-nyāsa*, *sasaṅdeha*, *apehnut*, *parāvṛtti*, *anumāna*, *śmṛti*, *bhrānti*, *vīśama*, *sama*, *samuccaya*, *parisamākhya*, *kāraṇamālā* and *samākara*). He includes *samsṛṣṭi* under *sāṃkara*, and treats *anamaya* and *upameyopamā* as varieties of *upamā*. The *apratuta-praśaṅgsā* similarly goes under *anyokti*. All figures like *rasavat*, *preyas*, *ūrjasvin* and *samāhita* that have a touch of *Rasa* and *Bhāva* are omitted as being comprehended (so also Mammata thinks) in the class of poetry called *guṇibhūta-vyañgya*. Hemacandra does not deal with *parikara*, *yathā-samākhya*, *bhāvika*, *uddīta*, *āśi* and *pratyankha* for reasons explained by himself at pp. 292-4. Hemacandra, however, defines some figures somewhat broadly so as to include other recognised figures in them, e. g. his *dīpaka* would include *tulayayogitā*, his *parāvṛtti* would contain the *paryāya* and *pārīvṛtti* of Mammata, his *nidarsana* would comprehend *prativastupamā*, *dṛṣṭānta* and *niderśana* of other writers.

dent thinking out of the main problems. This work is chiefly a compilation³. Hemacandra not only paraphrases literally most of the standardised definitions, and reproduces almost unhesitatingly the illustrative quotations of Mammaṭa; but his acknowledged and unacknowledged borrowings from the *Dhvanyāloka* and *Locana*, from the *Abhinava-bhāratī*, from the *Vakrokti-jīvita*, from Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya-nīmāṇīsā*, as well as from other well known works are indeed numerous. No doubt, Hemacandra adds a chapter on Dramaturgy, chiefly compiled from Bharata and others, but the account of the doctrines of *dhvani*, *rasa*, *guṇa*, *dōṣa* and *alāṇikāra* is closely and somewhat uncritically copied from Mammaṭa, supplemented, however, by excerpts, in the commentary, of other views on the subject. In trying to improve upon Mammaṭa's imperfect definition of poetry by substituting *sālāṇikārau ca* in the place of *analaṇkṛti punaḥ kvāpi*, he puts himself open to greater technical objection, although he adds the gloss: *ca-kāro niralāṇikārāyor api śabdārthayoh kvacit kāvyatva-sīhāpanārthaḥ*.

The older and the younger Vāgbhaṭas, on the other hand, though making considerable use of Mammaṭa's text (the latter especially borrowing from Hemacandra's version too), do not admit *dhvani*, and are allied in their sympathies with the Pre-dhvani schools. The authority of Daṇḍin, for instance, carries great weight with them; and the younger Vāgbhaṭa admits some of Rudraṭa's peculiar poetic figures. At the same time, the unmistakable influence of the new

3 The eight chapters of Hemacandra's *Kāvya-nūśāsana* comprehends the following topics: i. The purpose (*pryojana*) of poetry, its causes (*hetu*) viz. *pratibhā* to which are added *vyutpatti* and *abhyāsa*; the definition of poetry; the nature of *śabda* and *artha*; the denoted, indicated and suggested meanings. ii. The *rasa* and its factors. iii. The *dōṣas* of *pada*, *vākyā*, *artha* and *rasa*. iv. The *guṇas*, accepted as three after Mammaṭa, and the letters which produce them. v. Six figures of sound. vi. Twenty-nine figures of sense. vii. The *nāyaka* and *nāyikā*. viii. Division of poetry into *prekṣya* and *śravya*, and their characteristics and subdivisions.

school on them precludes us from affiliating them directly with the older Alāmkāra and Rīti schools. The older Vāgbhaṭa defines poetry as:

sādhū-śabdārtha-saṃdarbhām guṇālaṃkāra-bhūṣitam!,
sphuṭa rūp-rasopetām kāvyaṃ kurvīta kīrtaye! /

while the younger Vāgbhaṭa, whose work is written in the sūtra- and vṛtti-form like Hemacandra's, adopts literally the latter's modification of Mammāṭa's definition. The criterion of poetry, according to them, is that it must contain, through its word and sense, the *guṇa*, *alaṃkāra*, *rīti* and *rasa*, but these elements are mentioned rather in an eclectic than critical spirit. The older Vāgbhaṭa accepts without question the ten Guṇas of older writers, but the younger Vāgbhaṭa follows Mammāṭa in limiting them to three, with the pointed remark: *iti daṇḍī-vāmanā-vāgbhaṭādi-prahītā daśa kāvya-guṇāḥ, vayaṃ tu mādhuryaujāḥ-prasāda-lakṣaṇān trīn eva guṇān manyāmahe.* The younger Vāgbhaṭa speaks of *Rasa* as the 'soul' of poetry⁴; but beyond a description, after Hemacandra and others, of the different Rasas, he does not touch upon the theoretical aspect of the question, nor does he indicate the mutual relation of the different elements of poetry with reference to the *Rasa*. Indeed, both of them do not appear to accept the reconciliation proposed by the Dhvani-theorists; and the younger Vāgbhaṭa specifically includes *dhvani*, after Bhāmaha and Udbhaṭa, in the figure *paryāyokta* with the remark: *evamādi-bhedair dhvanitoktīr bhavati, param grantha-gaurava-bhāṣād asmābhīr nodāhriyate, sa prapañcas trāṇandavardhanād avagantavyāḥ* (p. 37). The object of these Jaina manuals (though there is nothing specifically Jaina in them) appears to have been the presentation of a popular and easy epitome of the subject, allaying themselves to no particular school or system, but following

⁴ *doṣa-muktaṃ guṇa-yuktam alaṃkāra-bhūṣitam śabdārtha-rūpam uktam kāvya-sarīram, param sat trāṇḍī-sarīram īva nirdhīmakam na pratibhāsate, atāḥ kāvyaśya prāṇa-bhūṣitam rasam īha, ch. v, p. 53).*

the traditional notions in a spirit of eclecticism, without critically systematising them in the light of a central theory. In this respect, they bear a close resemblance to the *alaṅkāra*-section in the *Agni-purāṇa* and the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* of Bhoja, whose definition of poetry is forcibly recalled by that of the older *Vāgbhaṭa* quoted above.

The topics dealt with in the five *paricchedas* of the *Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra* are as follow: (i) The definition of *Kāvya*; *pratibhā* as the source of *Kāvya*, aided by *vyutpatti* and *abhyāsa*; the circumstances favourable to poetry and the conventions observed by poets. (ii) The language of poetry (Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa and Bhūta-bhāṣā); forms of poetry (metrical *chandonibaddha* and non-metrical); its divisions into *padya* (verse), *gadya* (prose) and *miśra* (mixed verse and prose); eight *doṣas* of *pada* and of *vākyā* respectively, and the *doṣas* of *artha*. (iii) The ten *guṇas*. (iv) Four poetic figures of sound, viz. *citra*, *vakrokti*, *anuprāsa* and *yamaka*, and thirty-five figures of sense; the two *rītis* (*vaidarbī* and *gaudīyā*). (v) Nine *rasas*; kinds of *nāyaka* and *nāyikā* and kindred topics. The *Kāvyanuśāsana* of the younger *Vāgbhaṭa* is, unlike the *Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra* (which is written in the metrical form, generally in the *anuṣṭubh* with only one prose passage at iii. 14), composed in the *Sūtra*- and *Vṛtti*-style of Hemacandra's *Kāvyanuśāsana*. It is also divided into five chapters with topics as follow: (i) The *prayojana*, and the *hetu* (*pratibhā* aided by *vyutpatti* and *abhyāsa*) of *Kāvya*; its division into *padya*, *gadya* and *miśra*; the classification of poetical composition into *mahākāvya*, *ākhyāyikā*, *kathā*, *campū* and *rūpaka*. (ii) Sixteen *doṣas* of *pada*, fourteen of *vākyā*, and fourteen of *artha*; the ten *guṇas* of *Vāmana* and *Dāṇḍin* reduced to three, viz. *mādhurya*, *ojas* and *prasāda*; three *rītis*, viz. *vaidarbī*, *gaudīyā* and *pāñcāli*. (iii) Sixty-three figures of sense, in which some of Rudraṭa's old figures reappear. (iv) Six figures of sound, viz. *citra*, *śleṣa*, *anuprāsa*, *vakrokti*, *yamaka* and *punaruktavad-ābhāṣa*. (v) Nine *rasas*; the topic of *nāyaka-nāyikā*; and the *doṣas* of *rasa*.

(2)

Jayadeva, Appayya and Jagannātha

We have now practically closed our survey of the principal Post-dhvani writers who deserve mention and treatment. The school of *kavi-siksā* and the erotic *rasa*-writers stand apart in many respects, and we propose to deal with them separately in the following chapters. But the above account of the Post-dhvani writers must not be supposed to exhaust the extraordinary wealth of scholastic activity of this period. The commentators and textbook-writers continued to multiply, and a glance at their names given in our preceding volume⁵ will show the extent to which their activity was carried; but hardly any of these later works, except perhaps Jagannātha's *Rasa-garīgādhara*, with an account of which we shall close our survey, deserves separate or detailed mention. Even Keśava Miśra's *Alamkāra-śekhara*, or Acyuta Rāya's more modern *Sāhitya-sāra*⁶, convenient and well-written compendiums as they are, and standing as they do much above the average, add hardly anything fresh to our knowledge.

Keśava Miśra draws largely upon Mammata and the younger Vāgbhaṭa (besides older writers). He declares that his work is based upon the Kārikās of one *alāmkāra-vidyā-sūtrakāra bhagavān* Sauddhodani (see vol. i. pp. 220f); but it does not present any theory nor set up any new system. There are, however, certain opinions which are peculiar to the work, the chief of which is that it sets up Rasa as the essence of poetry. The work is divided into eight *ratnas*, consisting of twenty-two *marīcis*. The first *ratna* defines Kāvya as *rasādimas vākya*, and discusses *pratibhā* etc. as its sources. After an enunciation of three Rītis, *vaidarbī*, *gaudi* and *māgadhi* (which are defined with reference to the em-

5 See vol. i, ch. x, pp. 262-315, Minor Writers. For commentators, see Bibliography given under each writer.

6 For a summary of the contents of this work, see vol. i, p. 264.

ployment of compounds), along with *ukti* (4 kinds) and *mundrā* (4 kinds), it goes on to discuss the three usual *Vṛttis*, viz. *śakti* (= *abhidhā*), *lakṣaṇā* and *vyañjanā*. Then comes the *doṣa-ratna*, in which are detailed two series of eight faults each of word and sense, and twelve defects of sentences. The next third section, called *guṇa-ratna*, deals with five excellences of *śabda* (viz. *saṃkṣiptatva*, *ndāttatva*, *prasāda*, *ukti* and *samādhi*), and four excellencies of sense (viz. *bhāvikatva*, *suśabdatva*, *paryāyokta* and *sudharmitā*). This is followed by a discussion of the cases where some of the above *Doṣas* may sometimes become *Guṇas*. The influence of Bhoja's opinions on this part of the work is obvious. Then comes the *alaṅkāra-ratna*, where mention is made of eight figures of sounds (*citra*, *vakrokti*, *anuprāsa*, *gūḍha*, *ślesa*, *prahelikā*, *praśnottara* and *yamaka*) and only fourteen figures of sense (*upamā*, *rūpaka*, *utprekṣā*, *saṃāsokti*, *apahnuti*, *saṃāhita*, *svabhāva*, *virodha*, *sāra*, *dīpaka*, *sahokti*, *anyadeśatva* = *asaṅgati* of Mammaṭa, *viśeṣokti*, and *vibhāvauṇā*). This is followed by a curious chapter, entitled *varṇaka-ratna*, in which are detailed the *upamānas* appropriate for describing a damsel, her complexion, hair, forehead, eyebrows etc. It goes on to give practical hints as to how poets should describe the physical characteristics of the hero, mentions words which convey the idea of similarity, details the conventional usages of poets (*kavi-sauya*), as well as the topics for description (such as the king, the queen, a town, a city, a river etc.) and the way of describing them, the colours of various objects in nature, words that convey numerals from one to one thousand, certain tricks of words such as *bhāsā-samā* (where a verse reads the same in Sanskrit as in Prakrit), *saṃasyā-pūrṇa*, the nine *Rasas*, the kinds of hero and heroine, the different *Bhāvas*, the *Doṣas* of *Rasa*, and lastly, the arrangement of letters favourable to each *Rasa*.

Jayadeva's *Candrāloka*⁷ has been a deservedly popular

7 See vol. i, p. 199 for a résumé of its contents.

manual, but in spite of its clearness and brevity of exposition and aptness of its illustrations, it is nothing more than a convenient epitome, its most remarkable feature being its detailed treatment of poetic figures, which occupy nearly half its bulk.

The *Candrāloka* deals with ten *guṇas* and one hundred *alaṁkāras*. The third chapter, curiously enough, is devoted to *lakṣaṇas*, which are not mentioned by later writers except in connexion with Dramaturgy (as by Viśvanātha). Instead of Bharata's thirty-six *lakṣaṇas* (cb. xvi 6-39; see above pp. 3-5), Jayadeva defines and illustrates only ten, viz. the economical combination of letters to convey a striking meaning (*akṣara-saṁhati*), the prohibition of a fault by the indication of an excellence (*sobhā*), the deliberation resulting in a negation of what is said (*abhimāna*), the determination of a proposition by a rejection of other possible alternatives (*hetu*), the disregard of well established causes (*pratīṣedha*), the interpretation of a name both as true and false (*nirukta*), false attribution where both the major and middle terms of a proposition are absent (*mithyādhyavasāya*), substantiation of the excellence of an object by emphasising its well-matched resemblance to a well known object (*siddhi*), establishment of a particular attribute through the drift of two different meanings (*yukti*), and the accomplishment of a purpose through some action or occurrence (*phala*). Viśvanātha, however, adds thirty-three dramatic embellishments (*nātyālaṁkāras*) to his *lakṣaṇas*, which are enumerated after Bharata as thirty-six in number, but which do not correspond exactly to Bharata's *lakṣaṇas*, as some of the latter fall also under Viśvanātha's *nātyālaṁkāras*. The two classes cannot indeed be distinguished on any conceivable theory; and though Viśvanātha adopts the conventional enumeration, he remarks in the end: *esāṁ ca lakṣaṇāṇī nātyālaṁkārāṇām ekariṇपत्रे'pi bhedena vyapadeśah gaddalikā-pravāheṇa.*

Thus, we find included under *lakṣaṇas* the combination of *Guṇas* with *Alaṁkāras*; the economical grouping of letters to produce a charming import; the use of *double*

entendre for the purpose of conveying a less known import along with one more well known ; the use of analogy and example ; the brief citation of a reason for the intended meaning ; the expression of doubt in the case of an object whose nature is not known ; the surmise from a matter coincident with the course of nature ; the fitting of expression to the sense ; the citation of admitted facts to refute inadmissible views ; the supposition of a non-existent object or fact from resemblance ; the inference of an object from some of its peculiarities ; the deduction by reasoning of a fact which is not capable of sense-perception ; the description of an object under the similitude of time and place ; the statement of agreeable views in accordance with the Śāstras ; the indication of acts contrary to one's qualities ; the attribution to an object of qualities in excess of its ordinary qualities ; the discrimination of a particular meaning out of other well known meanings by an allusion to the literal sense ; the repetition of a proposition already established : the mention of various objects in eulogy of the intended object ; the unconscious expression, under the influence of passion, of the contrary of what one means ; the alteration of a conclusion through doubt ; the compliance with other people's views by words or acts ; the persuasion by means of affectionate words ; the statement in succession of several means to attain a desired object ; the suggestion and strengthening of one view by a different view ; the reproach ; the respectful enquiry ; the employment of names of well known persons or things in eulogy of the person or thing under description ; the mistaken resemblance of apparently similar things causing resentment ; the offer of oneself in the service of another ; the flattering statement ; the employment of a comparison to convey a sense which is not directly desired ; the indirect expression of desire ; the veiled compliment ; and the expression of gratitude in pleasing terms.

The *nātyālāñkāras* are the benediction, the lamentation, the deception, the unforgiving attitude, the arrogant ex-

pression, the expression of a resolution or of an excellent purpose, the taillery, the desire for a charming object, the agitation due to reproach, the repentance for missing an object through folly, the use of an argument, the longing for an object, the request, the commencement of an undesirable act, the mentioning of a purpose, the provocation, the reproach, the observance of the *Sāstras*, the covert rebuke administered by citing a common opinion, the narration, the prayer, the apology, the reminding of a duty neglected, the recounting of previous history, the determination of an act by reasoning, the ecstacy and the instruction.

It will be seen that the division is not only overlapping, but both the *lakṣaṇas* and the *nātyālāṃkāras* refer largely to modes of exposition, to the use of what other writers would regard as specific figures or excellences of diction, or they may sometimes appertain to the feelings and emotions which come within the sphere of *Rasa* and *Bhāva*. This fact is recognised very early by Dāṇḍin who includes *lakṣaṇas* under *alāṃkāras* in the wider sense. Dhānatjaya does the same, but he recognises also that some of them come under *Rasa* and *Bhāva*. Viśvanātha, therefore, includes them under the *guṇa*, *alāṃkāra*, *bhāva* and *sāṃdhi*, but deals with them only in connexion with the drama. There is practically no need for them in later Poetics from which they ultimately disappear, their function having been assigned to other recognised elements of poetry.

Appayya Dikṣita's three well known manuals⁸ one of which is directly based on Jayadeva's work, and Viśveśvara's *Alāṃkāra-kaustubha*⁹ are indeed noteworthy for their elaborate treatment of poetic figures and have merits of their own, but they are in reality nothing more than elementary text-books, excellent résumés which methodically register

8 See vol. i, pp. 223-25.

9 See vol. i, p. 303. The work, as its name implies, deals entirely with poetic figures in an elaborate way. The number of independent figures dealt with is about 76.

previous speculations on the subject. There is such a general sameness of characteristics, such a monotony of treatment, as well as repetition of conventional topics in conventional phraseology, that it is not worth while to linger over the activity of these lesser writers. The work of the great Kashmirian writers was over, and although Bengal and the Deccan had come into prominence as fields of later activity, the age of really original or thoughtful writers was long gone by. It was succeeded by an age of commentators, interpreters and critics (some of them were very able and painstaking) as long as there was the need of critical elaboration, of understanding and explaining a great author. But in course of time, even this became superfluous, and there was nothing to be done but the writing of smaller and simpler manuals adapted to general comprehension. The declining age of most of the schools witnessed a host of such manuals and manuals of manuals ; but this was the period when the declining age of the Post-dhvani school, as represented by Mammaṭa, went through the same process. Even this was not enough. Out of the debris of these schools there grew up a spirit of eclecticism, of which we have already an early indication in the works of Bhoja and the Vāgbhaṭas after the decline of the older Rasa, Alāṃkāra and Rīti schools ; and we meet with hand-books which depend upon no system but which are apparently written for the enlightenment of lay understanding. The different systems of Sanskrit Poetics may now be supposed to have well-nigh run their course and attained their natural termination.

(3)

Jagannātha

Jagannātha's *Rasa-gaṅgādhara* is the last remarkable work on Poetics. We do not, however, find in it a complete presentation of the subject, as the available text forms about two-fifths of what the work was originally designed to be by

its author and is thus extant only in an unfortunately incomplete shape. Nearly three-fourths of this, again, and the whole of his *Citra-mīmāṃsā-khaṇḍana* are taken up with the discussion and illustration of poetic figures, a topic which, as here set forth, forms indeed one of the most exhaustive and noteworthy presentation of later times, but is of little theoretical interest from the standpoint of general Poetics. Jagannātha's style is erudite and frightens the student by its involved language, its subtle reasoning and its unsparing criticism of earlier writers. The most criticised authors in this respect are Ruyyaka, his commentator Jayaratha and his follower Appayya Dikṣita. But in spite of this tendency towards controversy, which is combined with an aptitude for hair-splitting refinements, Jagannātha's work displays an acute and independent treatment, or at least an attempt at a rethinking of the old problems. He shows himself conversant with the poetic theories of older writers, which he does not ignore but which he endeavours to harmonise with the new currents of thought. Along with some other important writers of the new school, Jagannātha marks a reaction in this respect; and the school of Mammāta and Ruyyaka does not receive from him unqualified homage.

Jagannātha defines poetry as a word or linguistic composition which brings a charming idea into expression (*ramaṇīyārtha-pratipādakaḥ śabdaḥ*): a definition which reminds us of Daṇḍin's well known description of *kāvya-saṅkāra* as *īśārtha-vyavacchinnā padārāli*, but which is further explained in this way. The charmingness belongs to an idea which causes unworldly or disinterested pleasure. This quality of disinterestedness is an essential characteristic, which is a fact of internal experience and which is an attribute of pleasure, being synonymous with *camatkāra* or strikingness. The cause of this pleasure is a conception or a species of representation, consisting of continued contemplation of something characterised by the pleasure itself. Thus, there is no disinterestedness in the pleasure conveyed by the ap-

prehension of the sense of a sentence like 'a son is born to you' or 'I shall give you money'; in such a sentence, therefore, there is no poetry. Hence poetry consists of words which express an idea that becomes the object of contemplation causing such pleasure¹⁰.

The beautiful (*ramaṇiyatā*) in poetry, therefore, is that which gives us disinterested or impersonal pleasure. This pleasure is specifically different from that which one finds in the actually pleasing, and depends upon taste formed by continued contemplation of beautiful objects. It will be noticed that this definition not only gives us a remarkable analysis of the beautiful but includes in its generality and comprehensiveness all the elements of poetry recognised by previous theorists, without specifically naming them. We have already noted that the poetic sentiment or *Rasa*, excited in the reader's mind, is peculiar in its nature; it is, no doubt, a fact of one's own consciousness but it is essentially universal and impersonal in character, being common to all trained readers and possessing no significance to their personal relations or interests. A distinction is made between a natural emotion and a poetic sentiment; the former is individual and immediately personal and therefore may be pleasurable or painful, but the latter is generic and disinterested and marked by impersonal joy. The poetic sentiment in this sense is supernormal (*alaukika*), and those things which cause disgust, fear or sorrow in ordinary life and those normal emotions which are far from pleasant in actual experience, being conveyed in poetry, become ideal and universal, and bring about this supernormal pleasure which is not to be compared.

10 *ramaṇiyatā ca lokottarāhlāda-janaka-jñāna-gocaratā*; *lokotaram cāhlāda-gataś camatkāratvāpara-paryāyo'nubhava-sāksiko jūti-viśeṣaḥ*; *kāraṇam ca tad-avacchinne bhāvanā-viśeṣaḥ punaḥ pñnar anusaṁdhānātmā*; *putras te jātāḥ, dhanāḥ te dāsyāmāti vākyārtha-dhī-janyasyāhlādasya na lokottaratvam, ato na tasmin vākye kāvyatvaprasaktih. Ithāḥ ca camatkāra-janaka-bhāvanā-viśayārtha-pratipādaka-śabdatvam.* Cf. Jacobi in *Internat. Wochenschrift*, 1910, ix. 821.

to the very mixed pleasure experienced in ordinary life. This pleasure, dissociated from all personal interests, is the essence of the mental condition involved in the enjoyment of *Rasa*; it is also the essence of all poetry, as conceived by Jagannātha.

In the same way, the definition includes the concept of the suggested sense (*dhvani*), and Jagannātha proceeds to divide poetry on this basis into four (viz. *uttamottama*, *uttama*, *madhyama* and *adhama*) classes, corresponding to the three classes recognised by his predecessors since the Dhvanikāra's time. The first occurs where the sound and sense, subordinating themselves, suggest another charming sense; it corresponds to the principal *dhvani-kāvya* of the Dhvanikāra. The second and third classes, the *guṇībhūta-vyāñgya* and *citra*, mentioned by the Dhvanikāra, are split up¹¹ into three cases, viz. (i) where the suggested sense, though not principal, is yet the cause of special charm, (ii) where the charm of the expressed sense is predicated equally with the charm of the suggested, and (iii) where the charm of sound, being embellished by the charm of sense, is principal. This lowest class of poetry, corresponding to the *sabda-citra* and *artha-citra* of Mammata (a distinction which is rejected by Jagannātha), apparently comprehends those cases where the *artha-camatkṛti* is swallowed up or strengthened by *sabda-camatkṛti*. Jagannātha adds that although it is possible to count a still lower fifth class of poetry, in which the charm of sound is altogether devoid of all charm of sense (e. g. cases of conundrums like the *padma-bandha*) and which is allowed by the practice of some poets, yet in view of the definition of poetry already given, as consisting of words expressing a charming sense, these instances have to be excluded or ignored.

11 The object of this splitting up is to dispense with the necessity of minutely subdividing the various cases of the *guṇībhūta-vyāñgya* *kāvya* and also to include generally all poetry which is *ālamkāra-pradhāna*.

After this classification, Jagannātha follows the conventional way of dividing Dhvani, infinite aspects as it may present (*asaṃkhya-bheda*), into two broad groups, based on Denotation (*abhidhā-mūla*) and Indication (*lakṣayā-mūla*) respectively. The former has a threefold aspect, according as it is a suggestion of *rasa*, *alaṃkāra* or *vastu*, while recognition is given to the two cases of the latter, viz., (i) where the expressed meaning passes over to another sense (*arthāntara-saṃkramita-vācyā*) and (ii) where the expressed sense is made to disappear entirely (*atyanta-tiraskṛta-vācyā*). This brings our author topically to a detailed consideration of Rasa-dhvani which is characterised as *parama-ramayīya*, and an elaborate discussion of the nature and theory of Rasa and Bhāva and its constituent elements. He speaks in this connexion of *bhāva-dhvani* (pp. 74-98) and takes into consideration different phases of Rasa and Bhāva, such as *rasā-bhāsa* (p. 99), *bhāva-sānti* (p. 102), *bhāvotpatti*, *bhāva-saṃyādi* and *bhāva-śabalaṭā* (p. 103f)¹². The discussion of the Guṇas come in this context, inasmuch as they are related to the Rasa. Jagannātha enumerates and discusses the ten *śabda*- and *artha-guṇas* of Vāmana and other older writers; but he appears to accept only three Guṇas after Mammaṭa, viz. *mādhurya*, *ojas* and *prasāda*, classifying them on the basis of their respective effects on the reader's mind, viz. *druti* (melting), *dipti* (brilliance, i. e. expansion) and *vikāsa* (pervasion). Jagannātha remarks in this connexion: *guṇānām caisām druti-dipti-vikāsākhyās tisraś citta-vṛttayāḥ krameṇa prayojyāḥ, tat-tad-guṇa-visiṣṭa-rasa-carvaṇā-janyā iti yāvat*, making it clear that the justification of this classification consists in the divergent nature of the mental activity involved in the relish of Rasa. He does not agree, however, with Mammaṭa in the latter's statement that when we speak of a composition as *madhura* we use the word in a secondary

12 These topics are also dealt with by Mammaṭa, Viśvanātha and others.

sense (as when we say "the appearance of this man is brave"). Inasmuch as the Guṇas being the properties of Rasa, we apply to the 'body' what appertains to the 'soul' of poetry by an extended use of the term. Jagannātha maintains that when we say the sentiment of love (*śringāra*) is *madhura* in a particular case, we mean to imply its influence, such as *druti* etc. on the mind, and this must be taken to refer not only to Rasa but also to *śabda* and *artha* and the composition in general (*śabdārtha-rasa-racanā-gatam eva grāhyam*).

The next chapter proceeds to discuss other varieties of suggestion, including suggestion based on *lakṣaṇā*, which is dealt with in detail. It then takes up the poetic figures (to the number of about 70), to which the rest of the work, breaking off in the middle of the figure *uttara*, is devoted. The poetic figure or *Alaṁkāra* comes in as the source of the charm or *ramāṇiyatā* essential in the principal suggested element of poetry already defined (*prāg-abhīhita-lakṣaṇa-sya kāvyātmano vyañgyasya ramāṇiyatā-prayojakā alaṁkārāh*, p. 156). The aesthetic pleasure (*camatkāra* or *lokottaratva*) into which this *ramāṇiyatā* resolves itself is an essential element in the poetic figure; Jagannātha thus harmonises his own conception of poetry with Ruyyaka's theory of the *alaṁkāra* (which he accepts and elaborates) as involving this *camatkāra* (also called *hṛdayatva*, *cārutva*, *saundarya*, or denoted by the technical terms *vaicitrya*, *vicchitti-viśeṣa* or *bhanīti-prakāra*) imparted by the conception of the poet (*kavi-pratibhā*). Kuntaka, from whom Ruyyaka appears to have derived his analysis, laid down that in every poetical production the activity of the poet, which consists in an act of the productive imagination (*pratibhā*), is the principal point, and it should result in poetic expression. Jagannātha asserts that the *pratibhā* alone is the source of poetry and therefore of poetic expression, and as such it fixes the nature of the *alaṁkāra*. The special charm (*vicchitti-viśeṣa*), which is thus imparted to poetic figure by the imagination of the poet, is taken (pp. 466, 470) as the basis upon

which the poetic figures distinguish themselves in their special peculiarities, and is explained as an act of imagination on the part of the poet in so far as it is produced in the poem, or as that aesthetic pleasure¹³ which is thereby brought into being. As to how this *vicchitti* is determined, Jagannātha settles the question by resting it not only upon established usage (*sampradāya*) but also upon one's own internal experience (*anubhava*). On this fundamental principle, the various figures are minutely defined, differentiated, illustrated and classified ; and this portion of Jagannātha's work, in spite of its subtlety and polemic attitude, is one of the most acute, though unfortunately uncompleted, treatment of the subject.¹⁴

13 This translation of the term *camatkāra* is justified by Jagannātha's own definition of poetry.

14 For an elaborate account of Jagannātha as a literary critic see V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, *Jagannātha Pañdita* (Annamalai Univ. Skt. Series 1942), pp. 78f (chs. iv-vi).

CHAPTER IX

LATER WRITERS ON RASA

(1)

The doctrine of Rasa, which is advocated, if not first enunciated, by Abhinavagupta, is finally adopted by almost all writers on general Poetics who accept *rasa-dhvani* as an important element of poetry. With the exception of Viśvanātha and Keśava Miśra, they do not indeed go so far as to declare expressly with Abhinavagupta that Rasa alone is the essence of poetry, but they accept in reality the suggested sense in the form of Rasa as essentially the main element. The Rasa is viewed as a pleasant sentiment belonging to the reader whose dormant emotions, derived from experience or inherited instincts, are evoked by the reading of poems into an ideal and impersonalised form of joy; an appreciation or enjoyment, consisting of a pleasant mental condition in which the reader identifies himself with the feelings of the hero and experiences them in a generic form, the fulness of the enjoyment depending upon the nature and experience of the particular reader. The sentiment thus evoked is essentially universal in character, and the aesthetic pleasure resulting from it is not individual (even though enjoyed as an intimately personal feeling), but generic and disinterested, being such as would be common to all trained readers (*saṁasta-bhāvaka-svasaṁvیدya*). It is, therefore, described as something supernormal (*alaukika*) and invariably pleasant, not to be compared to the normal pleasures of life which have always a reference to one's personal relations or interests, and which may be pleasant or painful. Things, which would be called causes of an emotion in the normal sense and which may produce disgust, horror or pity in real life, awaken these feelings indeed in poetry and drama, but convey them in such an ideal and generic form that these emotions, which

are far from pleasant in ordinary life, are converted into an impersonal joy, which is ineffable and indivisible. One may be moved by disgust, horror or pity and shed real tears ; but the underlying sentiment is always one of exquisite joy¹, which must be distinguished from an ordinary feeling.

This is the general position of all later theorists with regard to the nature and function of Rasa in poetry. Dhanañjaya, for instance, gives us the same process of transformation of an ordinary emotion, dominant in a composition, into a poetic sentiment, as formally laid down by Bharata and interpreted by Abhinavagupta ; and in this he is practically in agreement with Mammata, Vidyādhara Viśvanātha and others. The dominant emotion (*sthāyi-bhāva*), he says, becomes a sentiment (*rasa*) when it is brought into a relishable condition through the co-operation of the exponents, the ensuants and the accessories (including the *sāttvika bhāvas*). This statement is further amplified by the assertion that the enjoyer of Rasa (*rasika*) is the audience (*sāmājika*) on whose capacity of enjoyment it depends, and that the dominant feeling becomes a sentiment when it is so enjoyed. The Rasa, being a mental state, a subjective experience of the reader, in which enjoyment (*āsvāda*, *carvāṇā*, *rasanā* or *bhoga*) is essential and in which the enjoyer and the object of enjoyment become identical, the reader receives the represented feeling into his own soul and thereby enjoys it². The locus of the Rasa is not in the

1 But the *Nātya-darpana*, as noted above (p. 132 fn), as well as Bhoja (*sukha-duḥkhāvasthā-rūpa*), believes that Rasa is *sukha-duḥkhātma*. The *Rasa-kalikā* (vol. i, p. 318) also holds this view. See the elaborate arguments set forth in *Nātya-darpana* (ed. GOS, p. 159) in support of this view. Siddhieandra (*Kāryaprakāśa-khaṇḍana* pp. 16-21) refers to this theory of the "Navyas" that all Rasas are not pleasurable, but some distinctly painful. They accordingly admit the four pleasurable Rasas, viz. Śringāra, Vīra, Hāsyā and Adbhuta only, and not those which involve pain, viz. Karuṇā, Raudra, Bibhatsa and Bhayānaka. See the question discussed by V. Raghavan, *Number of Rasas*, ch. viii.

2 Cf. Jacobi in *GgA*, 1913, pp. 308f.

represented hero who belongs to the past; nor is it in the poem itself, the task of which is merely to exhibit the excitants etc. by which the dominant emotion is brought into expression and the Rasa, on its part, becomes revealed to the reader. Nor does the Rasa consist of the reader's mere apprehension (*pratīti*) of the emotions exhibited in the poem or enacted by the actor; for the reader would then apprehend not the Rasa but a feeling varying in different individuals, just as in real life the spectacle of a pair of lovers in union gives different spectators who witness it the varying emotions, according to their individual nature, of shame, envy, desire or aversion³. The *vibhāvas* etc., therefore, bring the *sthāyi-bhāva* to the enjoyment of the *rasika*, the aesthetically receptive reader or spectator, and thereby convert it into *rasa*; but they must be generalised and have no specific relation to a particular individual (*parityakta-viseṣa*). Thus, the *vibhāva* *Stū*, Dhanika explains, must refer to women in general, and not to the particular individual who was the daughter of Janaka. Hence things, which are the exciting, ensuing or necessary circumstances in ordinary life, act as *vibhāvas* etc. in poetry, and generalise the dominant feeling into Rasa. The spectator, say, of the deeds of Arjuna on the stage may be compared, therefore, to the child who, in playing with clay elephants, experiences the sensation of its own energy as pleasant. The enjoyment in the spectator's mind is a manifestation of that joy which is innate as the blissful nature of self, a circumstance which gives us the frequent comparison of *rasāsvāla* with *brahmāsvāda*.

The mental activity involved in this enjoyment has got four aspects taken in connexion with the four primary sentiments of the erotic (*śringāra*), the heroic (*vīra*), the

³ These circumstances, Dhanika thinks, disprove the *vyañgyatva* of Rasa. It seems that Dhanika does not accept the *vyañgya-vyañjaka* relation of Rasa to Poetry, but holds some views similar to the *bhāya-bhāvaka* theory of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka (ed. Parab, 1917, p. 96).

horrible (*bībhatsa*) and the furious (*raudra*) admitted by Bharata⁴, and consists respectively of the conditions of unfolding (*vikāsa*), expansion (*vistāra*), agitation (*kṣobha*) and distraction (*vikṣepa*). We have seen that Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka (along with Abhinavagupta) speaks of the *bhoga* (or *āsvāda*) of Rasa as involving only three mental conditions, named *vikāsa* (pervasion), *vistāra* (expansion) and *druti* (melting), which later theorists have taken as the basis and justification of the three Guṇas of *prasāda*, *ojas* and *mādhurya* respectively. With regard to the ninth Rasa, the quietistie, which is not mentioned by Bharata but which is acknowledged by some theorists, Dhanañjaya forbids its delineation in the drama (iv. 35); for the sentiment of absolute peace is in its own nature undefinable, and consists of four states mentioned by philosophers⁵, viz. *maitrī*, *karuṇā*, *muditā* and *upekṣā*, which are not realisable by the Saḥṛdaya. If it exists at all as Rasa, it must comprehend the fourfold mental activity enunciated above, as corresponding to the fourfold states recognised by philosophers in *śānti*⁶.

It is not necessary in this connexion to take up in detail the views of Mammaṭa, Vidyādhara and other writers, for it would be repeating substantially what has already been said regarding the final doctrine of Rasa. Viśvanātha is the only important writer, among later theorists, who boldly accepts Abhinavagupta's extreme view that the *rasa-dhvani* alone is the essence of poetry and builds up a system of Poetics on its basis⁷.

4 See above p. 23. The fourfold division is probably adopted as an ostensible rationale for the doctrine of four primary and four secondary Rasas recognised by Bharata.

5 E. g. *Yoga-sūtra* i. 33.

6 *na ca tathābhūtasya śānta-rasasya saḥṛdayāḥ svādayitāraḥ santi, atha tad-upāyabहुतो muditā-maitrī-karuṇopekṣādi-lakṣaṇas tasya ca vikāsa-vistāra-kṣobha-vikṣepa-rūpataiveti.*

7 Bhāṇudatta, who substantially follows the doctrine of Rasa detailed here, is however singular in his classification of some aspects of Rasa.

Following up his own definition of poetry as "a sentence of which the soul is the Rasa", Viśvanātha gives us an elaborate analysis of Rasa in almost all its aspects. He sums up at the outset the characteristics of Rasa in two verses thus: "The Rasa, arising from an exaltation of the quality of *sattva* or goodness, indivisible, self-manifested, made up of joy and thought in their identity, free from the contact of aught else perceived, akin to the realisation of Brahma, and having for its essence supernormal wonder (*camatkāra*), is enjoyed by those competent in its inseparableness (as an 'object of knowledge) from the knowledge of itself". He explains *camatkāra* as consisting of an expansion of the mind and as synonymous with *vismaya*. In this connexion, Viśvanātha quotes with approval an opinion of his ancestor Nārāyaṇa who put a premium on the sentiment of the marvellous (*adbhuta rasa*) and maintained that it was essential in all Rasas. It is also explained clearly that the Rasa is identical with the enjoyment of itself, or, in other words, there is no distinction between the object and the operation in the apprehension of Rasa; so that when we say 'the Rasa is enjoyed', we only use a figurative expression. It follows from this that the enjoyment of Rasa is different in its nature from the ordinary processes of knowledge.

Viśvanātha insists very strongly on the necessity of *vāsanā*

He speaks of Rasa as *laukika* and *alaukika*, subdividing the latter into *svāpnika* (enjoyed in a dream), *mānorathika* (fanciful like a castle in the air) and *aupanādyika* (as depicted in poetry). He again gives us (*Rasa-tarāk.* ch. viii, p. 65, ed. Regnard) a three-fold arrangement of Rasa with reference to its manner of manifestation: (i) *abhimukha*, when it is manifested by means of the *bhāva*, *vibhāva* and *anubhāva*. (ii) *vimukha*, when these elements are not directly expressed; so called because it is comprehensible with difficulty. (iii) *paramukha*, which has again two aspects according as it is (a) *alampkāra-mukha*, i. e. where the *alampkāra* is principal and the *rasa* is secondary. This includes probably the cases of figures like *rasavat*, which are included in *guṇī-bhūta-vyaṅgya kāryā* by the Dhvani-theorists, and (b) *bhāva-mukha* where the *bhāva* is in the same way principal.

in the spectator, which consists of experience (*idānīntanī*) or instincts aequired from previous births (*prāktanī*). If one is not endowed with these germs of the capacity of appreciation, one may develop them by study of poetry and experience of life. In the case of the grammarian, the philosopher or one well-versed in the saered lore, these susceptibilities are deadened. If it is sometimes found that an eager student of poetry is still deficient in the capacity of relishing Rasa, we must assume that it is the result of his accumulated demerit of a previous birth. Thus, Viśvanātha is anxious to show that experience and cultivation of the power of imagination are essential in one who seeks to enjoy Rasa.

Viśvanātha also insists that the *vibhāvas* etc. as well as the dominant feeling (*sthāyi-bhāva*) must be felt as generic or impersonalised. The reader must not take the feeling as his own individual emotion ; for it would then remain as *his* feeling (and never become Rasa) and would sometimes (e.g. in the case of the pathetic sentiment) cause pain, and not joy. Nor should the feeling be taken as pertaining solely to the hero ; for then it can not, as the feeling of another person, affect the reader and become Rasa. It is necessary, therefore, that the excitants etc. as well as the dominant feeling, should be generalised by a generic function (*sādhāraṇī kṛti*) inherent in themselves, which corresponds to the generic power (*bhāvavatva*) postulated for poetry by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. This universalisation of the factors and the feelings enables the reader to identify himself with the personages depicted ; and this conceit of community removes all difficulty about accepting extraordinary episodes of exalted personages who may be superior in virtue or prowess to the average reader. The excitants etc. are indeed normally called causes, but in reality the Rasa is not an effect in the ordinary sense ; for in the case of Rasa there is the simultaneous presence of itself and its excitants, which is not true of an ordinary cause and effect. It is also pointed out that all the factors (*vibhāvas* etc.) need not be present at once, for the presence of one would revive

the others by association of ideas. In other words, what might seem wanting in the utterance of poetry is supplied, from the suggestive character of poetry itself, by force of association of ideas. It also follows from the character of Rasa described above that it is not necessarily found in the actor, who in assuming the rôle of the hero performs his part only mechanically by rule and rote : he ranks as a spectator (and therefore as a recipient of Rasa) in so far as he is himself a man of taste and actually experiences the feelings he enacts.⁸

(2)

In spite of the unquestioned dominance of the Dhvani School, which no doubt recognised the importance of Rasa but regarded it as one of the phases of the unexpressed only, one class of writers, who still adhered to Rasa as the only element worth considering in poetry, continued to devote exclusive attention to it and built up a system, so to say, on the basis of the Rasa alone. Of all the Rasas, however, as *śṛṅgāra* (or love) forms the absorbing theme of Sanskrit poetry and drama in general, and as this particular poetic sentiment has an almost universal appeal, these writers naturally work out this important Rasa in all its phases ; and we have in consequence a series of erotico-rhetorical treatises, of which the earliest known and the most remarkable is Rudrabhatta's *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka*⁹. Rudra states distinctly at the beginning of his work that although Bharata and others

8 This follows Dhanañjaya's dictum that the enjoyment of Rasa is not precluded in the actor, if he realises in himself the feelings depicted.

9 The topics dealt with in its three chapters are: I. The *rasas*, the *sthāyl-bhāves*, the dramatic *vṛttis*; *śṛṅgāra* and its division; the *Nāyaka*, classified with illustrations; his assistants; classification of the *Nāyikā*, II. Characteristics of love-in-separation, of *pūrva-rāga*, the ten stages of love, the *upāyas*, etc. III. The other *rasas*, viz. *hārya*, *karuṇa*, *raudra*, *vīra*, *bhaya-naka*, *bibhatsa*, *adbhuta* and *sānta*; the four *vṛttis* appropriate to the *rasas*.

have spoken of Rasa in the drama, his object is to apply it to the ease of poetry, and that a Kāvya, in his opinion, must possess Rasa as its constant theme. Following upon this we have Bhoja's *Śringāra-prakāśā*¹⁰, which deals with the subject in the usual elaborate encyclopaedic manner of its author, with profuse illustrations of every phase of the erotic sentiment in no less than eighteen out of its thirty-six chapters. After this come innumerable works of a similar nature¹¹, which take Rasa, especially *śringāra*, as their principal theme and which were composed apparently with the object of guiding the poet in the composition of erotic pieces so popular and profuse in Sanskrit poetry. Of these, the *Bhāva-prakāśa*¹² of Śāradātanaya, which reproduces the substance of most of the chapters of Bhoja's work, and the exhaustive *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* of Śiṅga Bhūpāla¹³, as well as the two well-known works of Bhānudatta¹⁴, deserve mention. But none of these later treatises adds anything new or original to a subject already thrashed out to its utmost.

A new turn was given to the theory by Rūpa Gosvāmin's

10 See above p. 209.

11 See vol. i, pp. 238f, and chapter on Minor Writers.

12 See vol. i. p. 240.

13 See vol. i. p. 241f. The three *vilāsas* of this extensive work deal with the following topics: i. The hero, his qualities and classification ; his adjuncts ; the heroine, her classification and qualities, her *sāttvika* excellencies ; the *uddīpana-vibhāvas* ; the *rīti* and the *guṇas* ; the dramatic *vṛttis* ; the *sāttvika bhāvas*. ii. The *vyābhicāri-bhāvas*, the *anubhāvas*, the eight *sthāyi-bhāvas*, the eight *rasas*. iii. The drama and its varieties, characteristics etc.

14 The eight *taraṅgas* of *Rasa-taraṅgiṇī* are: i. Definition of *bhāva* and subdivisions thereof ; the *sthāyi-bhāvas*. ii. The *vibhāvas*. iii. The *anubhāvas*. iv. The eight *sāttvika bhāvas*. v. The *vyābhicāri-bhāvas*. vi. The *rasas* and detailed treatment of *śringāra*. vii. The other *rasas*. viii. The *sthāyi-bhāvajā* and *rasajā drṣṭi*. The *Rasa-maṇjarī*, a much smaller work, devotes more than half of itself to the *nāyikā* and her companions, and applies the rest to the *śringāra-nāyaka*, his assistants, the eight *sāttvika guṇas*, the two aspects of *śringāra* and the ten stages of *vipralambha-śringāra*.

Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi, which attempted to deal with Rasa in terms of the Vaiṣṇava idea of *ujjvala* or *madhura rasa*, by which was meant the *śṛṅgāra rasa*, the term *ujjvala* having been apparently suggested by Bharata's description of that Rasa¹⁵. The *madhura rasa*, however, is represented not in its secular aspect but primarily as a phase of *bhakti-rasa* (*madhurākhyo bhakti-rasāḥ*, i. 3) ; for according to Vaiṣṇava theology there are five Rasas forming roughly the five degrees of the realisation of *bhakti* or faith, viz., *sānta* (tranquillity), *dāsyā* (servitude or humility, also called *prīti*), *sakhya* (friendship or equality, also called *preyas*), *vātsalya* (parental affection) and *mādhurya* (sweetness). The last, also called the *ujjvala rasa*, being the principal, is termed *bhakti-rasa-rāj*¹⁶ and constitutes the subject-matter of the present treatise. The *kṛṣṇa-rati* or the love of Kṛṣṇa forms the dominant feeling or *sthāyl-bhāva* of this sentiment, and the recipient here is not the literary *sahṛdaya* but the *bhakta* or the faithful¹⁷. This *sthāyl-bhāva*, known as *madhurā rati*, which is the source of the particular Rasa, is defined in terms of the love of Kṛṣṇa¹⁸ ; and the nature of *nāyaka* and *nāyika* is defined in the same manner and their feelings and emotions illustrated by adducing examples from poems dealing with the love-stories of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. The work is, therefore, essentially a Vaiṣṇava religious treatise presented in a literary garb, taking Kṛṣṇa as the ideal hero, with the caution, however, that

15 *yat kiñcīl loke śuci medhyam ujjvalam darśanīyam vā tac
chṛṇgāreṇopamīyate*, ed. Grossel, pp. 89-90.

16 i. 2, explained by Viśvanātha Cakravartī as *sānta-prīti-preyas-vātsalyojjvala-nāmasu mukhyeṣu.....sa evojjvalāpara-paryāyo bhakti-rasānāṁ rājā madhurākhyo rasāḥ*.

17 *svādyatvam hṛdi bhaktānām ānītā śraraṇādibhīḥ/esiā kṛṣṇa-ratih sthāyl bhāvo bhakti-raso bhavet*, cited by Viśvanātha Cakravartī, p. 4.

18 *madhurākhyāyā rater lakṣaṇam coktam—mūlho harer mrgāksyā
ca saṇibhogasyādi-kūravām/madhurāpara-paryāyā priyatākhyoditā ratih.*
ibid, loc. cit.

what is true of Kṛṣṇa as the hero does not apply to the ordinary secular hero (i. 18-21)¹⁹.

With the exception of the *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, which attempts to bring erotico-religious ideas to bear upon the general theme of Rasa, these specialised treatises have, however, very little importance from the speculative point of view; and as they belong properly to the province of Erotics rather than Poetics, treatment of them should be sought elsewhere. The simple idea, elaborated more or less in all these works is that the awakening of Rasa is all-important in poetry, and that the fundamental Rasa is *śringāra* or the erotic, which is consequently treated in its various phases with copious illustrations. This is clearly expressed in the attitude of the author of *Agni-purāṇa* and of Bhoja, who accept only one poetic Rasa, viz. the erotic²⁰. In the same way, Rudrabhaṭṭa declares *śringāro nāyako rasalī* (i. 20), and Bhāṇudatta appears to take it for granted that *śringāra* occupies an honoured place among all the Rasas (*tatra rasesu śringārasyābhyaṛhitavena* etc, ed. Benares, p. 21).

(3)

It is unnecessary, as it is unprofitable, in the discussion of general principles, to enter here into the elaborate definitions, distinctions and classifications of the amorous sentiment with all its varying emotional moods and situations, which these treatises industriously discuss and which have always possessed such attraction to mediaeval scholastic minds. The theorists delight in arranging into divisions and sub-

19 The orthodox theorists (cf Jagannātha pp. 47f) would regard *bhakti* (which being based on *anurāga* or attachment cannot be comprehended by *sānta rasa*) as included in *bhāva*, being *devādi-viṣayā rati*, and as inadmissible as a fully developed *rasa*. Cf. Bhāṇudatta, *Rasataraṅgiṇī* ch. vi.—On *Ujjvala-nīlamāṇi* and Vaiṣṇava theory of Rasa see S. K. De, *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement*, Calcutta 1942.

20 See vol. i, p. 137. Cf. also *Mandāra-maraṇa-campū* ix, p. 107 (ed. Kāvyamālā).

divisions, according to rank, character, circumstances and the like, all conceivable types of the hero, the heroine and their adjuncts, together with the different shades of their gestures and feelings, in conformity with the tradition which already obtained in the cognate sphere of dramaturgy.²¹ Thus Rudrabhaṭṭa, after a preliminary enumeration and definition of the Rasas and the Bhāvas, proceeds to speak of two aspects of Śṛṅgāra, viz. *sambhoga* (love in union) and *vipralambha* (love in separation)²², and classify the hero (*nāyaka*) into the faithful (*anukūla*), the gallant whose attention is equally divided among many (*dakṣīṇa*), the sly (*satha*), and the saucy (*dhṛṣṭa*), according to his character as a lover. Later writers, however, subdivide each of these, again, into the best (*uttama*), the middling (*madhyama*) and the lowest (*adhamma*), and arrange the whole classification under the four-fold division of the genus hero into four types viz., (i) the brave and the high-spirited (*dhīrodātta*) (ii) the brave and haughty (*dhīroddhīta*) (iii) the brave and sportive (*dhīralalita*) and (iv) the brave and serene (*dhīra-prasānta*), thus giving us altogether forty-eight subdivisions of the hero²³.

21 See Bharata ch. xxiii-xxiv; *Dasa-rūpaka* iv. 50f and iii.

22 This statement follows Bharata and is accepted by most theorists including Bhoja; but Dhanañjaya distinguishes three cases, privation (*ayoga*), sundering (*viprayoga*) and union (*sambhoga*): the first denoting the inability of lovers, through obstacles, to secure union, and the second arising from absence or resentment. The first case of love may pass through the well-known ten stages (longing, anxiety, recollection, praise of the beloved, distress, raving, insanity, fever, stupor and death; cf Śīṅgabhūpāla ii. 178-201); while the second condition may be caused by a quarrel, due to discovery or inference of unfaithfulness (which may be counteracted by six *upāyas*, viz. conciliation, winning over her friends, gifts, humility, indifference or distracting her attention) or by absence arising from business, accident or a curse.

23 The good qualities of the hero are innumerable. For his characteristics, see Dhanañjaya ii. 1f; Viśvanātha iii. 30f; Śīṅgabhūpāla i. 61f; etc. On the theme of Nāyaka-Nāyikā, as treated in Alarikāra works, see V. Raghavan, *Introd.* to his ed. *Akbarshahi Śṛṅgāra-maijīrī* pp. 14-90.

Then follows a brief description of the assistants of the hero²⁴ in matters of love (*narina-saciva*), viz. the Comrade (*pīthamarda*), the Companion (*vīṭa*) and the Buffoon (*vidūṣaka*), some adding *ceta* (or the servant) in the enumeration.

In the same way, the heroine is taken broadly in threefold aspects in her relation to the hero as his wife (*svīyā*), or belonging to another, (*parakīyā*) and as common to all (*sāmānyā*). The *Śvīyā* is subdivided again into the adolescent and artless (*mugdhā*), the youthful (*madhyā*), and the mature and audacious (*pragalbhā*), i.e. the inexperienced, the partly experienced and the fully experienced. Later authors introduce greater fineness by subdividing each of these according to her temper, into the self-possessed (*dhīrā*), the not-self-possessed (*adhīrā*), and the partially self-possessed (*dhīrādhīrā*), or according to the rank, higher (*jyeṣṭhā*) or lower (*kaniṣṭhā*), each holds in the affection of the hero. The *Parakīyā* or *Anyadīyā* who, according to *Vaiṣṇava* ideas, is the highest type of the heroine, is twofold, according as she is a maiden (*kanyā*) or married (*ūḍhā*)²⁵; while the *sāmānyā* heroine, who is sometimes extolled (*Rudrabhaṭṭa*) and sometimes deprecated (*Rudraṭa*), is only of one kind, the *veṣyā* or courtesan²⁶. The sixteen types of heroine thus

24 The *Pratināyaka* or the rival of the hero is *dhīroddhata*, haughtiness being his essential characteristic; but he is described also as stubborn and vicious (*Dāsa*° ii 9; *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* iii. 130, p. 136). The *pīthamarda* of the hero possesses, in a lesser degree, the qualities of the hero (e. g. Makaranda in the *Mālatī-mādhava*). The term *pīthamardikā* in the feminine occurs in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* in the sense of a trusty go-between, applied to the nun Kauśikī. The *vīṭa*, usually neglected in the serious drama, except in *Cārudatta* and *Mṛcchakatīka*, appears in all his glory in the *Bhāṇa*, for which he is prescribed as the hero.

25 An amour with a married woman cannot, according to *Rudraṭa* and *Rudrabhaṭṭa* form the subject of dominant *Rasa* in a play or poem; but this is the central theme of *Vaiṣṇava* lyrics.

26 Bharata xxii. 197-206: *Dhānañjaya* ii. 21f: *Viśvanātha* iii. 67-70; *Śiṅgabhūpāla* i. 121-51. Rarely a heroine, she must be represented as in love when she is a heroine; but she cannot be so when the hero is

obtained are further arranged according to eightfold diversity in their condition or situation in relation to her lover, viz. the heroine who has the lover under absolute control (*svādhīna-patikā*), the heroine disappointed in her assignation through misadventure or involuntary absence (*utkā*), the heroine in full dress expectant of her lover (*vāsaka sajjikā*), the heroine deceived (*viprabhādī*), the heroine separated by a quarrel (*kalahānataritā*, also called *abhisamādhītā*), the heroine outraged by the discovery of marks of unfaithfulness in the lover (*khaṇḍitā*), the heroine who meets her lover by assignation²⁷ (*abhisārikā*) and the heroine pining for the absence of her lover gone abroad (*prosita-patikā*). We arrive in this way at an elaborate classification of the heroine into three hundred and eighty-four types; and one of the later writers states characteristically that there are other types also, but they cannot be specified for fear of prolixity (*Viśvanātha* iii. 88, p. 120).

But here the theorists do not stop. The hero is endowed further by a set of eight special excellences, as springing from his character (*sāttvika*): e. g. brilliance (*sobhā*) including heroism, cleverness, truthfulness, emulation with superiors and compassion to inferiors; vivacity (*vilāsa*) indicated by his glance, step and laughing voice; grace (*mādhurya*) displayed in placid demeanour even in trying circumstances; equanimity (*gambhīrya*) consisting of superiority to emotions; steadfastness (*sthairyā*) in obtaining one's object; sense of honour (*tejas*) manifested in his impatience of insult; gallantry (*lalita*) in his word, dress or deportment; magnanimity (*audārya*) exhibited in generosity, agreeable words and equal treatment to friend or foe. The heroine is allowed a

divine or royal. The exception occurs in a *prahasana* or farce (and incidentally in a *bhāja* or the erotic monologue) where she can be represented in her low and avaricious character for comic effect.

27 The usual meeting places are given as a ruined temple, a garden, the house of a go-between, a cemetery, the bank of a stream, or any dark place generally.

more generous set of qualities. First we have the three physical (*aṅgaja*) characteristics ; *bhāva* or first indication of emotion in a nature previously exempt, *hāya* or movement of eyes and brows indicating the awakening of emotion, *hēlā* or the decided manifestation of feeling. Then we have seven inherent qualities: e. g. brilliance of youth, beauty and passion, the touch of loveliness given by love, sweetness, courage, meekness, radiance and self-control. Then are enumerated her ten graces, to which Viśvanātha adds eight more. All her gestures, moods or different shades of emotion, e.g. giggling, trepidation, hysterical fluster of delight, involuntary expression of affection, self-suppression through bashfulness, affected repulse of endearments, as well as the deepest and tenderest display of sentiments, are minutely analysed and classified. To this is added a detailed description of the modes in which the different types of heroines display their affection, the maidenly modest demeanour of the *mugdhā* or the shameless boldness of the more experienced heroine. We should recognise the subtle power of analysis and insight which these attempts indicate ; but speaking generally, the analysis is more of the form than of the spirit, based on what we should consider accidents rather than essentials. At the same time, marked as it is by much of scholastic formalism, there is an unmistakable attempt to do justice to facts, not only as they appeared to the experience of these theorists but to the observation of general poetic usage ; and in the elaborate working out of the general thesis that the Rasa is evolved on the basis of one or other of what they call the permanent mental moods, with the help of the various emotional adjuncts, the writers on Poetics have proceeded a long way in the careful analysis of poetic emotions, the psychology of which bears an intimate relation to their theory and in itself deserves a separate study.

(4)

The discussion of this extensive topic of the *nāyaka* and *nāyikā* comes in topically under the theory of *vibhāva* and *anubhāva*, which act as factors of Rasa. The mood, which is at the root of sentiment, is held to be the *sthāyi-bhāva*, the dominant feeling, the main theme of the composition in question. These feelings, according to Bharata, who is accepted on this point by all writers, can be classified into eight categories, viz. Love (*rati*), Mirth (*hāsa*), Sorrow (*śoka*), Anger (*krodha*), Energy (*utsāha*), Fear (*bhaya*), Disgust (*jugupsā*) and Astonishment (*vismaya*), though some later writers add, as we shall see, Tranquillity (*sama* or *nirveda*) to the number. These dominant feelings are worked up into a corresponding number of sentiments or Rasas through the means of the *vibhāvas* etc²². The *vibhāvas* or Excitants are said to be of two

28 Theoretically the Rasa is one, a single ineffable and impersonal joy, but it can be subdivided, not according to its own nature but according to the emotions which form its basis. Bharata (ch. vi) and other theorists give a full description of the *sthāyi bhāvas*, *vibhāvas* etc. in the case of each Rasa, into which space forbids us to enter. A summary of it will be found in Lindenau, *Rasalehre* Leipzig 1913, pp. 18f. Thus, in the case of the heroic sentiment (*vira*), the dominant feeling is energy (*utsāha*); the excitants (*vibhāvas*) are coolness (*asam-moha*), resolve (*adhyavasāya*), circumspection (*naya*), strength (*bala*) etc.; the ensuants (*anubhāvas*) are firmness (*sthārya*), heroism (*tāurya*), sacrifice (*tyāga*) etc.; the *vyābhicārlīns* or accessory feelings are those of assurance, arrogance etc. Viśvanātha gives them somewhat differently. The essential excitant (*ālambana-vibhāva*) of the heroic sentiment, according to him, consists of those to be vanquished, and their acts and gestures form the enhancing excitants (*uddīpana-vibhāvas*); the ensuants comprehend the desire or seeking for assistants and adherents; while the accessory feelings are patience, intelligence, remembrance, cogitation etc. The sentiment may take three forms of courage (Bharata vi. 79=ed. Regnaud vi. 80), viz. in battle (*yuddha-vira*), in virtuous deeds (*dharma-vira*) and in liberality (*dāna-vira*), to which later writers (e.g. Viśvanātha) add *dayā-vira*. It should also be noted that a special colour and a presiding deity is attributed to each Rasa. Thus, red, black, white, dark (*śyāma*) and grey are associated, not unreasonably, with

kinds²⁹, viz., (1) the Substantial or Essential (*ālambana*), which consists of such material and indispensable ingredients as the hero, the heroine, the rival hero and their adjuncts, and (2) the Enhancing (*uddīpana*), viz. such conditions of time, place and circumstance as serve to foster the Rasa, e.g. the rising of the moon, the cry of the cuckoo etc. in the case of the erotic sentiment. The *anubhāvas* or the Ensuits, which follow and strengthen a mood, comprise such outward manifestations of feeling as sidelong glances, a smile, a movement of the body, or such involuntary action of sympathetic realisation of the persons depicted (*sāttvika*)³⁰ as fainting (*pralaya*), change of colour (*vaivarṇya*), trembling (*vepathu*) etc., which are, again dogmatically classified into eight varieties. There are other feelings of a more or less transitory nature, which accompany or interrupt the permanent mood without, however, supplanting it ; and these are known, as we have noted, by the name of Accessories or *vyabhicāri-bhāvas*. These are likened to servants following a king or to waves of the sea, whereby the dominant mood is understood as the king and the sea respectively, and classified elaborately into thirty-three categories, first mentioned by Bharata (p. 23f above) and implicitly accepted by his followers.

All these elements contribute towards developing the eight or nine *sthāyi-bhāvas* into eight or nine different types of

the furious, terrible, comic, erotic and pathetic sentiments, although it is difficult to explain why horror is dark blue (*nīla*), wonder is orange, and heroism is yellow. The respective deities are Viṣṇu (erotic), Yama (pathetic), Pramatha (comic), Rudra (furious), Indra (heroic), Kāla (terrible), Mahākāla (disgustful), Brahmā (marvellous). Viśvanātha adds that Nārāyaṇa is the presiding deity of *sānta rasa* and the colour associated is that of jasmine (*kunda*).

29 These two divisions of *vibhāva* are not maintained by Bharata but distinguished by Dhanañjaya (iv. 2) and traditionally handed down by Viśvanātha.

30 See above p. 24, fn 55. The *sāttvika bhāvas* in later works form a special class of *anubhāvas*.

Rasa. We have the earliest and most orthodox mention in Bharata (p. 23 above) of eight *sthāyi-bhāvas* and the resulting eight Rasas corresponding to them, of which the Erotic (*śringāra*), the Heroic (*vīra*), the Furious (*raudra*) and the Disgustful (*bibhatsa*) are the main, leading to four others, the Comic (*hāsyā*), the Marvellous (*adbhuta*), the Pathetic (*karuṇā*) and the Terrible (*bhayānaka*). Daṇḍin accepts this classification (ii. 280-87), but Udbhaṭa (iv. 4) adds ³¹ the Quietistic (*sānta*) as the ninth Rasa, although Bharata³² neither defines it nor mentions its corresponding *vibhāvas*. Rudraṭa is singular in postulating a tenth Rasa, called the Agreeable (*preyas*), which is accepted by Bhoja, with the addition of two new Rasas, Uddatta and Uddhata, as well as Sānta. Rudrabhaṭa admits nine Rasas in poetry : so do Hemacandra and the two Vāgbhaṭas. The *Agni-purāṇa* in the same way mentions nine Rasas (and eight *sthāyi-bhāvas*), but follows Bharata in regarding four as principal and lays special stress on the Śringāra. Ānandavardhana admits Sānta (pp. 138, 238). Those later authors who accept the ninth Rasa, the Quietistic, necessarily postulate *nirveda* or self-disparagement, arising out of the knowledge of reality (*tattva-jñāna*), as its *sthāyi-bhāva*, which is called by some authorities *sama*, or repose resulting from freedom from mental excitement³³. The Vaiṣṇava writers (especially Kavikarṇapūra add Dāsy, Sākhyā, Vātsalya, Preman and Bbakti).³⁴

31 If the verse is genuinely Udbhaṭa's. See above p. 114, fn. 15.—On the Sānta Rasa in Bharata and Dhāraṇījaya see S. K. De, *Some Problems* pp. 139-41. On the number and nomenclature of Rasas generally see V. Raghavan, *Number of Rasas*, Adyar 1940.

32 The Sānta texts in Bharata, available in certain recensions, are interpolations. See Raghavan, *op. cit.* pp. 15f. Kālidāsa knew only eight Rasas, *Vikramorvāsiya* ii. 18, where Muni Bharata is also mentioned.

33 This sentiment is also closely related to the sentiment of disgust ; for it arises from an aversion to worldly things.

34 See S. K. De, *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement*, p. 145.

The author of the *Daśa-rūpaka*, however, contends that there can be no such *sthāyi-bhāva* as *nirveda* or *śama*, for the development of that state (if it is at all possible to destroy utterly love, hatred and other human feelings) would tend to the absence of all moods ; and in the drama, the object of which is to delineate and inspire passion, it is inadmissible. Others, again, hold that the Quietistic Rasa does exist, as it is experienced by those who have attained that blissful state, but it has no *sthāyi-bhāva* in dramatic composition ; for *nirveda*, being the cessation of all worldly activity, or *śama* being freedom from all mental excitement, it is not fit to be represented. Hence Mammaṭa takes eight Rasas in the drama (p. 98) and nine in poetry (p. 117). Bhoja, in accordance with the views of the school which lays special emphasis on the Śringāra, accepts only one Rasa, the Erotic, in his *Śringāra-prakāśa* ; and although he mentions as many as ten Rasas in his *Sarasvatī-kāṇḍhābharaṇa*, including the *śānta* and the *preyas*, he appears to devote almost exclusive attention to the Śringāra in his treatment of the Rasas in this work. The views about the admissibility of the *śānta* are discussed by the author of the *Ekāvalī* (pp. 96-7) who maintains that Bharata has mentioned *nirveda* as a *vyabhicāri-bhāva* immediately in context after the enumeration of the *sthāyi-bhāvas* and at the beginning of the list of the *vyabhicāri-bhāvas* ; and this fact is interpreted as indicating that the sage meant it both as a *sthāyi-bhāva* and as a *vyabhicāri-bhāva* ; but Hemacandra (p. 81) anticipates and rejects this quibble of verbal interpretation, though agreeing in the general proposition as to the admissibility of Śānta as the ninth Rasa.

Viśvanātha primarily admits eight orthodox Rasas (iii, p. 160) but adds the ninth Śānta in deference to the views of these authorities, and a tenth Rasa, called *vātsalya* or parental affection, subscribing apparently to Vaiṣṇava ideas (pp. 185-6)³⁵. He quotes a verse to explain that the mood,

35 Bhānudatta counts (*Rasa-taraṅgiṇī*) *māyā* under the Rasas.

called by the great sages the Quietistic, which has, among all sentiments, tranquillity (*sama*) as its basis, is that state in which there is neither pain nor pleasure, nor hatred, nor affection, nor any desire³⁶. But the question arises how can the Quietistic, being of the nature described, arising only in a state of emancipation wherein there is an absence of all feelings like the Accessories etc., be Rasa, which implies a state of relishable enjoyment³⁷. To this objection Viśvanāthā replies that the Quietistic is a Rasa because in that state the soul is only about to be emancipated (*yukta-viyukta-dāśā*) and is not completely absorbed in the Divine, so that the presence of feelings, like the Accessories etc. in it is not incompatible. As for the statement that there is an absence of even pleasure in it, it is not contradictory, for it refers only to worldly pleasure³⁸. Jagannātha, the latest writer on the subject, advocates nine Rasas and maintains (pp. 29-30) that like all other Rasas, the Śānta is capable of being represented and appreciated by the audience. Since the clever performance of the actor, representing such a state of mind, free from disturbance and not affected by passions or desire, is found in actual experience to produce an impression on the mind of the audience, it is their state of mind, exhibited by their silent and rapt attention, which ought to settle the question. The representation of absolute indifference or the actor's power of representing it is not the point in issue: it is the capacity of

Rudraṭa mentioned *preyas* (friendship), which Rasa is accepted by Bhoja. Some writers add *fraddhā*, along with *bhakti*. See Bhāṇudatta, *op. cit.* p. 56, II. 25f (ed. Regaud). Śiṅga-bhūpāla admits only eight Rasas, but his treatment is from the standpoint of dramaturgy.

36 *na yatra duḥkham na sukham na cintā, na dveṣa-rāga na ca kacid icchā/rasah sa sāntah kathito munindraśāḥ, sarveṣu bhāveṣu sama-pradhānaḥ* //, cited also in *Dāśā* iv. 49 (comm.).

37 *ity evaṣṭa-rūpasya sāntasya mokṣāvasthādāt evātmā-svarūpāpattr-lakṣaṇāyāmī, prādurbhūtavat tatra sañcāryādīnām abhāvāt kathām rasatvam.*

38 *yaś cāśmin sukhābhāvo'pyuktas tasya vaiśayika-sukha-paratvāt na virodhah.*

the spectator who actually feels the sentiment. Jagannātha also adds that even those, who do not admit this Rasa in the drama, should accept it in poetry from the fact that poems like the *Mahābhārata* have for principal theme the delineation of Śānta Rasa, which is thus established by universal experience (*akhila-lokānubhava-siddhatvāt*). Nāgeśa remarks on this that the *śānta rasa* should also be admitted in the drama on this ground, inasmuch as the *Prabodha-candrodaya* is universally acknowledged as a drama (p. 30).

Coming to the essential basis of Rasa, viz. the *bhāva*, we have seen that Bharata defines it in general terms as that which manifests the sense of poetry through the three kinds of representation, *vācika*, *ānigika* and *sāttvika*³⁹; it is the emotion which ultimately becomes a sentiment, if it is dominant and therefore, serves as the basis of Rasa. But later writers arrive at a greater precision and apply the term technically to those cases where there is no proper or complete development of Rasa. Both Dhanañjaya and Bhānudatta expand the definition of Bharata, the latter defining it as a deviation from the natural mental state (*vikāra*) which is favourable to the development of Rasa (*rasānukūla*) and which may be either physical (*śārīra*) or mental (*āntara*). But Mammaṭa fixes the conception of Bhāva as *ratir devādi-viṣayā vyabhicārī tathāñjītaḥ* ('love having for its object a deity or the like, and also the suggested Accessory'), on which he adds the gloss: *ādi-śabdān muni-guru-nṛpa-putrādi-viṣayā. kāntā-viṣayā tu vyaktā śrīgāraḥ* ('by the term *the like* are meant sages, preceptor, the king, son etc., the one having a beloved woman for its object becomes the erotic') Govinda explains that the word *rati* here implies the *sthāyi-bhāva* which has not attained to the state of Rasa⁴⁰. What is meant is that when the *sthāyi-bhāvas*, like *rati*, have for their objects

39 A fourth kind of *abhinaya* is sometimes added, viz. *āhārya* (extraneous) i.e. derived from dress, decoration etc.

40 *ratir iti sthāyi-bhāvopalakṣaṇam, devādi-viṣayety apy aprāpta-rasāvasthopalakṣaṇam*, p. 206.

god, king, son and the like, or when the *vyabhicāri-bhāvas* are manifested as the principal sentiment in a composition, there is no *rasa* but *bhāva*; and this definition is accepted by all writers after him.

Thus, Viśvanātha explains the *Bhāva* as follows:

sañcāriṇaḥ pradhānāni, devādi-viṣayā ratih!

ubdūdha-mātrāḥ sthāyi ca. bhāva ity abhidhīyate //

In other words, when the Accessories are principal, or when love etc. has a deity or the like for its object, or when a dominant feeling (*sthāyi-bhāva*) is merely awakened, we have *Bhāva*. His own gloss upon the above verse explains it in this way. Although they are always concomitants of *Rasa* in which they finally rest, such Accessories as are for the time being principally developed, like a servant for the time being followed by his king in his marriage procession; or love etc., having a deity, a sage, a spiritual guide, a king and the like for its object; or such *sthāyi-bhāvas* as are merely awakened or have not attained the state of a *Rasa* from their not being fully developed, are denoted by the term *bhāva*. In all these cases apparently there is no complete or proper development of *Rasa*; and a *Bhāva*, therefore, in later terminology, may be generally described as an incomplete *Rasa*. But this must be distinguished from the *rasābhāsa* or semblance of *Rasa* and the analogous *bhāvābhāsa*, which occur when the poetic sentiments and emotions are falsely attributed (e.g. sentiments in animals such as described in *Kumāra-sambhava*, iii. 36-7), or when they are brought out improperly, i.e. when there is a lack of entireness in them as regards their ingredients⁴¹. The cases occur, according to Bhoja (v. 20) when the mood or emotion is developed in an inferior character (*hīna-pātra*), in animals (*tiryac*), in the rival hero (*nāyaka-pratiyogin*) or in any other subordinate object (*gaumā*).

41 *anaucitya-pravṛttitave abhāsa rasa-bhāvayoh* (Mammata) explained as: *anaucityaṇi cātra rasānām bharatādi-pranita-lakṣaṇāṇi sāmagṛh-rahitavte tveka-deśa-yogīvopalakṣaṇa-parāṇi bodhyam.*

padārtha)⁴², but Viśvanātha elaborately summarises various other cases (iii. 263-66), especially noting improprieties in connexion with particular Rasas. Thus, there is an impropriety if the Terrible (*bhayānaka*) is made to reside in a noble personage, or the Comic (*hāsyā*) in a spiritual guide. It must be noted, as Jagannātha explains, that if a mood or feeling is developed by impropriety, the impropriety, unless it acts as a bar, does not constitute a fault⁴³.

In the same way (1) when there is an excitement only (and not full development) of sentiments, (2) when two opposing sentiments, striving for mastery, are represented as being relished in one and the same place and at the same time, or (3) when a number of sentiments, of which each succeeding one puts down the preceding, they constitute respectively *bhāvodaya*, *bhāva-saṃḍhi* and *bhāva-śabalaṭā*. Now, all these phases of sentiment are taken as Rasa topically, inasmuch as they are capable of being tasted (*sarve'pi rasa-nād rasāḥ*). These cases do not seem to have been formally recognised by Bharata, though hinted at by him in vi. 40, as we learn from Abhinava's commentary on eh. vi, which is partially reproduced also in his *Locana*, p. 66. They are first met with in Udbhaṭa, who includes them under *ūrjasvin* (iv. 6); but in Rudraṭa (xii. 4) and the Dhvanikāra (ii. 3) we find them definitely established.

This incomplete development of Rasa and its subordination must be distinguished from the cases of the opposition (*virodha*) of simultaneously existing sentiments in the same theme. It is laid down formally that some Rasas are intrinsically inconsistent with one another, e.g. the Erotic is opposed to the Disgustful, the Heroic to the Quietistic, and so forth⁴⁴.

42 Śīṅga-bhūpāla (pp. 141-2) distinguishes two cases (i) where Rasa is ascribed to an inanimate object and (ii) where it is developed in an inferior character or in animals.

43 *yāvata tva naucityena rasasya paṣṭis tāvat tu na vāryate, rasa-pratikūlasyaiva tasya niṣedhiatvāt.*

44 Some Rasas again are mutually consistent, e.g. *karuṇa* and

The incongruity or opposition results in three ways, viz. (1) from identity of the exciting cause (*ālambana vibhāva*) (2) from identity of the subject of emotion and (3) from immediacy of succession. The incongruity in the first two cases may be removed by representing the sentiments as having different exciting causes respectively, or as existing in different subjects (e.g. in the hero and the rival hero). The last case of conflict may be removed by placing, between the two immediately succeeding sentiments, a sentiment which is not opposed to them. These are cases where two or more Rasas stand in the relation of principal and subordinate: the term 'subordinate' being misleading, it is sometimes called a concomitant Rasa (*sañcārin*), which implies that it cannot terminate absolutely in itself and at the same time is distinct from a fully developed Rasa, as well as from a mere undeveloped Bhāva⁴⁵. There is also no incongruity where a conflicting Rasa is recalled or described under a comparison. All these questions properly come under the theory of Propriety or Aucitya in relation to Rasa, elaborated by Ānandavardhana and his followers, and is ultimately based on the dictum attributed to the Dhvanikāra (p. 145, cf. "Locana p. 138), which lays down in general terms that the secret of Rasa lies in conforming to the established rules of propriety.

bibhatsa go with *vīra*; *śringāra* goes with *hāsyā* (cf. Bharata vi. 40) etc. On this question see Lindenau, *Rasalehre* (pp. 71f). According to Viśvanātha, the Rasas hostile (i) to *śringāra* are *karuṇā*, *bibhatsa*, *raudra*, *vīra* and *bhayānaka* (ii) to *hāsyā*—*bhayānaka* and *karuṇā* (iii) to *karuṇā*—*hāsyā* and *śringāra* (iv) to *raudra*—*hāsyā*, *śringāra* and *bhayānaka* (v) to *vīra*—*bhayānaka* and *sānta* (vi) to *bhayānaka*—*śringāra*, *vīra*, *raudra*, *hāsyā* and *sānta* (vii) to *sānta*—*vīra*, *śringāra* *raudra*, *hāsyā* and *bhayānaka* (viii) to →*bibhatsa*—*śringāra*. Bhānuḍatta gives the antagonistic Rasas as follow: *śringāra*→*bibhatsa*; *vīra*→*bhayānaka*; *raudra*→*adbhuta*; *hāsyā*→*karuṇā*.

45 *ata evātra pradhānetareṣु raseṣu svātantrya-viśrāma-rāhitī* etc. *pūrṇarasa-bhāva-mātrāc ca vilakṣayatayā. sañcāri-rasa-nāmnā vyapadeśāḥ prācyānām*, Viśvanātha, p. 420.

The doctrine of the *Dhvanyāloka* that in a composition in which the sentiment is awakened, proprieties of various kinds (e. g. with reference to the speaker, the theme, the employment of the *vibhāvas* etc., the use of the *alamkāras* and other elements, pp. 134f, 144f) should be observed, and that certain items of conflict (*virodha*) with the dominant sentiment should be avoided, gave rise to a theory of Propriety, which is generally comprehended by later writers under the discussion of the Doṣas of Rasa. Thus, in later treatises, the *rasa-doṣas* occupy a separate and important place, in addition to the conventional *doṣas* of *pada*, *padārtha*, *vākya*, *vākyārtha* recognised since Vāmana's time. It is Kṣemendra alone who emphasises the importance of the subject by making it the theme of his *Aucitya-vicāra-carcā* which will be noticed in its proper place. Mahimabhaṭṭa, in the second chapter of his work, considers the question of *anaucitya* in some detail. According to him, impropriety or incongruity has two aspects, according as it refers to *śabda* or to *artha* respectively. Then he speaks of propriety as external (*bahirāṅga*) or internal (*antarāṅga*), apparently as it is *śabda-viṣaya* or *artha-viṣaya*. The cases of internal propriety, which consists in the proper employment of the *vibhāvas* etc. have already been explained by previous writers (e.g. the *Dhvanyāloka* pp. 144f). Mahimabhaṭṭa, therefore, takes up the question of external propriety, which he thinks falls under five faults of composition, viz. *vidheyāvimarśa* (non-discrimination of the predicate), *prakrama-bheda* (violation of uniformity in the expression), *krama-bheda* (syntactical irregularity), *paunaruktya* (tautology) and *vācyavacana* (omission of what must be expressed), to the explanation and exemplification of which he devotes, amidst several digressions, the rest of the chapter (ch. ii). It is difficult to say why these faults of expression alone are singled out as defects resulting in a violation of Rasa (*rasa-bhaṅga*). Later writers would include them under general defects, reserving the cases of *virodha* or opposition of Rasas as specific instances of *rasa-doṣas*.

CHAPTER X

WRITERS ON KAVI-SIKSHA

The small group of writers who deal with the theme of *kavi-sikṣā* ("education of the poet") does not, strictly speaking, come directly under general Poetics, but deserves notice, partly from the reputation and authority enjoyed by some of these authors but chiefly because it displays a peculiar tendency which emphasises one aspect of Poetics as a discipline, namely, its practical object which developed side by side with the theoretical consideration of general principles. These treatises do not deal with the conventional topics of Poetics, with its theories, dogmas and definitions, but they are meant chiefly as manuals to guide the poet in his profession, their primary object being *Kavi-sikṣā* or instruction of the aspiring poet in the devices of the craft. It is difficult, in the absence of data, to determine the origin of this school, but the attitude adopted is significant, being almost co-extensive with what may be supposed to have been the original standpoint of Poetics itself as a more or less mechanical *Ars Poetica*¹. The ancient as well as the modern writers on general Poetics, no doubt, touch occasionally upon the question of the practical training of the poet²; and it is not improbable that this in course of time formed the object of a separate study and multiplied these convenient handbooks, of which necessarily we possess comparatively late specimens.

(1)

Kṣemendra

Kṣemendra's two works, *Aucitya-vicāra-caraṇa* and *Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, which may be conveniently grouped here, are

1 See above pp. 33-34 and footnote 3.

2 See above pp. 42f.

curious and valuable in many respects. In his theory of Aucitya³ or propriety, he takes as his thesis, mainly, Ānandavardhana's treatment of the same question with reference to Rasa which is crystallised in the oft-quoted verse from the *Dhvanyāloka*: "There is no other circumstance which leads to the violation of Rasa than impropriety ; the supreme secret of Rasa consists in observing the established rules of propriety"⁴. To depict Rasa, it is necessary to observe the rules of propriety ; and the subject, which is anticipated by Bharata (who, for instance, speaks of the proper employment of *anubhāvas*), may take various forms according as it relates to the subject-matter, the speaker, the nature of the sentiment evoked or the means employed in evoking it. We have already noted that this theme has been discussed topically at some length by the formulators of the Dhvani-theory, by Mahimabhaṭṭa, as well as by most post-dhvani writers who consider it generally in connexion with *rasa-doṣas*. Kṣemendra develops and pushes the idea to its extreme, and speaks of Aucitya as the essence of Rasa (*rasa-jīvitabhūta*), and as having its foundation in the charm or aesthetic pleasure (*camatkāra*) underlying the relish of Rasa. The Alampkāra and Guṇa in poetry are justified by and receive their respective significance from this element which may, therefore, be fittingly regarded as the 'soul' of poetry⁵. That which is suitable or conformable to another is called *ucita* in its relation to that object⁶. This Aucitya may have application with reference to various points in a poem, such as word (*pada*), a sentence (*vākyā*), the sense of the composition as a whole (*prabandhārtha*), its literary excellencies (*guṇas*) its

3 V. Raghavan (*Some Concepts*, pp. 194-257) gives an able and detailed account of the history of Aucitya.

4 *anaucityād rte nānyad rasa-bhaṅgasya kāraṇyam/*
prasiddhaucitya-bandhas tu rasasyopaniṣat parā//

5 ed. Kāvyamālā, Guechaka i, pp. 115-16.

6 *ucitam prāhur acāryāḥ sadṛśam kila yasya yat*, explained by the gloss as: *yat kila yasyānurūpam tad ucitam ucyate*.—On the theory of Pāka and Śayyā, allied to the theory of Aucitya, see above pp. 240-41.

poetic figures (*alamkāras*), the Rasa or the sentiment in a poem, the employment of the verb (*kriyā*), the use of the case (*kāraka*), of the gender (*liṅga*), of the number (*vacana*), of preposition, adjective, particles (*upasarga*), or considerations of time and place (*deśa* and *kāla*) etc. ; and the cases of application are dogmatically summarised as twenty-seven in number (§§. 8-10). The treatment of each of these cases is accompanied by profuse illustrations of every point from the works of various poets, the favorite method being first to cite examples of verses which comply with a rule and then adduce one or two examples of verses which do not do so. There is hardly anything original in the theory itself : for though it rightly insists upon a standard of propriety in poetic expression, it ultimately resolves itself into assuming a more or less variable criterion of taste or personal appreciation, which Ānandavardhana and others admit as *sahṛdayatva*, but which is bound to be, as it is, rather vaguely defined and therefore incapable of exhaustive formal treatment. It is really the province of taste or criticism rather than of Poetics proper.

At the same time, the fact must not be overlooked that works of this nature in Sanskrit, ostensibly meant as they are for the guidance of the aspiring poet, display, in their discussion of what is right and proper in poetry, a tendency towards genuine criticism, taken apart from the beaten paths of orthodox Poetics ; and they set up in their naïve way a standard, whatever it may be, of taste and critical judgment. No doubt, most writers on general Poetics, betray some critical acumen and give us a great deal of critical or semi-critical matter while considering the application of a rule or principle, especially in the chapters on *Doṣa* and *Guṇa* ; but their outlook is often and necessarily limited by their confining themselves to rigid rules and specific definitions⁷.

7 The growth of artificial poetry, we have seen, made the technical analysis of rhetoric and instruction of it, a necessity ; but rhetoric involves (and sometimes becomes identical with) criticism ; and it is

Kṣemendra's work, in this respect, possesses a unique value, and the part of his treatment which discusses the illustrative verses is extremely interesting as an evidence of "appreciation" which is comparatively rare in Sanskrit. Kṣemendra deals out praise and censure, within his limits, as a true critic who is no respector of persons ; even the honoured names of Amaru, Kālidāsa or Bhavabhūti make no difference. In more than one instance, he illustrates two sides of a question, regarding both merit or defect laid down by a rule, by different verses from his own work ; and in some cases he does not hesitate to go against orthodox opinion⁸. Whatever may be the intrinsic value of his critical dicta, some of which may appear too trivial or crude to us, he shows a wide acquaintance with the whole range of classical Sanskrit Poetry and an undoubtedly cultured taste. If the common saying that a bad poet often turns out to be a good critic carries any wisdom in it, it is very apt in the case of Kṣemendra whose critical powers cannot indeed be ignored.

almost impossible for Ālambārikas, who also theorised on principles, not to busy themselves with the forms and general phenomena of literature. Thus, most works, whether on general poeties or on rhetoric, do involve some amount of criticism which could not be avoided. It must also be borne in mind that our modern ideas of Aesthetics, Poetics or Rhetoric are not sharply distinguished in these old authors, nor was there any well-defined notion of the respective spheres of these studies. The theorists drew their ideas of poetry mainly from existing classical Sanskrit literature which, though magnificent in partial accomplishment, was not fully equipped for purposes of general criticism. The absence of some other literature for comparison—for later Prakrit and allied specimens are mainly derivative—was a serious drawback. This will explain partially why their outlook is so limited, and their principles and definitions so stereotyped.

8. E. g. while discussing the question of propriety of the contents of a composition, he cites (p. 120) from *Kumāra-saṃbhava* viii—which canto he accepts as Kālidāsa's—and severely censures the poet's manner of describing the amours of Hara and Pārvatī in terms of ordinary dalliance, against the authority of Ānandavardhana who defends (p. 137) it against the imputation of vulgarity.

Kṣemendra's other work, *Kavi-kāṇṭhābharaṇa*⁹, though less interesting, is equally remarkable for its refreshingly novel treatment. Kṣemendra postulates two impulses for the attainment of poetic capacity, viz. divine help (*divya-prayatna*) and individual effort (*pauruṣa*). The first includes prayer, incantation and other heavenly aids; but from the latter standpoint, he classifies three groups of persons¹⁰ with whom instruction in the art of poetry is concerned, viz. those who require little effort (*alpa-prayatna-sādhya*), those who require great effort (*kṛcchra-sādhya*), and those in whom all effort is fruitless (*asādhya*), and sums up by saying that the capacity for poetry is vouchsafed only to the fit and few. The next chapter discusses with illustrations the question of borrowing or plagiarism¹¹, a theme which is just touched upon in the fourth chapter of the *Dhvanyāloka*¹² but which is dealt with extensively by Rājaśekhara¹³. Kṣemendra divides

9 A sketch of this work will be found in Kṣemendra's *Kavikāṇṭhābharaṇa* by J. Schönberg (Wien 1884), pp. 9f. The five *sāṃdhis* or sections of this work deal respectively with the following themes: (i) attainment of poetry by an unpoetical person (*akavēḥ kavītvāptih*), (ii) instruction of the poet already gifted (*sikṣā prāptā-gīraḥ kavēḥ*), (iii) strikingness (*camatkṛti*), and the faults and excellences of poetry, (iv) familiarity which a poet should possess with other arts and sciences as a source of charm to his poetry (*paricaya-cārutyā*).

10 Cf. Vāmana 1. 2. 1-5; Rājaśekhara iv.

11 Bāga (*Harṣa* c. 1. 5-6) distinctly condemns poetasters and plagiarists. Vāmana appears to be the first writer on Poetics who in his classification of Artha refers to the question of plagiarism.

12 In Ānandavardhana's opinion, the province of poetry is unlimited, in spite of the fact that hundreds of poets have composed works for centuries; but the thoughts of two inspired poets may bear certain resemblance, which may be like that between an object and its reflection, between a thing and its picture, or between two human beings. The first two kinds of resemblance should be avoided, but the third is charming (iii. 12-13).

13 In ch. xi-xii. For a summary of his views see V. M. Kulkarni, Sanskrit Writers on Plagiarism in *JOS*, iii (1954), pp. 403-411. Rājaśekhara declares that "there is no poet that is not a thief, no merchant that does not steal, but he who knows how to hide his theft flourishes without

poets from this point of view into those who imitate the general colour of a poet's idea (*chāyopajīvin*), those who borrow a word or a verse-line (*padaka-* and *pāda-upajīvin*), or an entire poem (*sakalopajīvin*) and lastly, those who borrow from sourees considered universally as legitimate (*bhuvanopajīvya*, e.g. *Vyāsa*). Then he lays down elaborate rules for regulating the life, character and edueation of the poet. This is followed by a diseussion of *camatkāra* or poetic charm, without which, we are told, no poetry is possible, and an illustration (by means of examples draw from the works of various poets) of its tenfold aspect, according as it appeals with or without much thought (*avicārita-ramāṇīya* or *vicāryamāṇa-ramāṇīya*¹⁴), resides in a part or in the whole composition, appertains to the sound, the sense or both, or relates to the poetic figure, to the sentiment, or to the well-known nature of the theme. Then we come to the treatment of the excellences and defects with reference to the sense (*artha*), the verbal expression (*śabda*), or the poetic sentiment (*rasa*) involved; and the work is rounded off by indicating the extent of knowledge which a poet must possess and giving a long list of the arts and scienees in which he must be profieient, which is thus set forth: *tatra tarka-vyākaraṇa-bharata-cūṇakya-vātsyāyana-bhārata-rāmāyaṇa-mokṣopāyātmajñāna-dhātuvāda-ratnāparīkṣā-vaidyaka-jyotiṣa-dhanurveda-gaja-turaga-puruṣa-lakṣaṇa-dyūtendrajāla-prakīrṇeṣu paricayaḥ kavi-sāmrājya-vyañjanāḥ*. This rapid summary of the contents of this work

reproach". He deals with two kinds of plagiarism, namely, that which should be avoided and that which should be adopted. In his opinion, a poet may be a creator (*Utpādaka*) or an adapter (*Parivartaka*), or a coverer up (*Ācchādaka*) or a collector (*Samgrāhaka*). He who sees something new in word and sense and writes up something old may be accounted a great poet. Rājaśekhara accordingly gives an elaborate classification of Artha so far as it is Anya-yoni, Nihnutā-yoni or A-yoni from the point of view of plagiarism. See below under Rājaśekhara.

14 Rājaśekhara attributes a dictum to Udbhaṭa which says that the sense may be *vicārita-sustha* or *avicārita-ramāṇīya*, according as it is found in the Sāstra or the Kāvya respectively. See above p. 59, fn 33.

will show that it hardly puts forward any special claim as a work of great theoretic importance, but that its value consists not in its substance but in its treatment of practical issues, its careful and minute illustration of every point by examples taken from various poets, with not a little amount of knowledge and critical discernment¹⁵.

(2)

Arisimha, Amaracandra and Devesvara

The *Kāvya-kalpalatā-vṛtti* of Arisimha and Amaracandra and the *Kavi-kalpalatā* of Devesvara, written in imitation of that work, need not detain us long. They are essentially treatises on the composition of verses, including a practical treatment of prosody and rhetoric. They furnish elaborate hints on the construction of different metres, on the display of word-skill of various kinds, on *jeu de mots* and tricks of producing double meaning, conundrums, riddles, alliterative and rhyming verses, and various other devices of verbal ingenuity, concluding with a chapter on the construction of similes and enumeration of parallelisms for the purpose of ordinary comparisons. It gives also a list of *kavi-samayas* or conventions observed by the poets, and states in detail what to describe and how to describe it. These decadent treatises, therefore, offer such adventitious aids for ready-made poetry, as may—to take a particular point—be afforded, for instance, by a modern rhyming dictionary or works of similar nature.

A summary of the main topics dealt with in the *Kāvya-kalpalatā* and its *Vṛtti* will make the standpoint clear and give an idea of the general scope and nature of such works. The first *pratāna* of this work is called *chandas-siddhi* (prosody)

15 For Kṣemendra's satiric and didactic works see S. K. De, *Aspects of Sansk. Lit.* Calcutta 1959, pp. 279-83 and *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.*, Calcutta 1947, pp. 404-410.

and consists of five sections on (i) the construction of the *anuṣṭubh* metre (*anuṣṭubh-śāsana*), (ii) enumeration of the principal metres, shifts in grammatical forms of the verb, Prakrit loan-words (where Hemacandra seems to be superficially quoted), transmutation of one's own or another poet's ideas into the same or different metres, conversion of one metre into another, caesura (*yati*), the whole section being generally entitled *chandobhyāsa*, (iii) use of expletive particles and words for filling up the verse (*chandah-pūrana*), such as *śrī*, *sam*, *sat*, *drāk*, *vi*, *pra* etc. (*sāmānya-śabdaka*), (iv) argumentation, pointed sayings, subjects of laudation or vituperation, interrogations, e.g. in *kula-śāstrādi*, *sva-śāstrādhyayana-prathā* etc. (*vāda*), (v) subjects for descriptive poetry, how to describe the king, his ministers, the prince, the army, battle and hunting, as well as a city, a village, a garden, a lake and so forth ; enumeration of the *kavi-samayas* (*varṇya-sthiti*). The second chapter, called *śabda-siddhi* treats of etymology, derived meanings of compounds, alliteration and rhyme in the middle of a verse, with a list of words suitable for this purpose, enumeration of *sambandhin* expressions ; denoted, indicated and suggested meanings, showing the influence of the Dhvani school. The next chapter, entitled *śleṣa-siddhi*, upon play on words of various kinds, consists of the following sections: (i) composing of words in such a way that they can be read differently according as they are divided, with a list of *ślesopayogi* words, (ii) a kind of *śleṣa* occurring in the description of an object by analogies, in which the same quality or condition has to be traced in the same words or in synonyms, (iii) cases of double meaning, produced by homonyms capable of widely different interpretations, (iv) ambiguity produced by similarity of inflections of different origins, (v) surprises of different kinds, such as verses in which the same consonant or vowel is repeated in each syllable, verses spread out in diagrams to be read in different ways, e.g. according to the move of the knight in chess etc.—a subject which is treated in some detail, for

instance, in the *Vidagdha-mukha-maṇḍana* of Dharmadāsa Sūri¹⁶. The last chapter, called *artha-siddhi*, is devoted to the construction of similes, ellipsis and similar figures, and gives long lists of parallelisms arising from like conditions or attributes of the objects compared, e.g. the lips may be compared to the coral, to the bimba fruit or fresh-blown twigs and so forth.

A large part of this treatment is repeated in Keśava's *Alaṃkāra-śekhara*, as well as in Deveśvara's *Kavi-kalpalatā*, the latter work being directly modelled on the *Kāvya-kalpalatā* with 'considerable plagiarism of passages *in extenso*'. These works, therefore, do not require any separate notice. Keśava's text (see vol. i, pp. 220-21 above) deals, besides this, with the ordinary topics of Poetics, set forth as the views of his master Śauḍhodani, but in substance and form it follows the views of Mammata, Hemacandra and the Vāgbhaṭas; it thus possesses hardly any claim to originality either in theory or in treatment. Most of the works of Jaina authors, even including those of Hemacandra and the Vāgbhaṭas, are written apparently from the practical standpoint of composing a suitable text-book, and they always, in their discussion of general principles, incorporate hints on matters helpful for the practical working out of poetry¹⁷.

(3)

Rājaśekhara

Although written in a fanciful style and hardly presenting one systematic theory, Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* may be noticed here, inasmuch as it mixes up the topics of *kavi-śikṣā* with those of Poetics proper, at the same time giving us a somewhat rambling treatment of various extraneous matters.

16 The subject is dealt with as early as Dandin, Rudraṭa, and the *Agni-purāṇa*.

17 E. g. Hemacandra, pp. 5-15, 126-135; the younger Vāgbhaṭa pp. 38-68. Both borrow largely from Kṣemendra and Rājaśekhara.

The work is also remarkable for its varied collection of different opinions, as well as for the light it throws on the literary practices of a certain period. Its views cannot be directly connected with any particular school, but it is quite possible that its author follows in the main a tradition of opinion inherited from his literary ancestors, whom he frequently quotes as the *Yāyāvarīyas*.

The origin of Poetics is attributed by Rājaśekhara to the Supreme Being and the celestials, and he claims a very high position for the discipline, which is regarded as the seventh *āṅga* without which the significance of Vedic texts cannot be grasped. The self-born Śrīkaṇṭha taught this science to his sixty-four will-born disciples, among whom the most venerable was the Kāvya-puruṣa, born of Sarasvatī, who figures as the nominal hero of this half-allegorical work. As Prajāpati set him to promulgate the science to the world, he imparted it to his seventeen divine pupils, Sahasrākṣa and others, who embodied it in eighteen separate *adhikaraṇas* on the portions learnt by each¹⁸. Our author seeks to set forth in one book, consisting of eighteen *adhikaraṇas*, the substance of these teachings which were in his time, to some extent, lost. If we are to accept this plan of the author, only the first *adhikarana* on *kavi-rahasya* exists of this ambitious work. The Kāvya-puruṣa, from whom metrical speech first began and who stands symbolically for the spirit of poetry, is the son born to the goddess of learning, Sarasvatī, as the result of her long penance on the Himālayas. In order to keep the boy company, Sarasvatī creates Sāhitya-vidyā as his bride who follows him and wins him over. On this slight conceit the book proceeds to set forth its peculiar doctrines, including in its desultory scope various literary remarks and dogmas, as well as topics like general geography, conventions observed by poets, a disquisition on the seasons, an account of *kavi-gosṭhī* and other relevant and irrelevant subjects.

18 See vol. i, pp. 1-2.

The work begins (ch. iii) by dividing literature (*vāñmaya*) into *śāstra* (both human and revealed) on the one hand, and *kāvya*, on the other. It enumerates the different *Śāstras* and defines their nature and form, including under the revealed *Śāstras* the *Vedas*, the *Upaniṣads*, and the six *āṅgas* (the *Yāyāvarlyas* taking *Alamkāra-śāstra* as the seventh), and comprehending under human *Śāstras* the *Purāṇas*, *Itihāsa*, *Ānvikṣiki*, the two *Mīmāṁsās* and the *Smṛtis*. It then mentions fourteen (or eighteen) *vidyā-sthānas*, bringing under it several technical and philosophical disciplines. The meanings of the terms *sūtra*, *vṛtti*, *bhāṣya*, *samikṣā*, *fiṭkā*, *pañjikā*, *kārikā* and *vṛtti*, which are the different forms or styles of the *Śāstras*, are then explained, incidentally giving an etymological definition of *sāhitya-vidyā*¹⁹. Then, after a digression (ch. iii) on the fable of the *Kāvya-puruṣa*, the author goes on to deal (ch. iv) with the different kinds of pupils to whom a knowledge of the science can be imparted, viz. *buddhimat* and *āhārya-buddhi*, the latter of whom may be again *anyathā-buddhi* and *durbuddhi*, and discusses in this connexion the force of *śakti* (genius), *pratibhā* (poetic imagination), *vyutpatti* (culture) and *abhyāsa* (practice). The *Yāyāvarlyas* think that *śakti* is the only source of poetry and it gives rise to *pratibhā* and *vyutpatti*; but others hold that the aid of concentration (*samādhi*) and practice (*abhyāsa*) is also required. The *pratibhā*²⁰ may have a twofold aspect, according as it is creative (*kārayitri*) or discriminative (*bhāvayitri*). The creative faculty may be natural (*sahaja*), adventitious (*āhārya*) or acquired by instruction (*aupadeśika*), and poets are accordingly classified as *sārasvata*, *ābhāyasika* and *aupadeśika*. The discriminative faculty (*bhāvakatva*) is distinguished from the poetic (*kavitva*). The *bhāvaka* may be either 'the discontented' (*arocakinali*, i.e. those who possess the faculty but

19 See above p. 37, fn 5.

20 Defined as: *yā śabda-grāmam artha-sārham alamkāra-lantrām mukti-mārgam anyad api tathāvidham adhīhṛdayam pratibhāsayati sā pratibhā.*

require to be guided), 'those feeding on grass' (*satṛṇābhyaवा-हरिणाः*, i.e., vulgar persons absolutely devoid of the faculty²¹), 'the envious' (*matsariṇाः*) and lastly, 'the really discerning' (*tattvābhiुवेशिनाः*) who are rare.

In the next chapter (ch. v) we have elaborate classifications of the poet from different points of view. Poets may be grouped generally into three classes, the *śāstra-kavi*, the *kāvya-kavi* and the *ubhaya-kavi*. The *śāstra-kavi* may either compose the *śāstra*, or produce *kāvya*-effect in the *Śāstra* or *śāstra*-effect in the *Kāvya*. The *kāvya-kavi* is classified elaborately, if not very logically, into eight groups, viz. *racanā-kavi*, *śabda-kavi*, *arthā-kavi*, *alaṁkāra-kavi*, *uktī-kavi*, *rāsa-kavi*, *mārga-kavi*, and *śāstrārtha-kavi*. Then we have an enumeration of ten grades of apprenticeship through which a poet has to pass until he becomes a *kavi-rūja*, which is indeed not the highest distinction but which, according to Rājaśekhara who was himself so designated, indicates a status even higher than that of a *mahākavi*. Elsewhere in ch. x, he gives an account of the test or literary examination of poets for such honour and recognition, in which the successful poet was conveyed in a special chariot and crowned with a fillet (*pattā-bandha*). He speaks also of purity of body, speech and thought necessary for a poet, and describes the house of the poet, his attendants, his writing materials, the division of his whole day into eight parts and duties appropriate thereto. The chapter under discussion concludes with a reference to the theory of *pāka*²², of which as many as nine varieties, named after the taste of different fruits, are mentioned.

The next chapter (ch. vi) deals with the word and the sentence, and their functions grammatical, logical or otherwise. In this connexion Rājaśekhara states that a sentence possessing the literary excellences (*guṇas*) and embellished by poetic figures (*alaṁkāras*) constitutes poetry (*guṇavat् alaṁkṛtaṁ ca vākyam*

21 Cf Vāmana 1. 2. 1-3.

22 See above pp. 240-42.

eva kāvyām, p. 24). If any definite conclusion can be drawn from this statement, Rājaśekhara, in general theory, appears to recognise tacitly the position of the Rīti school; for in this sentence he reproduces Vāmana's well-known dictum (*kāvya-sabdo'yām guṇālamkāra-saṃskṛtayoh śabdārthayor vartate*, on i. 1. 1). This is supported also by the apparent disfavour he shows towards the view of Uddhaṭa and Rudraṭa, as well as by the marked partiality attached to the opinions of Maṅgalā and Vāmaoa, whose classification of Rīti is accepted on p. 31. It is true that his school lays special stress also on *Rasa*²³, and like most writers coming after Ānandavardhana, Rājaśekhara does not fail to bring *Rasa* into prominence. This makes it difficult to take his work as framed definitely for any particular system. But it is clear that his sympathies ally him with the older Rīti and *Rasa* schools, rather than with the new school of Ānandavardhana who, though cited at p. 16, does not appear to have influenced his views greatly. It is probable that he is following some old tradition, which stands apart from orthodox schools, but which has many things in common with the older currents of thought and opinion.

The rest of the work, devoted to topics of a similar character, does not throw any further light on his general view of Poetics. The seventh chapter, which comes next, analyses modes of speech on a novel basis, having reference to the promulgation of different religious doctrines, into *brāhma*, *śaiva* and *vaiṣṇava*, with their sectarian subdivisions; and after a brief mention of the three Rītis of Vāmana²⁴, we have some remarks on Kāku and on the methods of reading or pronunciation of different peoples, incidentally discussing the question of appropriate language and style of gods.

23 E.g. *kim tu rasavata eva nibandho yuktah, na nirasasya* p. 45.

24 Rājaśekhara's account of the origin of Rītis is curious. He says that on account of the Sāhitya-vidyā's wanderings through various countries, different poetic forms evolved themselves, the important among them being the three Rītis mentioned by Vāmana.

Apsarasas, Piśācas etc. The eighth chapter enumerates the sources or auxiliaries of poetry (*kāvya-yonayaḥ*), already referred to by Bhāmaha (i. 9) and Vāmana (i. 3), such as the scriptures, the law-books, the epics, the Purāṇas etc., and gives a long list of arts and sciences, as well as philosophical systems, which contribute to the content of poetry²⁵. The next chapter (ch. ix) is concerned with the possible themes of poetry, topically referred to by Ānandavardhana (p. 146), according as it deals with incidents and personages, human, divine, or pertaining to the lower world (*pātāla*), by themselves or in different combinations. But he adds that the subject-matter must be *rasavat*. The tenth chapter speaks of the conduct of a poet, his household and surroundings, his daily duties and routine of work ; it then proceeds to speak of the king who patronises him, and one of whose duties is to call assemblies of poets and scholars. Two very interesting chapters (xi-xii) follow on the elaborate²⁶ classification of the different shades of borrowing or plagiarism (*haraṇa*), with reference respectively to borrowing of words and borrowing

25 These are: *śruti, smṛti, itihāsa, purāṇa, pramāṇa-vidyā, samaya-vidyā, rāja-siddhānta-trayī* (*arthā-śāstra, nātya-śāstra* and *kūma-śāstra*), *loka, viracanā* (= *kavi-maniṣā-nirmitaḥ kathā-tantrani artha-mātrāḥ vā*), and *prakīrṇaka* (miscellaneous, like *hasti-śikṣā, ratna-parīkṣā, dhanur-veda* etc.). In ch. x. he speaks of (i) *kāvya-vidyās*, viz. *nāma-dhātu-pārāyaṇa* (=grammar), *abhidhāna-koṣa* (lexicon), *chando-viciti* (prosody) and *alaṃkāra* (poetics), (ii) sixty-four *kalās*, called *upavidyās* (accessory studies) and (iii) *kāvya-niātarah*, viz. *kavi-saṃnidhi, deśa-vārttā, vidagdha-vāda, loka-yātrā, vidvad-gosṭhī, and purātana-kavi-nibandha*.

26 Hemacandra (pp. 8f) and Vāgbhaṭa (pp. 12f) plagiarise and reproduce this portion of Rājaśekhara's treatment and draw also partly upon Kṣemendra (see above p. 287f). On these passages, see F. W. Thomas in *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 379-383). To Ānandavardhana's classification of three kinds of resemblance which may be found in two poets (see above p. 287 fn 12) these writers add a fourth kind, viz. "foreign-city-entrance" likeness (*parapura-praveśa-pratimatā*), i. e. where there is substantial identity, but the garnishing is widely different. And of these four kinds, the superiority is in the ascending order.

of ideas. A verse is cited towards the end which says that there is hardly any poet who does not 'steal' from others, but the best of stealing is cleverly concealing the fact²⁷. But mere reflection or copying of ideas is condemned as unpoetical (*so'yam kaver akavitva-dāyī sarrathā pratibimba kalpaḥ pariharāṇiyah*, p. 68). The true poet is said to be one who discovers something novel in the expression of words and ideas, as well as restates what is old²⁸. The next chapter (ch. xiii), therefore, details thirty-two different modes by which plagiarism or literary borrowing may be skilfully turned to advantage (a question which must have assumed some importance in Rājaśekhara's time), all the points in these interesting chapters being profusely illustrated by examples drawn from the works of various poets. This discussion is followed by three chapters (ch. xiv-xvi) on the established poetic conventions (*kavi-samaya*), with reference to countries, trees, plants, flowers etc., as well as about intangible things (e. g. a smile should always be described as white). There are two more chapters (ch. xvii-xviii) on geography (*desa-vibhāga*) and the seasons (*kāla-vibhāga*) respectively, the former mentioning the countries, rivers, mountains etc. of India, the products peculiar to each, the colour and complexion of various peoples, and the latter describing the winds, flowers and birds, and actions appropriate to various seasons.

This bare outline of the eighteen chapters of the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, so far as it is available and actually published, will make it clear that nearly the whole of its content falls, strictly speaking, outside the province of general Poetics, whose conventional topics have thus far been hardly touched upon. At the same time, some of the subjects dealt with by Rājaśekhara have been referred to, if not elaborately dealt

27 *nāsty acauroḥ kavi-jano nāsty acauro vajig-janah /*
sa nandati vīṇā vācyam yo jānatī nigūhitum //

28 *sabdārthoktiṣu yaḥ pafyed iha kīmcana nūtanam /*
ullikhet kīmcana prācyāṇ manyatāṇ sa mahākāvibh //

with, by even orthodox writers like Vāmana; and the unique evidence of the comparatively early work of Rājaśekhara on this topic, written ostensibly in conformity with some old tradition, will go to support the hypothesis that *sāhitya* or the art of poetry originally included in its comprehensive scope all such varied literary topics, until there was a gradual branching off of *kavi-śikṣā* as an allied but separate discipline, and a limiting of the Śāstra itself to the discussion of more or less general principles. In themselves, however, these topics are extremely interesting and throw a great deal of light on some of the literary aspects of classical Sanskrit Poetry and its practice. They are made all the more delightful reading by Rājaśekhara's concise but easy and picturesque style, especially as it is enriched by judiciously selected and varied illustrations, very unlike the conventional illustrations one meets with in an ordinary text-book on Poetics.

SUBJECT-INDEX

TO

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Vol. i. p. 99. Add the following as fn. 4 to l. 12 : For a review of the Alāṃkāra-section in the *Agni-purāṇa* see Suresh Mohan Bhattacharya in *Bulletin of DCRI*, xx, pt. i., pp. 42-49.

p. 202, fn. 1. l. 2. Read śabdā- (for śadhā-).

p. 292, No. 69. Read BHĀSYA.

p. 294, fn. 1. Read Catalogue after Tanjore.

Vol. ii. p. 141, l. 28. Read kuśāgrīyayā.

p. 173, l. 2 and p. 183, l. 28. Read śruti-kaṣṭa in both places.

p. 204, l. 13. Read praśastatā.